1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

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OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS
AMEN HOUSE, E.C. 4
London Edinburgh Glasgow New York
Toronto Melbourne Capetown Bombay
Calcutta Madras Shanghai
HUMPHREY MILFORD
PUBLISHER TO THE
UNIVERSITY

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[p. ii]

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# BOTH SIDES OF BUKA PASSAGE

## AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF SOCIAL, SEXUAL, AND ECONOMIC QUESTIONS IN THE NORTH-WESTERN SOLOMON ISLANDS

By

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OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1935

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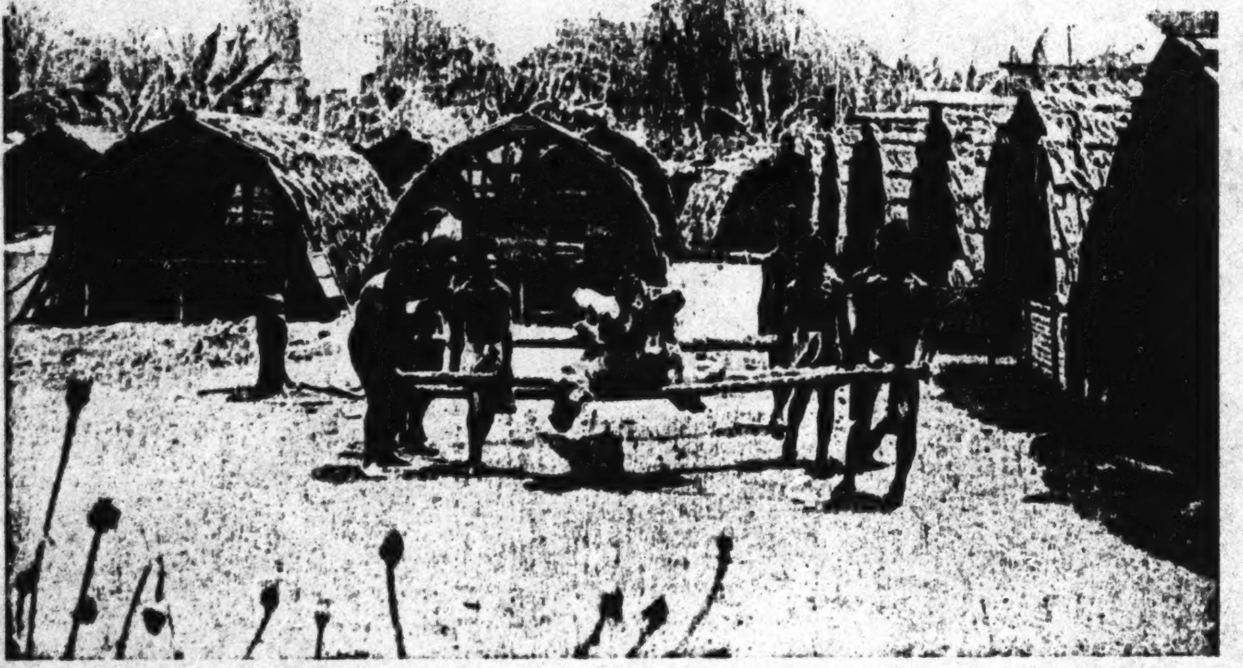

KURTATCHI VILLAGE

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To
ARTHUR THOMSON
ANATOMIST, ANTHROPOLOGIST
AND ARTIST

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# PREFACE

122 THE material presented in this book was collected under the auspices of the Committee for Research on Problems of Sex, National Research Council, Washington, D.C. Their generous financial assistance afforded me an opportunity of studying a primitive people, for which I shall always be grateful. My programme was planned under the guidance of Dr. Clark Wissler, whose sponsorship I acknowledge with warmest thanks.

121 In course of preparation my report has far outgrown the limits within which it was originally designed. If I have exceeded my mandate by including material not directly concerned with problems of sex, I have been encouraged to do so by the terms of a memorandum drawn up by the Committee, wherein it is stated that the field to be covered 'involves the whole ethnic setting, as well as biological, psychological, and social implications'. My own experience as a field-worker has impressed upon me the importance of the 'ethnic setting', which I take to mean the entire physical and cultural background. To give some account of this is the purpose of the second half of the book. I have reserved for publication in separate articles some technical data, including a series of physical measurements and observations, vital records, and a quantity of linguistic material, vocabularies, descriptive texts, and folk-stories.

600 A study of this kind depends so much upon the co-operation of other people that adequate acknowledgement is impossible. I am cognizant of indebtedness to many whose names are not mentioned, and most of all to my Melanesian friends on both sides of Buka Passage, who made my stay among them so pleasant.

The University of Oxford having generously granted me leave of absence from my duties as Demonstrator, I was able to spend a year in the field, from September 29, 1929, to October 8, 1930.

Every field-worker is at times dependent upon the good offices of those in authority over the sphere of his investigations. My thanks are due to Brigadier-General Evan Wisdom, C.M.G., Administrator of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea, and to his staff, among whom I should like to mention especially Major McAdam, District Officer for Buka and Bougainville, and ᴜᴜᴜ Mr. McMullen, A.D.O. at Buka Passage. I am greatly indebted also to Mr. E. W. Pearson Chinnery, Government Anthropologist for the Mandated Territory, for advice as to the choice of a locality in which to work, and for much practical assistance during my preliminary stay in Rabaul.

I received much kindness from Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Cropp, who have established a Methodist Mission Station on the west coast of Buka. I am particularly grateful for Mr. Cropp's generous loan of his vocabulary and grammar notes on the Petats dialect, which were of the greatest service as my first introduction to a Melanesian language.

To Mrs. Hadden, who for nine months was my nearest white neighbour, I am indebted not only for my introduction to the village where most of my time was spent, but also for many pleasant and helpful courtesies.

Mr. Gordon Thomas, whose knowledge of Buka extends over many years, was good enough to furnish me with information on several points of interest. He also recorded the dreams discussed on pp. 574–6, and the account of bonito magic as practised on the island of Pororan, which he has kindly permitted me to include in Chapter IX.

Further obligations have been incurred in the course of preparing my material for publication since my return to Oxford.

Of these the first and greatest is to my Chief, Professor Arthur Thomson,[1] who has heartened me by his kindly interest, and has placed at my disposal the facilities of the Department of Human Anatomy, where the whole of the work has been done. To his constructive criticism this book owes a great deal. In dedicating it to him I would wish to express my deep appreciation of the help and encouragement he has given me throughout the time it has been my privilege to work in association with him, first as his pupil and subsequently as his assistant.

I must also acknowledge my indebtedness to others who have been kind enough to read and comment on those portions of the book concerned with aspects of native life in which they are specialists—Mr. Henry Balfour, Dr. R. R. Marett, Mrs. B. Z. Seligman, and Dr. C. G. Seligman.

Mr. W. Chesterman, Museum Assistant in the Department, has given me the benefit of his expert knowledge in the preparation of the illustrations. The objects of native manufacture which I brought home were skilfully photographed by Mr. P. J. Peade, also of the Departmental staff. These are now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum.

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[1] This paragraph was written before the Professor's death, and I have preferred not to alter it.

B. B.

DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN ANATOMY,
UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, OXFORD.
*July* 1934.

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# NOTE ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF NATIVE WORDS

The system of transliteration is based on the International Phonetic System, but the sign – is used to indicate length instead of the less familiar ː. Short vowels are left unmarked. The vowel sounds are subject to considerable individual variation, and the pronunciation here given is approximate only:

*a* as in Fr. *à la mode.*
*ā* as in calm.
*e* as in get.
*ē* as in Ger. *See* (approx. Engl. way, not a diphthong).
*i* as in sit.
*ī* as in eat.
*o* as in Fr. *robe* (approx. Eng. not).
*ō* as Fr. *chose* (approx. Engl. note).
*ɔ̄* as in ought, walk.
*u* as in put.
*ū* as in rule.
*ai* as in Ger. *Stein* (approx. Eng. my).
*au* as in Ger. *grau* (approx. Eng. how).
*oi* as in oil.
*iu* as in few.
*b d f k l m n p t v* as in English.
*g* as in go.
*ʃ* as in ship.
*h* as in hat.
*tʃ* as in patch.
*r* as in run.
*ʒ* as in judge.
*s* as in see.
*ŋ* as in singing.
*w* as in wet.
*ŋg* as in finger.

In personal and geographical names printed in roman characters, *tch* is substituted for *tʃ* and *ng* for *ŋ*. Accented syllables are marked ʹ. The symbol ʼ indicates the glottal stop, e.g. *baíʼi*, child.

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# INTRODUCTION

101 131 THE people whose lives are described in this book are the Melanesian inhabitants of the island of Buka and of the north coast of the island of Bougainville, separated by the narrow strip of turbulent water known as Buka Passage. These two, the most north-westerly of the Solomon Islands, have since 1920 formed part of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea. The locality was chosen as likely to afford me an opportunity of studying native life under relatively primitive conditions.

114 177 On September 28, 1929, I began work at Petats, a coral islet off the west coast of Buka, which had been recommended as a suitable starting-point for my inquiry. I soon realized, however, that the people of Buka as a whole, and of Petats in particular, had already come under the influence of the white man to such an extent that [198] much of their original mode of life had disappeared. As they themselves put it, speaking in pidgin-English: 'White man he capsize altogether something belong before.' It is true that the investigation of an erstwhile savage society is a most important part of present-day anthropology, but I had been instructed to study a primitive community. A journey round Buka proved that little was to be gained by moving to any of the villages there. Meanwhile, I had made the acquaintance of Mrs. Hadden, the daughter of the anthropologist R. Parkinson, author of *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*. At her suggestion I accepted an invitation from Pinari, the local headman, to come and stay at Kurtatchi, a village on the north coast of Bougainville, about ten miles east of Buka Passage. After a preliminary visit, I settled there on January 1, 1930. Owing partly to its being less easily accessible, and partly to the conservatism of its people, I found at Kurtatchi conditions approximating somewhat more closely to what they had been before the coming of the white man, though, as will be evident from my report, far from being unchanged. The bulk of my information was obtained at this village, which was my home for nine months; the villages of Tabut and Ruri, on either side of it, providing valuable additional and corroborative data.

114 The following somewhat personal notes on the manner in which I lived and worked are given in order to make quite clear the

circumstances under which the material in this report was collected. 114

On arriving at Petats I started immediately to work on the 114
language, and was making good headway when I decided to move
to Kurtatchi. Here I had to begin afresh upon a new dialect. The 197
vocabulary differs considerably from that of Petats, but as the 126
syntax is similar, my previous work was not altogether wasted.
Beginning by making use of pidgin-English, with which all the [198]
younger men (but not the women nor the older people of either
sex) were familiar, I gradually substituted the native dialect for conversational and working purposes, and eventually was able to use it with some degree of freedom in the give and take of everyday life, and for writing down what my informants told me. For this purpose I used a simplified form of the International Phonetic System. When taking down stories, and anything else that required to be recorded verbatim, I had little difficulty in getting the narrators to speak at a pace which I was able to follow with my pen.

None of these people had any acquaintance with standard 198
English, pidgin-English being the universal medium of converse
between them and the whites. As interpreters, I chose carefully 124
the men who possessed the best knowledge of pidgin-English. 126
One man, Matarē (whose photograph appears in Pl. 11), in particular was very useful to me, being interested, careful, and more articulate than the others. With him, and some others, I went over the greater part of my material (omitting, of course, information given to me in confidence), interlining my note-books with a pidgin-English translation, in the course of which I was able to get unfamiliar words explained to me, thus often opening up some
new line of inquiry. Unfortunately for me, the local dialects differ [197]
almost from village to village, so I was obliged to fall back on pidgin-English as a lingua franca whenever I worked outside a limited area. In such cases I had to content myself with taking down in dialect the key words only.

At Petats I lived in the rest-house which is maintained for the 123
use of Government officials. At Kurtatchi I had a house built specially for me. I was given a site in the new part of the village, facing two lines of huts. There the villagers, working under my direction, constructed a house and outbuildings which proved admirably suited to my needs, with a good verandah, from which I could watch what was going on in the village while I wrote up

123 my notes. The photograph which forms the frontispiece to this volume was taken from it; the heads of the zinnias in my garden can be seen at the foot of the picture. The villagers were encouraged to make use of certain portions of this verandah. Men, women, and children freely availed themselves of this permission, enjoying the shade as they sat and worked, making string or nets, minding [276] babies, playing at cat's-cradles, or chatting while they smoked or chewed betel. From such casual and unstudied contact I learned a great deal. Many evenings were spent in telling stories, when [517] tellers and listeners would crowd round my big lamp, which gave them great pleasure.

114 I secured as my servant a young man named Ross, a native of Petats, who had worked for white people and knew what was required of him. He came with me to Kurtatchi, and soon made himself at home there, although at first he could not understand the local dialect. He served me faithfully and well. I could always leave my establishment safely in his charge, even for several days at a time, and count upon returning, after some strenuous expedition, to a clean house and a good meal. He was bitterly disappointed that he could not come home with me.

123 To enlist the interested co-operation of the natives, it was sufficient to tell them that my people, who lived very far away, had sent me to see what kind of folk they were, what they did, and what sort of things they could make, saying that this was my work, just as their work was fishing and gardening, and that my *tsunaun* (Chief) would be pleased if I could tell him all about them when I went home. This personal note particularly appealed to them, and they would sometimes say, in explaining something I had not properly understood: 'We do not want you to tell your *tsunaun* anything about us that is not true.' Note-book, typewriter, and camera were accepted without question as aids to my work, the two latter arousing great interest.

After I had been resident among them for a little while, they began to come and tell me when anything special was going to take place, in case I wished to be present. When a feast was held I was always invited, and they were delighted when, under the sponsorship of the women, I took part in their dances. During my morning stroll round the village I was sure to be asked to join in some one or other of the day's activities, an invitation which I frequently accepted, gaining thereby a practical acquaintance with their

methods of hunting, fishing, and gardening, &c., as well as consolidating my position and getting to know them more intimately. 123
That they accepted me as a member of the community they showed when, on my return from a journey, they performed the appropriate ceremony for me as they would for one of themselves under like circumstances, and clinched it by saying: 'Now you really belong to us.' I received invitations from the people of several other villages to come and live with them. This was, of course, impossible in the time at my disposal, but whenever I paid them a short visit I was always received most hospitably.

In working among the women I took all the advantage I could of my sex, and although I found them less articulate than the men, they were, I feel sure, on much more intimate terms with me than they would have been with a man, besides admitting me to their huts during parturition, when all males are excluded. Among the men, however, it became a recognized convention to ignore the fact that I was a woman, and I was allowed to learn their secrets and to handle objects, such as the bull-roarer and the stone fish used in bonito magic, which are kept from sight and knowledge of their own womenfolk. Although I was careful to deserve their confidence, I do not think this prejudiced my position among the women at all, since it was understood that it was part of my work to know about the men as well as about themselves.

I often accompanied my native friends on their journeys and 101
thus became acquainted with the greater part of Buka and its 648
associated islets, the whole length of the north coast of Bougainville, and portions of the mountainous hinterland. Between the inhabitants of Buka and those of the north coast of Bougainville there is at the present time, and probably always has been, close social contact, including frequent intermarriage. As will be seen in the chapters that follow, the structure of their society, their clans and their kinship system, are fundamentally the same, and allowing for local variations, there seems sufficient resemblance to indicate that this whole area may be considered as a cultural unit. It extends down the east coast of Bougainville as far as Numanuma, and down the west coast for a shorter distance, the limits of which I was unable to determine exactly. The Hahon people (Wawon in the Kurtatchi dialect, which has no *h* sound) inhabiting the foothills behind the northern shore do not intermarry with the coast people, with perhaps some rare exceptions, and in their intercourse

there still remain traces of the hostility that formerly prevailed. 101
There would appear to be some affinity, both in language and in 648
culture, between these two groups, but the slight amount of contact I had with the Hahon people was insufficient to enable me to classify them exactly. The Kunua people, inhabiting the north-central highlands and a portion of the coast about twenty miles south of its north-western corner, differ so much, both in customs and in language, from the people among whom I lived, that even a short visit was enough to indicate that they should probably be considered as a separate cultural entity. The coast folk are still very much afraid of the Kunua people, though there is no longer open warfare between them. They meet but rarely, chiefly on ceremonial occasions, such as those connected with the adolescent boys. These meetings are always characterized by a noticeable feeling of tension.

This book is primarily concerned with the people of the north 121
coast of Bougainville, particularly its western half. With certain exceptions, discussed in their appropriate context, most of the information here given also holds good of the people of Buka, except in so far as changes have been introduced there by contact with whites. Since there are local differences, not due to white influence, I have been careful to give, in all cases, the exact locality from which each piece of information was obtained. Data concerning the provenance of which nothing is said, were collected at Kurtatchi from inhabitants of that village.

The culture of these people is disappearing with increasing [177]
rapidity, and their ideas on every subject are being changed day by day through contact with those of our own civilization. It therefore seemed imperative to make my investigation cover as much of their lives as possible. Though the information I have gathered is necessarily affected by the limitations imposed both by time and by my personal predilections and training, I have tried to put on record the most outstanding features of a *modus vivendi* which will, for better or for worse, in a very short time have been altered beyond recognition or recall.

[p. xxiv is blank]

# I

# THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

ALTHOUGH the French navigator, Bougainville, discovered the island which bears his name in 1768, and also sailed up the coast of Buka, the north-western end of the long chain of the Solomon Islands seems to have been left more or less to itself long after the south-eastern portion of the archipelago was beginning to be known. On the map illustrating Codrington's book *The Melanesians*, published in 1891, Buka is represented as an unnamed peninsula attached to the northern extremity of Bougainville. 131 The first reference I can find to the strip of water that actually divides the island of Buka from its much larger south-eastern neighbour is that of Parkinson (1907, p. 467), who, using its German name of König Albert Strasse, says that he was the first white man to traverse it, which he did in 1886. It is hardly surprising that this strait, now called Buka Passage, was missed by the early explorers, since it is scarcely half a mile wide for most of its two miles or so of length, and is narrowest towards its eastern end, past which they seem to have sailed, probably at a respectful distance, for tides and currents are tricky hereabouts, and the reefs exceedingly dangerous. 131 133

Northwards from the western end of 'The Passage' stretches the long coral reef which skirts the western coast of Buka, at a distance of about two miles from the shore. It is marked by a line of surf at its edge, and studded with a string of tiny coral islands, of which Petats, my first place of residence, is one. Between Petats and the next island, Yamē, the reef is exposed at low tide, so that it is possible to walk from one to the other, but between Yamē and Pororan, a distance of perhaps eight or ten miles, there is a gap in the reef allowing small vessels to pass. The expanse of water between the reef and the Buka shore (locally known as 'the lagoon', though it is open at both ends) is usually calm, though short sharp storms are apt to arise suddenly. The bottom affords good anchorage, and this, combined with the fact that the hills of Buka stand away a little, in many places, from the coast, has led to the establishment of several coco-nut plantations on the west side of the 133

133 island. On the east side there are precipitous cliffs either dropping
straight to the shore or leaving just enough space on the beach for
[361] a row of native huts, fronting the open sea. A reef skirts this coast
also, but close inshore.

131 The island of Buka is about thirty-five miles long, and eight or
133 nine wide at the widest part, narrowing very much at both ends.
Its most northerly point extends almost to latitude 5° S., its
137 longitude being 154° 40″. The interior of the southern half of the
island is covered with thickly forested hills, formed of dolomitic
limestone, fairly steep in places but of no great height, dotted with
native villages. The northern half is flat, and its interior is used by
the natives principally for their gardens, the villages here being
confined to the coast. There are no rivers on the east side, but on
the west the coast-line is broken by several small streams and one
larger river, the Gagan, formed by the junction of two streams
[136] about a couple of miles from its mouth. It is lined by mangrove
swamps full of crocodiles, and provides the natives with abundance
of river reeds to use for thatch in default of sago-palm which is
rather scarce.

133 Bougainville is one of the largest of the Solomon Islands, about
160 miles in length with a width of 35–40 miles. This book is concerned
with the inhabitants of its northern shore. At 'The Passage'
the land is almost flat, but as one passes westwards there is a gradual
rise, till about ten miles from the western end the cliffs have
reached a height of perhaps 200 to 250 feet. They consist of dolomitic
[417] limestone, dropping steeply to the sea, but climbable in many
places with the aid of notched logs at the steepest parts (see
Pl. 2 *a*). They are covered with vegetation wherever a crack or a
crevice enables the smallest amount of soil to accumulate. A coral
reef comprising many species, but largely composed of a variety of
Hexacorallia,[1] lines the shore. At its outer edge great breakers
crash incessantly on all but a very few days in the year, making it
an exciting business to launch a canoe through the surf. Owing to
the difficulty of approaching it by sea, this portion of the coast
[361] offers little inducement to white settlers, and is occupied by a
string of native villages, among them Kurtatchi, my head-quarters
for nine months. Towards the north-eastern corner of the island

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[1] For the identification of this and other geological specimens which I brought home I am indebted to Mr. C. J. Bayzand, University Demonstrator in Geology, Oxford.

PLATE I

133
501

*a.* BUKA PASSAGE

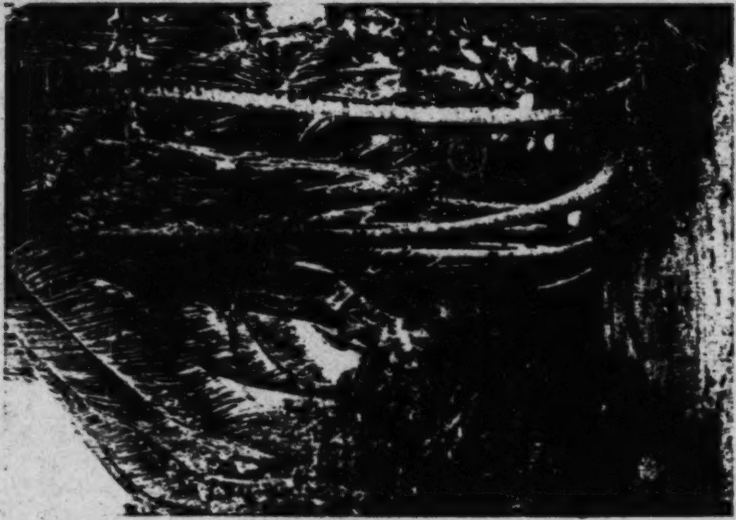
133
142

*b.* BEACH AT TARONGEN

[facing p.2]

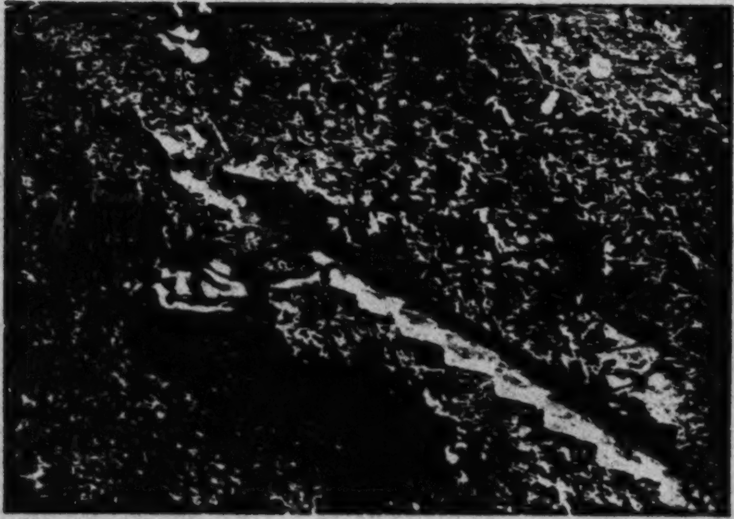
PLATE 2

491



*b.* THE GOVERNMENT ROAD

417



*a.* THE WAY TO THE SHORE

[Facing p.3]

the coast is broken by three large inlets, allowing of safe anchorage 133 for schooners, with comparatively easy access to the shore, and so affording sites for coco-nut plantations, maintained for the production of copra, which, except for a little fishing for trochus shell, is the only possibility the country offers to white men. Between and behind these plantations are more native villages. [361] The hinterland soon breaks into foot-hills, and behind these rises range after range of heavily forested mountains, a difficult region, much of which has not yet been explored. The interior is volcanic, culminating, as far as the northern half of the island is concerned, in the [775] active volcano Balbi (9,500 ft.), an object of mysterious dread to the natives, who place there the home of their dead.

The peninsula at the north-western end of the island, the scene of many of the activities described in the following pages, slopes gently down from the cliffs on its northern shore, to a flat sandy beach bordering the bay which forms its southern boundary, some five miles distant (Pl. 1 *b*). The interior of this peninsula is covered with what I take to be secondary forest; the whole of it has probably [244] been cleared at one time or another by the natives for their taro gardens, the positions of which they must change frequently.

A cleared track, known as 'the Government road', runs round the 491 greater part of the coast of Buka, and, in places, when sufficiently dry, is possible for wheeled vehicles, enabling the planters to run a lorry for the collection of copra. There is a similar road along the north coast of Bougainville and down the east coast for some ninety miles, as far as Kieta, the place of residence of the District Officer and the only settlement other than isolated plantations on the island. This road is, in dry weather, also practicable for wheeled traffic for rather more than ten miles to the east of Buka [133] Passage, but after that it encounters the Umu Mountains, which, though not high, are steep, and thenceforward a succession of rivers (innocent of bridges) and hilly patches make it improbable that the road will be available for any but pedestrians for a long time to come. It affords pleasant walking, and is much used by the natives in their numerous comings and goings, to visit relatives, to exchange commodities, or merely for fun. [651] The people of each village are held responsible for keeping in traversable condition the stretch of road for a certain distance on either side of their village. [462] They are supposed to work on it one day a week. The women do most of the work.

Except for this road, there are only single file tracks leading from 137
village to village or to the taro gardens. Behind the villages there [487]
stretches for interminable miles the almost impenetrable tangle of large trees, small trees, shrubs, and rank undergrowth, well garnished with thorny creepers and hanging vines, which is characteristic of a tropical forest. Apart from the clearings made by the natives for planting, the only breaks in the maze of 'bush' are caused by treeless patches covered with imperata grass, often growing to a height of 3 or 4 feet. It is quite impossible to make any use of these patches as the grass overpowers everything. Even on the plantations no method has been found of eradicating it permanently. The natives burn it occasionally, but they know from experience that it is no use trying to grow anything in its place.

## CLIMATE

I was not equipped for collecting meteorological data, but I 132
made detailed notes in my diary every day as to the weather, and took readings from a thermometer (hung in the shade on my verandah) at fixed times as regularly as circumstances permitted. The result of these observations is shown in the diagrams. It will be noted that the range of variation as between the coldest and the hottest part of the day is much greater than that between the means for different months. This indicates that there is no marked change in the seasons, no period when growth is in a state of quiescence, as it is in winter in England. The trees are never bare (except the [137]
kapiok, which is an importation), but a few leaves are always falling while at the same time fresh buds appear. Instead of autumn tints there is always a touch of red or yellow in the breadfruit trees where some enormous leaf is ready to fall, making a patch of vivid colour in the midst of a mass of green. It follows that the people [221]
continue their daily round of hunting, fishing, cultivation of gardens, house- and canoe-building in much the same manner throughout the little-changing year, having no such well-marked cycle of activities as characterizes the lives of those living in countries with pronounced seasonal differences.

As can be deduced from their situation, the Solomon Islands have a tropical climate with a heavy rainfall. The rain usually comes in sharp bursts, often in the afternoon after a bright morning, and clears away rapidly. There may be several days with only a slight shower or two, but after such a period will come a

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

132

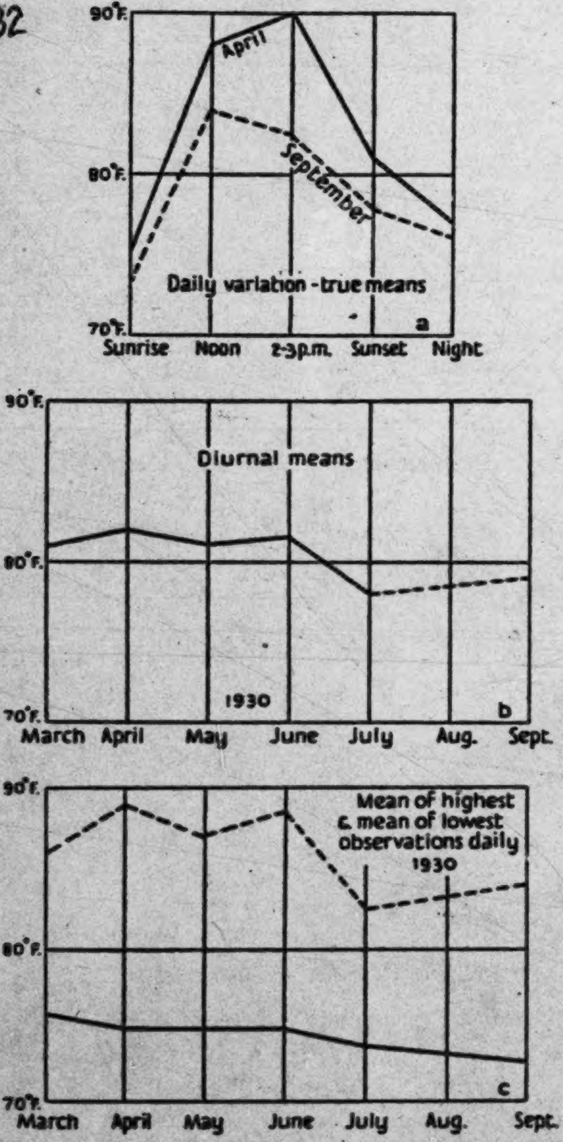


FIG. 1. Temperature at Kurtatchi, 1930

[p. 5]

132 tropical downpour lasting for several hours, sometimes so heavy as to present a solid wall of water blocking out the trees a few yards away. The natives say that it will rain on the day following one which has been exceptionally hot, and this I found to be true. While the south-east winds are blowing—usually from April or May till about November—there is less rain than in the time of the north-west winds, but these islands do not lie in the path of the definite trade-winds, and the difference throughout the year is relatively small. I had no rain gauge, but I obtained the records kept at Soraken Plantation for approximately the period of my residence, and those for the Government Station at Kieta for the same period. These are represented graphically in Fig. 2. They are not strictly applicable to Kurtatchi, owing to the difference in situation, but they will serve to give some idea of the rainfall in the area as a whole. As recorded in my diary, the month with the greatest number of days on which rain fell was February, with 21, but there were 20 in October. The month with fewest days on which rain fell was June (9), and the longest consecutive period without rain in the day-time or any appreciable amount at night was 14 days, from July 30 to August 12 inclusive. Rivers are liable to become suddenly swollen at any time after rain in the mountains; the larger ones are then formidable obstacles to the movements of the natives, as they rapidly become unfordable.

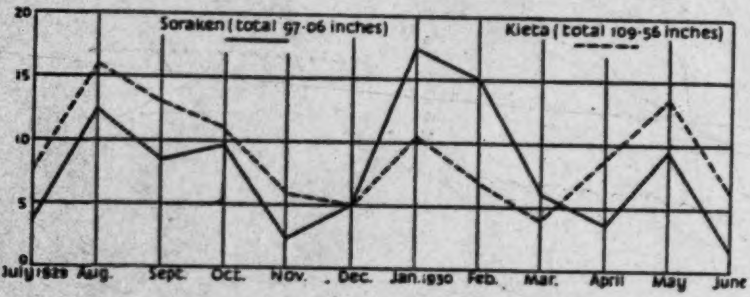


FIG. 2. Precipitation recorded at Soraken and at Kieta.

As regards wind, I made occasional, but not regular, observations on the movements of clouds with the aid of a prismatic compass. The prevailing wind throughout the year was south-east, veering to south-west at times during November, December, January, and February, with some north-west wind in January.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

This corresponds fairly closely with the observations recorded at 132
Kieta. According to the statements of white residents, there would
appear to have been much less north-west wind during the year I
spent on the islands than is usually the case. Possibly in years
when this change in the direction of the wind is more marked,
there may be a more definite 'rainy season' than was experienced
by me. The islands are outside the hurricane belt. Only on two
occasions (Jan. 11 and July 9, 1930) was the wind strong enough
to do real damage to the native huts, which are not built to withstand a gale. The former of these was remarked by the white
residents as being a south-east wind, unusual at that time, when the
north-west wind should have been blowing. The direction and
force of the wind are important to the natives because when a
heavy sea is running their fishing operations are badly hampered,
and this, if continued for more than a day or two, means insufficient
variety of diet.

## NATIVE REACTION TO CLIMATE

All these people feel the cold very much. They dislike rain, 151
partly because it brings cold, but also for the wetting, and when
forced to go out in it will cut a large leaf, probably of bush taro, [293]
to use as an umbrella. During a spell of wet weather, with the
thermometer on my verandah ranging somewhere in the 70's
instead of the usual 80–90°, they went about with their shoulders
hunched and their arms folded across their chests, looking the
picture of misery. Any blankets or towels that they happened to
possess were wrapped round them, and the few proud owners of
a white man's vest or coat wore it day and night. They seemed to
begin to feel cold wherever the temperature dropped below 80°.
Fires would be lighted, and a group would soon gather round, [372]
sitting almost on the top of them, or people would light torches of
coco-nut-palm leaves and hold them close to their bodies. I have
seen them take a smouldering log and all but burn their skins
with it.

They will work all day in blazing sun in the taro garden or fishing on the reef if the spirit moves them. But they do not sit in the [461]
sun, and they keep their children out of it. A mother may be [854]
obliged to take her baby with her when she goes to search for shellfish on the reef, but she will keep its head carefully under her
hood. The more enterprising put up shelters behind their houses [342]
to give them shade,

151 to give them shade. Any one who remains in the village all day will retire inside the hut during the hottest hours, when the village will appear deserted. They say: 'The sun fights us.' But they very much enjoy sunshine when it is not too hot. Every morning soon after sunrise they bask in it for a while before taking up the business of the day, and they have a word, *wapōtan*, which means 'to sunbathe' (*wa*, verbal prefix, *pōtan* = sun).

### IDEAS REGARDING NATURAL PHENOMENA

821 Rain is produced by the 'medicine' of the rain-maker (this is described on pp. 312 ff.). He has control also of wind, thunder, and lightning. There used to be men who knew the medicine to make the sunshine, but they have all died without passing on their knowledge, and now there is no one who can control fine weather. There is medicine to influence the tides, which a malicious person sometimes uses to make a very high tide which will wash away from the beach the canoes of a man against whom he has a grudge.

The crescent moon is *dʒiwau tsutsūnē* ('the little moon') and the full moon *dʒiwau tʃan* ('the big moon'). I did not learn of any names for the quarters. There is a widespread story explaining how the moon got into the sky, of which I have several versions. The one here given comes from Saposa, and is interesting as showing that the Melanesians, like ourselves, see a 'man in the moon'.[1]

### *Story of the Man in the Moon.*

773
531 Morena (the creator of the people and the origin of their culture, further described on p. 38 f.) and a woman called Tchinaverat and a man called Bekinatun (who figures also as the hero of other stories) worked in the taro garden at night. Tchinaverat and Bekinatun worked in the dark, but when Morena wanted to work she took the moon, which she kept hidden in the roots of a tree, and set it against a tree trunk to give her light to work by. At last Bekinatun and Tchinaverat hid and spied on her, to find out how she got her light. They saw her take out the moon and work by the light it gave her. They came up to Morena. When she saw that they had seen the moon she said: 'Now this thing must go up on top.' So she sent Bekinatun up with the moon. When you see something inside the moon that looks like an axe, that is Bekinatun, he lives in the moon. Morena said to him: 'You go and stop in

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[1] Another, given in my paper in *Folk-Lore* (March 1932), also accounts for the stars.

the moon, and light up all the land. If you like you can break the moon 773
in half; half shall be the moon, half shall be the sun; presently half shall
be hot and half shall be cold, half shall be light in the daytime and half 539
shall be light in the night.' So Bekinatun did as she said, and now he lives in the moon. He does not like to live in the sun, it is too hot. So the sun is empty. Morena said: 'If you like you can put Tchinaverat in the sun.' Bekinatun said: 'Tchinaverat can't stay in the sun, it is too hot; she will die, she must stay in the moon.' So now Bekinatun and Tchinaverat are husband and wife, they stop in the moon. Bekinatun carries an axe, Tchinaverat sits down beside Bekinatun's basket of betel-nut. When the moon is only a half circle, Bekinatun is keeping the other half shut up; when it is full, Bekinatun has opened it again, because he likes the moon to be large.

At Kurtatchi the man is called Tsōdir, and his wife Tchinaveran. 773
Two stars near the moon are her children, one in her arms and
one on her back. When there is no moon they say that it is dead. 821
One of the more sophisticated men once asked me: 'What makes the moon die?'

There are names for many of the stars, and for groups of stars, 821
sometimes, but not always, corresponding to our constellations. The Pleiades, for example, are called Wermis, and represent a man and a heap of stones, associated with a story about a man of that name, who left his companions in order to get stones with which to crack canarium almonds, as he said, but really to eat pig all by himself. His companions set a watch on him and found out the way he was tricking them. In these latitudes the Pleiades are not visible during the time when the almonds are ripe, i.e. from May to about the end of August, and the people say that Wermis has gone to collect stones to crack the almonds, as told in the story. Another version has it that one star in the group represents a stone and the others are the birds that gather to eat the almonds.

Orion's belt is called Wadi'i'gu, and represents two men carrying a pig on a pole. The other stars in this constellation are the dogs. The morning star is called Suetoan, which seems to be a name only, but the star which comes up some little time before dawn is called Gengenien, which means 'chase away fish', because the man fishing at night knows that when the fish see this star they go away into the deep sea and that it is useless to stay out any longer. Another group of stars is called 'Isu ien pa Tchibo', and represents a crocodile which is trying to eat a string of fish belonging to Tchibo (a legendary being about whom further details are

821 given on p. 528). Others are Tsonara the fisherman (*ara* = to catch fish with rod and hook); Ataras, the pinna shell; Kuka, the crab; Toa, the fowl; Idetesoan, men carrying a prisoner on a stretcher (*tesoan*) to the place where he is to be eaten; Bannus, a bird with wings spread and an almond in his mouth. Another group represents two men with a dog behind them, pursued by a crocodile which is trying to eat the dog, and another, two brothers, one of whom is teaching the other how to copulate. The Milky Way is called Ru'in (= water) and is thought to be a river. The tides are connected with a constellation called Bobo, which is supposed to resemble a fish. When Bobo sets into the sea the tide comes in and swallows up the shore, i.e. there is an exceptionally high tide. When Bobo twinkles, it is because the fish is eating a stone.

[184 502] The people living on the east coast of Buka have more knowledge of the stars than those of the north coast of Bougainville, because they use them for guidance on long voyages in big plank canoes, the Bougainville people contenting themselves with much shorter local journeys. The Kurtatchi people told me this, and it was confirmed by inquiries made on a visit to Hanahan (E. Buka), where I obtained a detailed description of a canoe being steered by the stars to the island of Nissan (see p. 381). At Kurtatchi the people were not much interested in these matters, and few knew anything about them.

## FLORA AND FAUNA

000 I can make no attempt to give a scientific account of the flora and fauna of the region. It seems to be essentially similar to that of other parts of Melanesia, which has been described by Guppy and others. The following notes are given in order to provide a picture of the environment in which the natives live and work, and on the products of which they are dependent for their subsistence and for the means of manufacturing practically all of their material possessions.

824 192 All, even the children, have an extraordinarily detailed knowledge of the trees, shrubs, and even of the small plants and grasses that grow in their locality. Many of these are, of course, utilized in some way or other, as food, or for 'making medicine', or in connexion with one or other of the native crafts. But they can

give a name even to those which they say are of no use to them. 824
Unfortunately, in many cases I was unable to identify the plants 192
of which the native names were given to me.[1] Sometimes the same term will be used for a number of plants of similar habits of growth, e.g. *wanis*, fairly translatable by our generic word 'grass', and *kurits*, used for a hanging vine or creeper, often as a prefix attached to another word. There is a generic word for 'tree'—*no'on*, which also means wood, especially firewood (*kuip no'on*, to cut firewood, one of the women's daily tasks).

Some of the trees appear not to be indigenous. Mrs. Hadden 137
told me that her father, Mr. Parkinson, the anthropologist, who was the first white man to live in this region (about forty years ago), introduced some of the citrus fruits and other useful trees, which have since spread rapidly throughout the area.

The natives cultivate coco-nut palms, areca palms, and bananas,
as well as taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) and other vegetables (some [245]
account of their food plants is given in Chapter VIII). Breadfruit trees and canarium almonds are highly prized, the position of each one is known, and they are always spared when fresh
ground is cleared for a new taro garden. Some of the trees which 137
go to make up the uncut bush yield a hard timber which is found 313
useful by the resident whites for building and for piles, especially such as withstand the ravages of salt water. But the difficulty of transportation renders these of no commercial value. The natives use them for house-posts and other purposes, but prefer the soft-timbered trees for their canoes. The most striking objects in the bush are huge trees with enormous flanges buttressing their trunks,
and the aerial roots of the banyans, which serve the natives as [342]
ridge poles for their huts. Several different kinds of palm and of bamboo are used for a variety of purposes. A big carophyllum tree is a frequent landmark on the lee shore, affording welcome shade under which the men sit mending their nets and the women making hoods or baskets or playing with their babies. A large fallen trunk on the beach at Petats was a favourite gathering-place for all. Parts of the shore are covered with mangrove swamps, which make landing impossible.

Of smaller growth, there are several kinds of croton and hibiscus, 137 262

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[1] For the identification of some of them I am indebted to the authorities of Kew Gardens. A list of these will be found in Appendix III. Others I have recognized from the description given by Guppy.

137 many other shrubs, a large variety of ferns and mosses, and in-
[262] numerable fungi, some of which are eaten. Creepers and epiphytes
of all kinds abound, but there are fewer orchids than are reported
from other islands: a small white variety is the most common. The
abundance of rattan and other thorny plants makes progress
[487] through uncut bush a slow and sometimes painful business, and as
a path that is little used very soon becomes overgrown, no one
ever goes any distance into the bush without a knife.

The bush is disappointing in its lack of colour. It is all too
green. Not only are the flowers few and far between—partly owing
[309] to the fact that a native will never pass a flowering shrub without
taking his toll of its blossoms to put in his hair—but the birds and
136 the butterflies also are less brilliant than I had expected. There are
some bright red and blue parrots, and the cockatoos, dazzlingly
white in the sunshine, are conspicuous amid the foliage, but otherwise the birds are not striking, except the hornbill, with his extraordinary yellow beak and the whirr of his wings, which is one of the most characteristic sounds of the forest. There are several varieties of pigeon, called in imitation of its plaintive note, *kūrō*, and numbers of small birds, of which the most noticeable is a species of wagtail. Butterflies, though very large, are mostly black or brown, flecked or striped with white, but there is also a very beautiful black one with small iridescent bluish-green patches on its smaller wings.

The bush abounds with life, but nearly all the creatures are of small size. The largest animal is the wild pig, which if you meet it is usually far more frightened than ferocious, unless it is wounded, or has young. The cuscus opossum, or phalanger, which lives in the holes of hollow trees, attains to about the size of a large cat. Flying foxes in great numbers keep up their short sharp bark nearly all night, and what with them and the frogs, and some insect of the grasshopper tribe (called by the natives *nen-nen*, because its note sounds like these syllables repeated in a high-pitched voice), the bush is never silent except perhaps for an hour
or so before dawn. Iguanas and all kinds of small lizards are
plentiful, and there are also snakes, whether poisonous or not I
[825] cannot say. The natives are afraid of them, and kill them on sight,
if possible, by beating them with a stick. The large coco-nut-eating
land-crab (from Guppy's description I take this to be *Birgus latro*)
is an odd sight. These natives do not eat it, as do others elsewhere,

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

These natives do not eat it[1], as do others elsewhere, but they amuse themselves by catching one and trailing it round 136 the village on the end of a string, to a chant of 'Tin-tin-tarum, [524] tin-tin-ta-a-a-a-a-rum'.

The only domestic animals are dogs and pigs. There are no 231 transport animals, no cattle, and no sheep. A horse was imported during my stay for the use of the priest; it caused great excitement among the Kurtatchi people, who called it *wōs*, having no *h* in their dialect. The dogs, every variety of mongrel, are valued in proportion to their prowess in hunting, and are kept on short rations to make them fierce. The domestic pigs are of the black-skinned, long-snouted variety, and do not differ in appearance from the wild pigs that roam the bush. They are known to their owners individually, are treated as pets, and come to be fed when called.

### PERSONAL APPEARANCE OF THE NATIVES

In the present volume only a brief general account of the personal appearance of the people will be given, as their racial type 142 will be discussed in detail in another publication, in conjunction with the analysis of my series of physical measurements and observations.

The natives of Buka and North Bougainville differ in several respects from their near neighbours, the inhabitants of the south-eastern Solomon Islands. The most obvious difference is in the very much darker skin colour of the northern gr[illegible] of whom the majority are as nearly black as human skin ever attains. Some [517] individuals, however, possess skins of a somewhat lighter colour with a slightly reddish tinge; this is much admired. The eyes are invariably dark brown. The hair is either black or very dark brown. It usually stands out from the head in a frizzly mop, like that of the natives of New Guinea, but less striking because it is kept shorter. If left uncombed and uncut, as in the case of boys [881 who have not finished their puberty ceremonies, it hangs in a series 302] of tight ringlets and may reach below the waist (see Pl. 29). Curly and wavy hair is sometimes seen, and occasionally hair that is almost straight. Facial hair is sparse and bristly. I did not see any natives with a full beard, but some keep a little hair on the upper lip. The majority depilate their facial hair by means of a 302 shell (probably a species of *Tapes*, Pl. 38, no. 7), either a single one used like a razor, or a double one used like a pair of tweezers. They

[1] [i.e., the large, coconut-eating land crab (Birgus latro?). — Analyst]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

302 hold this in one hand and work it very quickly, using neither water nor soap. Some use bits of broken glass when they can get them. Nowadays a few of the younger men have razors, which they use dry in the same manner. Body hair may be almost entirely absent or quite plentiful, with all intermediate conditions. An unusually hairy individual is shown in Pl. 78. Body hair is not depilated.

The features vary greatly, especially the nose. Besides the flat bridge and broad nostril of the Negroid type, there will not uncommonly be seen a nose with a high bridge and a pronounced profile. Some people have a peculiar curl of the nostrils which gives an almost Jewish appearance to the face. This was noticed by Guppy (1887, p. 216) and has been the subject of comment by many observers. The majority of people are only moderately prognathous, but extreme prognathism is sometimes seen, while a few are almost orthognathous. The lips are thick, but usually not everted as in the Negro.

In general these people are of medium height. The arms and legs are long in proportion to the length of the trunk. They are almost without exception spare of build, and usually very thin. I saw no men who could be described as stout, and only two or three women; these were stocky rather than actually fat. One girl with a tendency to plumpness was much teased by her companions, who called her 'Poŋot'—'Fatty'. She seemed to take it in good part.
[164] The children are nearly all pot-bellied, owing to malarial enlargement of the spleen; the condition is temporarily exaggerated by a full meal. In both sexes the body musculature is well developed, but the extremities are thin, particularly the legs, which have often a stick-like appearance, due to poor development of the muscles of the calf. The hips are slender, this being particularly noticeable in the younger women, and the buttocks are often very prominent in both sexes. Both men and women have an erect carriage, and many are very graceful in their movements.

144 There is no appreciable amount of white blood in the veins of these natives up to the present time. The very few individuals who possess it, all of whom are known to everybody in the neighbourhood, are either mission teachers or store assistants, and have come,
144 with their wives, from other islands. The local natives definitely deprecate admixture. The men do not permit their women to go
186 as servants to the white settlers, as the women of other islands are

accustomed to do, neither have the women, in so far as they dis- 144
cussed the subject with me, any desire to do so. They always
remain at home when their husbands go away to work as indentured 186
labourers, and apart from occasional visits to a plantation with
loads of copra for sale, they come very little into contact with
white people, so far as the area with which I am familiar is con-
cerned. No case of Melanesian-White mixture was ever mentioned
in our many discussions on parentage arising out of the collection
of genealogies and other aspects of my investigation, and though
I saw a Chinese half-breed child at a mission school in the centre
of Buka, I believe this also to be exceptional.

## LANGUAGE[1]

The dialects spoken on the island of Buka and on the north 197
coast of Bougainville are all of Melanesian stock, with a Papuan element. There is very considerable difference in vocabulary in the different districts, sometimes varying from village to village.

The Petats dialect, spoken also on the neighbouring islands of Pororan and Hitau, has been reduced to writing by the Rev. A. H. Cropp, of the Methodist Mission. It differs somewhat from the dialects spoken on the mainland of Buka, which fall roughly into two groups, one comprising the west coast villages and one for those of the east coast. The dialect of the hill villages in the centre part of the island is different from either, but on the whole falls into line with the East Buka group. That of the cluster of tiny islands off the north-western corner of Bougainville, called collectively Saposa, has special sound changes not found elsewhere in this area, e.g. it alone of all the dialects studied possesses an *f* sound, which occurs in words whose cognates in other dialects have either *h* or *w* (as in Saposa *fūnu*, Petats *hūlu*, Kurtatchi *wūnu* = hair). When these have been allowed for, the Saposa dialect conforms to the general type. All these dialects are mutually intelligible.

On moving from Petats to Kurtatchi, I found there a dialect similar in construction, but, except for some words which are widespread throughout Melanesia, almost entirely different in

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[1] The hitherto available material illustrating these dialects is now being studied by Mr. S. H. Ray, to whom I am indebted for confirming my grouping. I have given here only such details concerning the language as bear directly upon inter-communication among the natives, and are therefore relevant to the purpose of this book.

197 vocabulary, so much so that my Petats servant, a man of rather over the average of local intelligence, was unable at first to understand it, and carried on his converse with the Kurtatchi people in pidgin-English. He picked it up, however, in the course of a short time. This dialect is spoken also in the villages of Baniu and Timputs, farther along the coast of Bougainville to the east, and in one hamlet of Tabut, the next village on the west. The other hamlets of Tabut, the villages between Tabut and Buka Passage, and the village of Ruri, about four miles from Kurtatchi on its eastern side, speak dialects much more closely resembling those of the east coast of Buka, particularly that of the Hanahan district. The Hanahan dialect seems to be at least partially intelligible to many, if not most, of the people of the North Bougainville coast, and is used by the Roman Catholic Mission for their services.

The small amount of linguistic evidence available as regards the dialect spoken in the Kunua mountain district suggests that it belongs to a separate group altogether. Mr. Ray thinks that it may be regarded as Papuan. It is completely unintelligible to the coast natives, as are the coastal dialects to the Kunua people. [648] Failure to comprehend each other's speech has probably always been an important factor in the attitude of hostility, now subsided into thinly veiled suspicion, which is traditional between the coast dwellers and the people of the central mountains, who, when investigated, will, I feel sure, prove to differ in many important cultural respects from the people described in the present volume, although they associate with them in certain matters, notably in the boys' puberty ceremonies.

197 621 With this exception, the linguistic differences are not sufficient to prove a bar to inter-communication between the various villages, though a closer connexion is maintained between villages speaking similar dialects. [582 591 604] The custom of taking wives from outside the home village links them together, especially as a married couple will frequently reside now in one, now in the other, of their respective homes, and the children will be sent to stay for long periods in the household of their mother's brother. [438] Communication between villages is also established by means of meetings for barter, which is carried on even where relations are not otherwise especially friendly.

484 624 Considering the difficulty of travel, which must all be done either on foot or by canoe, the natives range over quite a large area. For

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

example, I found that the Petats people were familiar with all the small islands along the reef, and with the villages on the west coast of Buka, from Lontis in the north to Novar on the south, with all of which their genealogies showed that they had intermarried. They also associated with certain, but not all, of the villages of Central Buka, such as Sapani and Kohiso, and with Malasang on the east coast, whither they went to trade for pots. They were much less at home with the people of the north and east, whose affinities are mostly with the Bougainville coast. The difference came out in the demeanour of my companions on a tramp round the island during which we stayed at most of the principal villages. 464 621 439

The people of Kurtatchi have friendly contact with all the villages along the north coast of Bougainville, those of Tabut, Timputs, and Baniu, which speak the same dialect, being their closest affiliations. They are distrustful of the Hahon people living in the villages of the foot-hills behind the coast-line, though they do, on occasion, trade with them and attend their ceremonies. Several of the people of Kurtatchi originally belonged to Hanahan, on the east coast of Buka, and there are also kinship affiliations with Malasang. Little contact takes place between Kurtatchi and the villages on the west side of Buka, not only because of the difference of dialect, but also because the sea journey involved, by Buka Passage and up the coast, is much longer and apt to be difficult. 621 197 439

## THE VILLAGE

Though very far from being a closed society, as will be evident from the preceding paragraph, the village yet forms a definite local group, possessing a certain amount of conscious unity. Where an American Indian will give you the name of his tribe, a Buka or Bougainville native tells you the name of his village. The inhabitants of, say, Baniu or Timputs will be spoken of by the people of Kurtatchi as 'the Baniu' or 'the Timputs'—I have often been told that 'the Baniu' would attend a certain ceremony, or 'the Timputs' would do this or that. In introducing to me a stranger who happened to be visiting Kurtatchi, the name of his village would always be mentioned before anything else, that being clearly considered the important thing in the matter of his identification. 621

*Sites of villages.* There is a succession of villages all round the coast of Buka, at intervals varying from a few hundred yards to 361

361 several miles, sometimes with intervening plantations. In the interior there are a number scattered over the hilly ground in the southern half of the island, in such places as were found suitable for clearing. A similar string of villages extends along the north coast of Bougainville, broken, on the eastern half, by the plantations of Baniu, Raua, and Timputs.

The site chosen is either on the shore, if there is any land flat enough between the cliffs and the beach, or on the cliff, close to its edge. The government road runs parallel to the coast at a short distance away from it, and the villages are all between the road and the sea. A few yards of bush are left uncut on the landward side, so that the village cannot, as a rule, be seen from the road. On the other side of the road there are usually no huts at all.

226 361 One, if not the main, reason for placing the village close to the sea is in order to discover as early as possible the presence of a shoal of bonito in the neighbourhood. A look-out place is kept clear of bushes at the most commanding part of the cliff, and when the sea-birds that always accompany the bonito are seen, a special cry is raised, which sends every available man hurrying to launch a canoe and pursue them before they move too far away. If the nature of the ground permits, a favourite arrangement is to have one or more hamlets on the shore and others on the cliff immediately above it. The village of Ruri, for example, is made up of five hamlets, Biakwawin, Merimer, and Sikov, on the shore; Siara and Tagun on the cliff-top. At Tabut there are four, Muna-awel, Tensoa, Sumnĕ, and Buŋgus; all on the shore, the cliff above being unsuitable for building. At Kurtatchi there is not enough level ground between the foot of the cliff and the beach to admit of the building of huts, so the whole village is on the top. The originally separate hamlet of Gomen is now amalgamated with Kurtatchi.

361 166 The sites of villages are apt to be changed, for a number of reasons. This does not disturb the feeling of solidarity, for the village or hamlet moves *en masse*, and is reconstructed on the new site much as it was before. The vicissitudes of the hamlet with which I was most closely associated will serve to illustrate this practice. It once stood on the sea-shore, at a place called Ur, a [731] little to the west of its present site. An extra high tide, or possibly a tidal wave (the description given by the natives is not clear on this point), washed some of the huts away. It was then removed to

the top of the cliff, just above the old site; the bit of ground being 361
previously known as Tchundawan, that became the name of the
village. After a time the prospect of an abundant supply of coco- 166
nuts led to another move, to the island of Torrikorri, in the middle of Soraken Bay, across the peninsula. Tiring of making a canoe journey whenever they wished to visit the mainland, the people soon left the island, and set up their huts at Tarongen, on the southern shore of the peninsula, where they still have a fishing hamlet. Because of a dispute with their neighbours, they returned to the north coast, and settled at Gomen, a little to the east of their old site of Tchundawan, where some of them appear to have remained meanwhile. When they had been at Gomen for some time, it happened that three people of importance died within a short period. The agitated survivors attributed this disaster to the fact that some one was making 'poison' against them, and decided to leave the fated spot and to amalgamate with the neighbouring hamlet of Kurtatchi, some half-mile to the west. This sixth move was in progress when I joined the community. How long the six changes had taken altogether it was impossible to ascertain. When the last Government Census was taken, in 1926, some of the families I knew at Kurtatchi were living at Tarongen and some at Tchundawan.

As a result of this practice, the country is dotted with old 361
village sites, often with a ruined hut or two still standing. Under such circumstances, it will be obvious that the occurrence of a number of deserted villages does not necessarily imply a rapidly dwindling population. There would be even more of them than there are, were it not for the fact that ground unoccupied and untended soon becomes overgrown with vegetation, and in a remarkably short time has 'gone back bush', till it is hardly possible to recognize that it ever was the site of a village (Pl. 5 *a*).

*Plan of villages.* The general plan of the coast villages of Buka and the North Bougainville coast is always the same—the huts are arranged in straight lines facing a clear space which is used for dances. A small hamlet will have only one line of huts, the usual arrangement is to have two lines, probably facing each other with the open space between them. Often two or three such hamlets, perhaps a quarter of a mile or more apart, will make up the village. A large village may spread itself out in one long line, as in the populous villages on the Lontis coast, or some huts may be

361 set up outside the line, as at Petats; this is usually a sign of a village which has come under the influence of the white man. The villages are now increasing in size, as the natives are encouraged by the Government to live in larger groups for greater ease of supervision. Probably originally all the hamlets were much smaller than most of them now are, and consisted only of relatives. This still holds good to some extent, but the rule is not invariable, and a family may move out of one hamlet into another. The system of segregation is carried out most rigorously in the mountain districts of central Bougainville, where a few huts, or even a solitary one, will be set in a small clearing on a hill-top, hidden from sight by the thick bush closing in upon it on all sides.

The front of the line of huts is always carefully set in a line, measured by means of a length of fibre, but as they are of different sizes to suit their occupants, the back of the row is irregular. The width is always approximately the same (about 12 ft.). The huts are always set very close together, sometimes not more than a foot or two separating them. This space is sometimes utilized for [824] growing crotons or other plants valued for their colours or for their properties as 'medicine'.

There is no prescribed orientation for the lines of huts. They sometimes run parallel to the coast-line, sometimes at right angles to it. At Kurtatchi the original two lines of huts are in the former position, but the huts that were moved from Gomen were placed parallel to the cliff-edge, i.e. at right angles to the other lines [513] (see plan, p. 586). Since the line of beds is always at right angles to the long axis of the hut, it follows that there is not, as is sometimes the case among primitive people, either a prescribed or a forbidden orientation for sleeping.

361 In most villages there will be one or two huts situated apart from the rest, occupied by people who do not care to mix too much 156 with the others. At Petats there was the primitive shed belonging to the old man Hangunasi (now dead), who did not like the way the Petats people are adopting the customs taught them by the mission. At Kurtatchi, one man, Ora, had placed his hut right away from the village, which he seldom visited and discouraged his family from frequenting. The villagers told me it was because he did not like to live with other people; they considered it very odd, and when I showed them the plan I had drawn of the village, with Ora's hut away at the edge of the paper, it always caused

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 3

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*a.* VIEW FROM CLIFFS AT KURTATCHI

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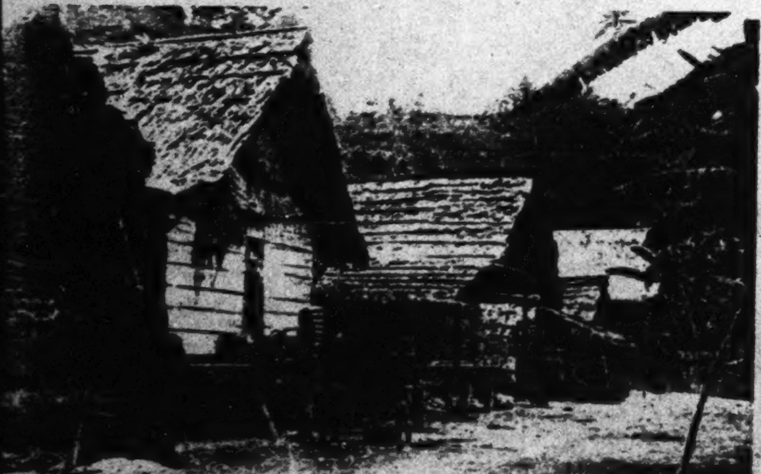


*b.* NEW-STYLE HOUSES, BUKA

[facing p.20]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

much laughter. He was quite courteous to me when I visited 361
him, but difficult to engage in conversation, and very chary of his 156
words.

Every hamlet contains one or more huts set apart for the exclusive 342
use of the men and boys (*tobèr*). In the Bougainville villages 562
these must be used by the boys wearing the *upi* (headgear indicating 881
that they have not finished their puberty ceremonies, see Ch. VI), 292
who are prohibited from entering any hut occupied by a woman.
In Buka, where the boys do not wear the *upi*, their segregation is
less rigid, but they may sleep in the 'men's house' if they wish.
In both districts unattached men usually sleep there, and male [574]
guests from other villages are accommodated there if their visit
extends overnight. The men say that this is a good idea because
it prevents the visitors from meddling with the village women.
These huts do not differ in any respect from the others (see Pl. 30 *b*).
They vary in size according to the number of people likely to use
them. There seems to be no fixed situation assigned to them in
relation to the other huts of the village. In some hamlets they stand
in line with the others, in some they are off to one side a little. In
other places they occupy part of the ground in front of the line,
if this can be arranged without encroaching too much upon the
space needed for dancing. Any hut occupied by a man living alone,
e.g. an old widower, may be used to house some of the boys if
occasion requires. Where the *tobèr* is in the middle of the village,
it serves as a gathering-place for the men in their idle moments.
Where it stands apart, the men tend to congregate in the front [622]
portion of the hut belonging to the *tsunaun* (chief), which has a
kind of porch attached to it.

Most villages are fenced except where they face the shore. In 417
the beach villages the fence is made of stones and chunks of coral
rock, in the cliff villages of saplings put in green and left to grow.
It does not seem to be a survival of an old stockade, but a recent
innovation, erected at the instance of the Government with the
idea of keeping the pigs away from the dwellings, but as it is
always full of gaps, either due to neglect or left intentionally to
facilitate entrance and exit, in most cases it fails to function. On [245]
the outskirts are planted banana, bread-fruit, and other useful
trees. Coco-nuts are not liked in close proximity to the huts, as 343
the heavy nuts are apt to do damage in falling. At some place 501
convenient for launching, there will be one or more sheds for

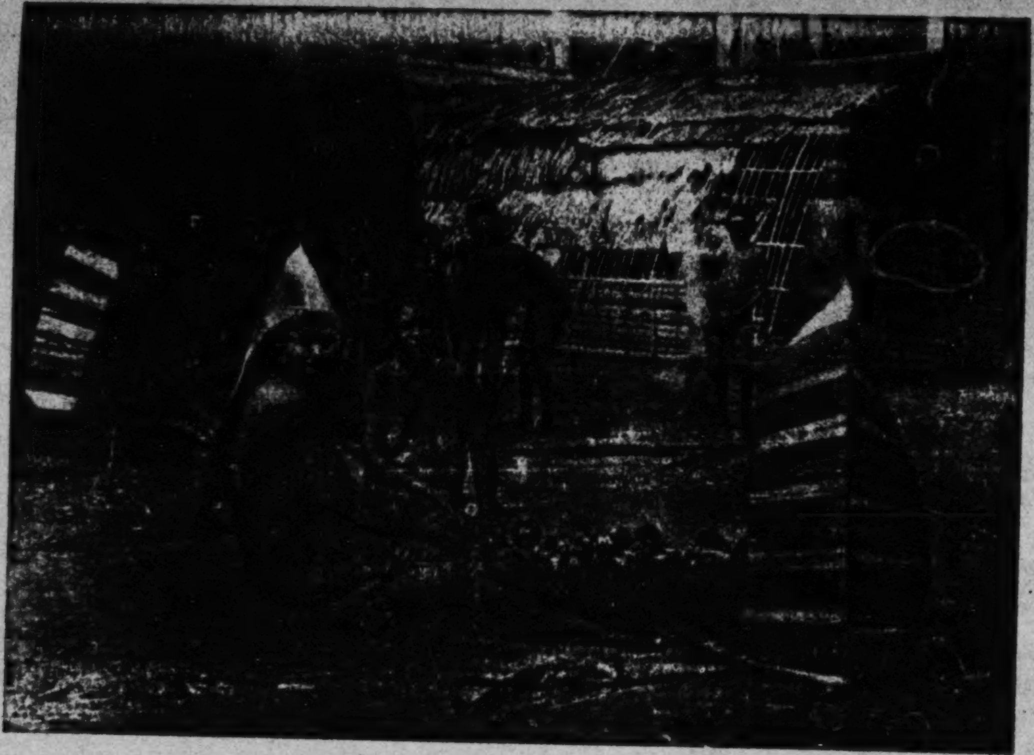
343 keeping plank canoes (*mon*). Dug-outs are usually left on the
501 beach, care being taken to draw them up above high-water mark.

514 No special areas are set apart for latrines. People go into the bush, as a rule not very far away, the women keeping to the area behind their own quarters at the back of the line of huts. In the case of a shore village, the men and boys wander along the beach.
364 Some attempt is made—rather spasmodically—to keep the village
412 clean, each woman sweeping the area round her own hut, with a broom made of bundles of the midribs of coco-nut palm leaves, tied at one end, without a handle. One man at Kurtatchi, more inventive than the others, made a rough wooden shovel, with handle all in one piece, with which to remove pigs' dung. Different villages vary very greatly in the extent to which they are swept and cared for, and as dogs and pigs wander round freely, while everybody constantly flings down areca-nut husks, bits of coco-nut, and miscellaneous oddments, even a short period of neglect suffices to give the village a very unkempt appearance.

342 *Huts*. At Petats, and a few other villages, under the tuition of
[177] the Missions, the natives now build themselves houses raised on piles, with plank walls and high-pitched roofs (see Pl. 3 *b*). But in most places, especially in Bougainville, the native type of hut still predominates, built on the bare earth, thatched with sago-palm leaves in the shape of a broad gothic arch, with the roof almost touching the ground on both sides. They are all exactly alike; their appearance can be seen from the photographs. There are no windows. At each end is a very small opening (a typical one measured 21 × 16 in.), serving as entrance and exit, closed by having planks set across it at night or when the hut is left empty.
[439] At the present time a few natives have plank doors swung on hinges and perhaps fastened with a bolt bought at the Chinese stores. The doors are raised about 3 ft. from the ground-level, and in front of each is a sort of shelf of split areca-palm trunks, 2 or 3 ft. in width, which serves as a sitting platform or verandah, as well as
342 an aid to scrambling in and out. The end of the hut, facing the
562 dancing space, with its entrance and verandah, is called *tagoan*,
784 and is reserved for the men, women being allowed to use it only on certain ceremonial occasions. The women's place is at the back, called *babots*, including not only the back 'verandah' but all that portion of ground which adjoins the back of the huts, irregular in its outline because the larger huts project into it farther than the

PLATE 4

[facing p. 22]



AT THE *BABOTS*, KURTATCHI

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1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 5

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*a.* DESERTED VILLAGE OF GOMEN

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*b.* AIRING THE BEDS

[facing p.23]

others (see Pl. 4). Here the women work, cook, and gossip; the 342
men may join them if they wish, except the boys wearing the *upi* 562
(leaf hat connected with puberty ceremonies), to whom all that 784
portion of the village is rigorously taboo.

The interior is alike in all. There are no dividing partitions. 342
The floor is the bare earth, trodden hard. The only furniture is [352]
a row of broad planks propped up on small logs, along one side of
the hut, which serve as beds. Short lengths of bamboo are used
as pillows. Between each plank is just space enough for a small [372]
fire. There is probably a place for roasting taro with the aid of hot
stones, the native oven, at the farther end of the hut near the
women's entrance. Cooking pots, the cleaned-out coco-nut shells [415]
used to store water, packs for carrying taro, and a few personal
possessions, lie on the ground; sometimes a plank is laid across [352]
two poles to form a shelf on which such objects can be kept out
of the way. Bundles containing more valuable property hang from
the rafters, tied up in banana fibre or old loin-cloths. Every [415
returned plantation hand is the proud possessor of a wooden box
with lock and key, part of the kit which must be provided by the 465]
employer for each of his 'boys' when they 'sign on', which he
displays in a prominent position. All sorts of treasures such as
medicine bundles, knives, &c., are stowed away between the thatch
and the supporting rafters. Nets and banana-fibre straps for carrying [286]
burdens hang over the cross-poles that form part of the framework
of the hut, and there is usually a basket containing some [251]
pieces of cold taro in case any one feels hungry at a time when it
is not convenient to cook.

As a rule, the household consists of father, mother, and children. [592]
In the case of polygynous marriages, each wife will usually have
her own hut, particularly if she has children, and the husband 595
distributes his company as he pleases, spending a certain amount
of time with the woman who ranks as his chief wife, but most of
it with the one who for the time being stands highest in favour.
A wife who is old or incapacitated, or one whose children have all
started out for themselves, will often share a hut with one of the
other wives, not always amicably. In some of the Buka villages large [342]
huts are now built, housing all the wives of one man; the interior
of these is partitioned off into rooms for each. An aged parent 592
of either sex may also form part of the household, the taboo between 606
mother-in-law and son-in-law being relaxed when the former is old.

361 The plan of the village of Kurtatchi, with details (given in
Appendix I) concerning the huts of one portion of it, will serve as a concrete illustration of many points bearing on the organization of village life. The huts described formerly belonged to the hamlet of Gomen; they were being transferred to join those already standing at Kurtatchi at the time when I took up my residence in the village.

## ANALYSIS OF POPULATION OF KURTATCHI VILLAGE IN 1930[1]

621 During the nine months I lived at Kurtatchi (January to Septem-
162 ber 1930), the resident population of that village was made up as
follows:

| *Males.* | | *Females.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Widowers (1 young) | 7 | Widows (3 of child-bearing age) | 12 |
| Married adults | 24 | Married adults | 35 |
| Adolescent boys (wearing the *upi*) | 25 | Adolescent girls | 7 |
| Children | 14 | Children | 12 |
| Total | 70 | Total | 66 |

Total number of both sexes and all ages, 136.

162 Apart from temporary variations, occasioned by the payment of
163 visits and the hospitality offered to guests from other villages,
which are of constant occurrence, the changes taking place in the
165 population during my stay were as follows. There were two births,
574 but neither of these added to the total, since one of the babies died
two days after birth, the other belonged to a woman who came from her husband's village to be confined in her mother's hut; she took the baby home in a few weeks. There was one miscarriage. One woman was known to be pregnant at the time of my departure. One marriage took place, the bride coming to live in her husband's village. There were five deaths, one old man, two middle-aged men, one child about four, and the new-born child above mentioned.

167 Two men were away working as indentured labourers. Both
returned to live in the village before I left it. Proportionately fewer
881 people were away from this village than usual, because a taboo pre-
784 vented the adolescent boys and the young men who were their
sponsors from signing on as indentured labourers until after the
464 performance of the *watawutʃ* ceremony, an important part of
the boys' puberty rites. They were permitted to work on local

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[1] I am here concerned not with demographic problems but only with the village as it was when this study was made.

plantations as casuals, and a number of them did so intermittently, 464
returning to the village to sleep.

The excess of boys over adolescent girls is explained by the fact 882
that many of the girls were living with their prospective relatives-
in-law in other villages, while the brides of the boys wearing the 591
*upi* remained with their own people till after the *watawutſ*.

One man has four wives, one has three, and five have two. One 591
of these is a boy still wearing the *upi*, whose 'wives'—they are 595
spoken of as such although the marriage rites have not been completed—do
not yet live in the village, but pay short visits only.

Leaving out the 25 boys wearing the *upi*, and 4 men who sleep 162
with them in the *tobār*, there are 107 individuals (72 adults and
35 children) living in 27 huts. The majority of huts have 3 or 4 592
inhabitants. The largest number sleeping, habitually, in the same
hut is 7, which happens in 3 cases. One hut has a solitary occupant,
an old widow, whose children are all dead.

## THE DAILY ROUND

The village day begins at sunrise, with a leisurely stroll, during 512
which frequent halts are made to enjoy the morning sun. It is not
often that we wake to rain; that comes generally later in the day.
The women take a briefer stroll, return home, and begin to rake
together the ashes of the fire, probably still hot from having
smouldered through the night. Soon the native Mission teacher [797
blows the conch-shell which is the signal for Mass, and those who
feel so inclined make their way to the church. (The church is 346]
beside the road, hidden by trees from the village, hence it does
not appear in the plan. The villagers had just finished its construction
when I came to live among them.) On their return, the [252]
women uncover the ovens in which taro has meanwhile been roasting,
or they may boil some instead, or, if there is any over from
yesterday, it may be eaten cold, together with any bits of fish or
other relish that may be available. The men come along presently, [264]
the children are called up, and every one eats, but not a large meal.
If the village is by the sea, some families will take their meal on to
the beach and eat it round a fire kindled there. Then the women [231
collect the scraps and call the pigs, who come on hearing their 552
names. All now sit about for awhile, gossiping and making 521]
arrangements for the day.

The women presently pick up their knives and packs (made of 512
482
226

512 slings of banana-fibre with a base of the heavy spathes of the
[482] areca-palm) and set off for the taro gardens, or they may tie round
[226] their waists the little baskets which they use to catch fish in the
rock-pools or to store the shell-fish they collect from the reef at
low tide. Almost every day a small party goes off on a bartering
[437] expedition, to meet the women from some other village with goods
for exchange. The more energetic of the men will be flourishing
bush-knives or fishing-rods; one may seize a spear and announce
his intention of going to hunt wild pig, to the huge delight of all
the dogs in the village, who signify their approval in the usual
canine fashion, and there is no peace in the village till he has dis-
appeared with them into the bush. A party may be told off to
[491] work on the government road in order to keep it in sufficiently good
condition to avoid a scolding from the A.D.O. on his next visit.
512 Eventually, most people go off somewhere, either to work or to laze,
461 unless there is a house being built or a canoe being finished,
in which case some of the men will set to work on it, in rather
desultory fashion. The boys wearing the *upi* depart in a gang on
[883] some ploy of their own, the girls have either gone with their
mothers or are left to look after the younger children, and usually
one or two adults also remain in the village, having chosen not to
work to-day. They do not like prolonged concentration on any-
thing, and if I ask somebody, especially a young man, what he is
going to do to-day, I shall very likely get the answer: 'Nothing, I
worked yesterday.' There would seem really to be some justifica-
tion for the universal complaint of the older men that the young
men nowadays are lazy! The women do not bring back from the
taro garden enough provender for more than a day or two at a time,
[343] so they cannot take as many 'days off' as their menfolk do. The
very few really industrious families have probably built themselves
a shelter of banana leaves beside their taro patch, and will not
come near the village for days together. Those who remain in the
village spend a good part of the day in sleep. Women with small
[853] babies, or minding those old enough to be left by their mothers,
sit about on the back verandah or on prostrate logs, fondling the
infants. For a time, in the early afternoon, the village is quiet.

[482] In course of time the women come back with their baskets of
shell-fish or their loads of taro or firewood, carried on their backs
[312] as we carry a rucksack. The little girls go off to the water-pools in
the bush and return with the family's water-supply—for all pur-
purposes—in a dozen or so cleaned-out coco-nut shells.

poses—in a dozen or so cleaned-out coco-nut shells. The men 512
come in from the reef, dangling strings of fish, if they have been 461
lucky, or from the bush with a 'possum or two on a pole over their
shoulders. Smoke begins to rise from every hut, in preparation 512
for the main meal of the day. This consists for the most part of 262
taro, but it is essential to have a 'relish' of fish, shell-fish, or 'possum,
or, in the rare event of a hunter having been successful, a piece of
wild pig, if the animal is not required to be kept alive for a forthcoming
feast. But either the pigs are very wary, or, which is more
likely, the hunter has given less attention to his quarry than to his
assignation, for it is not often that he brings home any spoil.

The meal disposed of, the sound of the conch-shell calls the 512
village to evening service. By the time it is over, the sun will have [797]
set. There is no twilight in these latitudes, darkness falling a very
short time after the sun has disappeared. Fires provide the only [372]
illumination, and soon appear dotted about the village, with
groups sitting round them chatting and playing with the children. [521]
In spite of what may have seemed an uneventful day, they always
have plenty to talk about, and they sometimes tease one another
unmercifully. If a dance is going on, any one who wishes joins in, [535]
and, if the occasion is a ceremonial one, and is sufficiently important,
every one, children as well as adults, stays up all night, some
always keeping the dance going while others stop to rest, to eat, or
to make love, returning to the ranks of the dancers as and when
they feel inclined.

If nothing is toward, the village settles down for the night very 512
early, unless there is a moon, when it will resound with gossip and 513
laughter for a long time. It is considered silly to go to bed while
the moon shines. Once when I excused myself for leaving the
assembled company on the ground that I was sleepy, they laughed,
and said: 'This is not the time to go to bed. By and by, when the
moon is gone, then you can sleep.'

Thus runs the course of an ordinary day in the life of a Bougainville 512
village. In order to ascertain how the natives spent their time,
individually, I kept for a while a daily record of certain of those
who lived nearest to me, not, of course, in great detail, but noting
what they were doing for the major part of each day. The records
vary, naturally, with the character of the individual. Some are
much more public-spirited than others, and take a prominent part
in most village activities, other arrange their days to suit their own

512 pleasure. The diary of at least one young man reads 'Lounged about the place' for the greater part of the time. I give here a few typical examples which will serve to show what the natives do with themselves at times when no special ceremonial or other activities are in progress.

*A week from the record of Sobak, an elderly man*

[283] *May 11.* Sat around on his verandah and on mine, making string for a fishline and chatting.

*May 12.* Split a quantity of sago-palm leaves and prepared them for making thatch for his hut, which has remained unfinished since the move from Gomen.

*May 13.* Went to do a day's work in the new taro garden.

*May 14.* Went to the nearest plantation, some 5 miles off, to sell copra, and was away all day.

*May 15.* Stayed about the village doing nothing in particular.

*May 16.* Worked at the taro garden.

[252] *May 17.* Made ceremonial pudding for his wife to take to Tabut for a feast which she was going to attend.

*A week from the record of Matĕv, an elderly woman*

*May 31.* Went to Tarongen with other women to barter with the women from Saposa.

[231 482] *June 1.* Went with some other women to Baniu with a young pig to be brought up there because the food is more plentiful. She carried the pig on her back in a pack. Stayed there the night.

*June 2.* Came back from Baniu. Fetched taro for the evening meal.

*June 3.* Worked all day in the taro garden.

[415] *June 4.* Stayed in the village, spent most of the day cleaning the meat out of a coco-nut shell to make a new water-bottle.

*June 5.* Went to Tarongen to barter with the Saposa women.

*June 6.* Worked on the government road.

*A week from the record of Tahol, young woman with a suckling infant*

*May 22.* Sat around on her verandah and on mine, playing with her baby.

*May 23.* Went to the reef to gather shell-fish, leaving her baby with another woman.

*May 24.* About the place most of the day, towards evening went to fetch some bananas from Gomen.

*May 25.* Brought over some things from her old hut at Gomen, swept round the hut in which she lives at Kurtatchi, and cut away some bush.

512

*May 26.* About the place, playing with her baby.
*May 27.* Went to barter with other women at Tarongen, taking the baby with her.
*May 28.* Worked in the new taro garden.

The records of the girls are similar to those of the women, they 512
search for shell-fish on the reef, or work in the taro garden, or look 883
after some one's baby, with intervals of doing nothing in particular.
The boys spend most of their time fishing, or hunting 'possum, or
just playing in the bush, or they may help an older man to shape
a dug-out canoe.

## RECKONING OF TIME

The past of these people is enshrined for them in their numerous 773
myths of origin, handed down from one generation to another, and
called *wasisio wa kāna*, 'stories of long ago'. They are concerned
with the doings of culture heroes such as Morena, who instituted
their clans, and taught them the arts of life, as described in Chapter
II. Tales are also told of successful raids led by great fighting men, 173
who are remembered by name for about two generations back, [266]
generally given with the comment: 'They used to eat man.' The
era before the white man began to count as a factor in native life
(some forty years ago) is sometimes referred to as 'the time of
fighting'. The present is 'the time of the white man'.

As regards anything more definite than this, it is practically im- 805
possible to obtain any real information. The idea of reckoning an
interval seems completely foreign to them. When I tried to find
out any such thing as how long taro takes to ripen, or how long
ago a certain man died, the majority of people would merely gaze
at me in puzzled silence, no matter in what form I couched my
queries. My most intelligent informant once said, in discussing
these matters: 'We people do not know how to count time. We
think in our bellies, that's all.' They take up a plant to find how
near the taro patch is to being ready for use, they hold ceremonies
when they think they have enough food available. A messenger, [202]
carrying a branch of areca-nuts, is sent round to the villages that
are expected to attend it, and leaves a nut at each, as an indication
that it is time to start. In days of old, this signal was also used as
a request to join in a fight, either in defence or attack. If they wish 211
to make an appointment to meet at the end of a designated period,
say for purposes of barter, one party to the agreement will give

211 the other party a length of fibre string with a knot tied in it for each day that is to elapse before the day appointed, keeping a similar string themselves, and each day one knot is cut off the string till all are gone. The knots in such a string are called *kabus*. I was told that sometimes a row of spears is struck into the ground and one removed each morning, but I did not see this done.

805 There is no division corresponding to our year.[1] The eagerly
821 anticipated time when they can enjoy feasting upon the canarium almond is called 'the time of the almond', roughly from the middle of May to the end of August (the first almonds were brought to the village on May 14). I note that in the SE. Solomons that portion of the year not named after the almond is connected with the annelid *palolo*,[2] but if there is any such nomenclature in the district with which I am acquainted, it has escaped me, neither did I see any *palolo*.

They recognize the lunar month, *dʒiwau* (= moon). Only the more sophisticated natives seemed to use the 'moon' as a measure of time, and a statement that anything lasts for, or will happen in, a given number of moons nearly always turned out to have been a guess. Unfortunately, I neglected to make definite inquiries as to names for the lunar months. No spontaneous mention was made of any such in our discussions on kindred subjects, which indicates that, if used, they are not considered of very great importance.

The absence of any very well-defined 'nature calendar' may be partly accountable for their disregard of times and seasons. They speak of the 'time of rain' (*buey in a pit*), but seem to apply it whenever the weather is wet. Taro is cultivated all the year round, new plants being always put in as others are taken out for eating. The fact that two new gardens were prepared in June (as described in Chap. IX) was due to the forthcoming *watawutʃ* ceremony, for which a specially large quantity would be required.

805 The only unit of time that really matters is the day. Short intervals, past and future, are distinguished thus:

*roman* = to-day (e.g. *roman buey kiu*, to-day is the time for work; *buey papo tsubeu*, to-morrow is the time for idling).

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[1] It is now beginning to be introduced owing to contact with missionarie and employers of labour, and is called a 'Christmas'. So too with the week which is called a 'Sunday', no attempt being made to adapt any native word fo the purpose, or to express the idea by a circumlocution.

[2] Ivens, 1927, p. 397, also reported from other parts of Melanesia, e.g. New Ireland (Powdermaker, 1933, p. 29), and Fiji (B. Thompson, 1908, p. 324), &c.

805

*tsubnu* = to-morrow.
*buŋnu* = day after to-morrow.
*bueŋ sawun* = in ten days' time.[1]
*iboin* = yesterday.
*naniau* = day before yesterday.
*bueŋ pusãn* = the day before that.
*bueŋ watʃin* = the day before that again, i.e. 4 days ago.

Within the day, time is designated by reference to the sun. The speaker points to the place where the sun will be in the sky at the time indicated. In these latitudes, this varies hardly at all at the same time of day throughout the year. The names of the different parts of the day are as follows:

*patsun takas* = early dawn (lit. 'the head of the dawn', when the sun is still below the horizon).
*mibnub* = dawn, as it begins to get lighter.
*pōtan taputs non* = sunrise (lit. 'the sun comes up').
*patsun wanu* = noon (lit. 'the head of the village'); also expressed by *pōtan to no me egin*, 'the sun has gone on top'.
*torēv* = afternoon (abbreviation of *pōtan to rēv non*, 'the sun begins to go down').
*rūkunon* = sunset (abbreviation of *pōtan to rūku non*, 'the sun sets').
*bubuŋi* = night ( = darkness, as opposed to light).
*ōmi* = night (as opposed to day, *pa ōmi* = by night).

Except for occasional major excitements, such as the preparations for and performance of an important ceremony, and the tension caused by a death, which, however, soon passes, these folk keep the even tenure of their way, living a life full of small but absorbing interests. They certainly enjoy their pleasures—making love, dancing, eating, gossiping, or 'just sitting'. No one, child or adult, is concerned to 'fill each unforgiving minute with sixty seconds' worth of distance run', but a certain amount of more or less arduous labour must be undertaken in order to provide themselves with means of subsistence, and though the rule 'He that will not work, neither shall he eat' permits of some exceptions, there are few who do not pull their weight in the community. 461

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[1] Counting is as follows: (1) *pe'es*, (2) *boak*, (3) *kuhan*, (4) *tana*, (5) *tonim*, (6) *tonom*, (7) *towit*, (8) *towal*, (9) *taaf*, (10) *sawun*. Some groups do not go beyond five. 802

## II

# THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND

### THE FAMILY AND THE LINEAGE

592 612 A CHILD born into this community has for the most intimate companions of his babyhood the inmates of the hut in which he lives. These will be, normally, his mother, his father, and his full brothers and sisters, that is to say, his immediate 'family' in our sense of the word, with, possibly, the addition of a grandparent. Indeed, taking it by and large, the child's relations to those persons who constitute what may be called the kindred, i.e. his two parents and the near relatives of both of them, do not, in practice, differ very widely from those of our own children, except that his mother's brother possesses authority denied to our maternal uncles, and his mother's sister stands closer to him than any but the most devoted of our aunts. But there is no word in his dialect for this group of people, nor is this 'kindred' recognized as a structural unit, though in practice it behaves as such. 613 The first group of people with which our Melanesian child will learn to associate himself officially consists of his mother and all her siblings, his mother's mother, if she be living, his own full brothers and sisters, and the children of all the women just mentioned, but not those of the men; in other words, those of his blood relations who are of the same clan, the clan always passing through the mother.

Following the example of Evans-Pritchard (1933, p. 30), I propose to call this group of people a *lineage*.[1] In the Petats dialect the word for it is *piniposa*, in the Kurtatchi dialect *boa*, usually heard with a suffixed possessive, e.g. *boanē*, my lineage. [612] It must be borne in mind that this term excludes all blood relations on the father's side. For though the child is, throughout his early years and often throughout his life, thrown into close and intimate contact with his father and his father's brothers, sisters, and other relatives, they are regarded as bound to him by ties which might perhaps be called 'personal' rather than 'official'. For this reason, the white man's rule that descendants shall line up behind the father for census or inspection purposes is as puzzling to them as it would

[1] [While Murdock (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 59, 1957, p. 681) lists the Kurtatchi as having sibs, the definition here would also include lineages in Murdock's sense. - Analyst]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

be for us to be directed to fill up an official document using the maiden name of our mother in place of our own surname. 613

## THE CLAN

Beyond the inner ring formed by the lineage, there is an outer ring of persons with whom the child, as he grows older, will find himself in association. This outer ring embraces all those people belonging to the same clan as himself, wherever they may live. The collective word in the Petats dialect for the people standing to an individual in this wider association is *sugut*, and in the Kurtatchi dialect *wūti* (clan). But when persons included in this group are referred to individually, a Kurtatchi man will often use the same term as for members of his lineage, calling them *boanē* (meaning 'my clansmen'). It is usually perfectly clear from the context whether the word is being used in its wider or in its narrower sense, but if it is necessary to emphasize the distinction still more, he will explain the former as *pes wūti*, 'of one clan', and the latter as *boanē tsūn*, or *boanē kuruts*, my 'real', or 'true' kinsfolk. 614

The child's association with his clansmen will depend, naturally, to some extent upon their place of residence. With those who live in the same village he feels himself more closely associated than with those who live afar off. But he applies the same term also to clansmen in other villages, and there is no doubt that the bond is a real, though rather vague one. It is, however, weaker to-day than in the olden time, since there is no longer any call to support one's clansmen in battle.

On visiting another village, a man will first of all seek out his clansmen, who will sponsor him during his stay. Those of his own sex whom he knows personally he calls *kiar*, even if there be no blood relationship between them. This term is also used in a narrower sense for those of his siblings who are of the same sex as himself. When inquiring about a man who was thus specified, but who did not appear anywhere in the speaker's genealogy, I often received the explanation 'He is not my real brother (*kiar tsūn*), but we belong to the same clan (*pes wūti*)'. 574 601 614

Throughout the whole area with which this book is concerned, there are at the present time two important clans. In most places they are designated Naboin and Nakarib. They are not, however, to be regarded as moieties indicating a dual organization, at any rate at the present time, because in some villages there are also 614

614 other clans, and even where only the two above mentioned were represented at the time of my inquiry, it was stated that there had been others which might be reintroduced at any time by marriage. Naboin and Nakarib are everywhere recognized as the most important, as they are the most numerous, but it was made quite clear to me that the others are not in any sense regarded as subdivisions of these, but as standing in their own right.

With every clan there is associated the name of a certain creature, generally, but not always, a bird. This association inevitably suggests totemism, but many of the recognized features of totemism as it is generally understood are here absent. The word totem is used in what follows with the reservations hereinafter to be made clear.

The clans and their associated totems will first be discussed with reference to the local differences which exist in various parts of the area.

### *Clans of Buka*

On the island of Buka and its adjacent islets there are, in general, only two clans represented at the present time. They are called, over most of the island, Naboin and Nakarib, the same as the two chief clans on Bougainville. But on Petats and some of the other [184] islands they are always referred to by the name of the birds associated with them, Manu being invariably substituted for Naboin and Kekeleo for Nakarib. The Petats word for 'bird' is *malai*, and in inquiring to which clan an individual belongs the appropriate formula is: *Sā a malai tamulo?* 'What is your bird?' I understood from the Petats people that *mānu* was an eagle.[1] Mr. Gordon Thomas, speaking of the island of Pororan, refers to it as a hawk (1931, p. 227). I did not see this bird on the island of Petats, but the bird pointed out to me as *mānu* at Kurtatchi was certainly an eagle, though of what species I cannot say. *Kekelēo* (or *kililiau*, the pronunciation differs slightly in different villages) is a somewhat vague term, which might be translated 'fowl', and while applied primarily to the bush-fowl or megapode, is used on Petats to refer to the domestic variety, the bush fowl being referred to as *kokō*. On Petats, at any rate, the terms Manu and Kekeleo were used solely as names for the clans, and their connexion with the birds bearing those names appeared to have lost all its significance.

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[1] It is not the frigate-bird as stated by Parkinson ('07, p. 481). The frigate-bird is known to these people; it follows the shoals of bonito, but it plays no part in their culture comparable to that which it fills in other islands of the Solomon group.

On the Lontis coast (north-west Buka) the two clans are called Lemanmanu and Lemankoa (associated with *mānu* and *kekelēo*) respectively. At Hanahan, on the east coast, they used the name Naboin for the clan associated with *mānu* and Lemankoa for the other, but they said that its *malai* was not *kekelēo* but *koto'ina*, 'a big bird that catches fish in the sea'. This appears to be the fish-hawk, and the word is the same as that which appears in the Kurtatchi dialect, with that meaning, as *katoi'ian*. In the hill district of Buka they use the term Naboin for the clan associated with *mānu*, and Nakarib for that associated with *kekelēo*.

In some of the Buka villages there are a few individuals who belong to a clan called Nakas, associated with the dog. At Novar this clan was described as 'half Manu, half Kekeleo', which may refer to the belief that its first member was the child of a Naboin man and a Nakarib woman, as given in the Saposa myth discussed on p. 38. At the village of Tung, Nakas was described as a new clan. At Petats they said that there used to be representatives of Nakas, but that they were all dead. It might be revived in the future, if any of the Petats men were to marry a woman of that clan from elsewhere and she were to come and live at Petats.

### *Clans of North Bougainville*

On the north coast of Bougainville the list of clans varies slightly in different villages. I give all those which came to my notice, passing along the coast from west to east (see map).

In the group of little islands called collectively Saposa, three different lists were given to me on separate occasions. The names of the clans agree in all, but not the associated totems. The man who gave me the third list volunteered the information that the first two, Nakarib and Naboin, belonged to the olden days when there was much fighting. But the two old women who told the story of the origin of the clans, stated emphatically that Morena gave the people all the clans in the olden days. [184]

1. *List of clans at Saposa*

| *Names.* | *Associated totems as given by:* | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *Two old women.* | *Old man* | *Middle-aged man.* |
| 1. Nakarib | Katoian (hawk) | Katoian (hawk) | Katoian (hawk) |
| 2. Naboin | Manu (eagle) | Manu (eagle) | Manu (eagle) |

| *Names.* | *Associated totems as given by:* | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *Two old women.* | *Old man.* | *Middle-aged man.* |
| 3. Nakas | Kavkavkuk (a bird) | Tsiako (parrot) | Tubuil (red parrot) |
| 4. Nagai | Tʃitʃio (hornbill) | Tʃitʃio | Tabatʃin (black gull) |
| 5. Fananif[1] | Tortsiriri (small forest bird) | Tsubuir (a bird) | Tubuku (white cockatoo) |
| 6. Konofats | Kuro (dove) | Fue (crocodile) | Tʃako (red and green parrot) |

### 2. *Tabut.*

1. Naboin (Manu, eagle)
2. Nakarib (Katoi'ian, hawk)
3. Natasi (Polasanu, bird with white neck-feathers)
4. Nakas (Kes, dog)
5. Natʃi (Tʃitʃio, hornbill)

Nakas at present unrepresented.

### 3. *Kurtatchi.*

1. Nakarib (Katoi'ian, hawk)
2. Naboin (Manu, eagle)
3. Nakas (Polasanu, same bird as given for Natasi at Tabut)
4. Natʃi (Tʃitʃio, hornbill)

Only one representative of Nakas. Natʃi at present unrepresented.

### 4. *Ruri.*

1. Naboin (Manu, eagle)
2. Nakarib (Katoi'ian, hawk)
3. Nakas (Kas, dog)
4. Natasi (Doŋo), hornbill)

### 5. *Baniu.*

1. Naboin (Manu, eagle)
2. Nakarib (Katoi'ian, hawk)
3. Natʃi (Tʃitʃio, hornbill)
4. Nakes or Tokes (Tamanupe, bird with white neck, apparently the same as Polasanu)

### 6. *Hahon district.*

1. Naboin (Manu, eagle)
2. Nakarib (Kariba, small animal like an opossum, perhaps a tree-rat)
3. Nakas (Kas, dog)

### 7. *Tiop.*

1. Naboin (Wai'eta, eagle, explained as the same as Manu)
2. Nakarib (Kariba, tree-rat)
3. Nawaniu (Iowa, megapode)
4. Namai (Tabasiena, small bird living in mangrove swamp)
5. Nakahi (Kahi, dog)
6. Natahi (Tahi, sea)
7. Nomtana (Kuho, rat)
8. Amara (Gorato, turtle)

In these lists the clans are given in the order of their importance, according to each informant, but in no case was there any idea present in the mind of the speaker that any of them were subdivisions of Naboin or Nakarib.[1] As a matter of fact, representatives of the others were so few in number in the villages I knew most intimately, that to all intents and purposes the organization might have been a dual one, and in view of this, and of the variations in the totems of the others, it is perhaps permissible to hazard a suggestion that these are the original clans, the others being newer developments, in spite of their occurrence in the origin myth given on p. 38. The substitution of Kariba, apparently a species of tree-rat, for Katoi'ian, hawk, in the Hahon district might perhaps be explained on the ground that as it is a little distance inland, the fish-hawk would not be so much in evidence, but this does not account for the substitution in the case of Tiop, which is a small island off the Bougainville coast. 614

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[1] The Saposa dialect is the only one in this area which has the *f* sound.

## ORIGIN OF CLANS AND TOTEMS

It does not seem to be thought that the people are descended from the creature whose name is associated with their clan. The origin myth is the same, with local variations, throughout the area, and the same myth is also widespread in other parts of Melanesia. One version of it has been given in full in my paper in *Folk-Lore* (1932, p. 67), where reference is made to parallels in other places. The essential features of the story are as follows: An old woman, whose name differs in the different versions of the tale as I heard it in several villages, is left behind when all the people flee in their canoes before a terrible monster, in some villages said to be a spirit, in some a giant, and in others a wild pig, who ravaged the land. Left alone, she copulates with a banana, and in course of time bears two sons, who, when fully grown, kill the monster. When this becomes known, the people who fled return, among them two girls who become the wives of the two brothers. From these two couples all the people are descended. In one version, obtained from the village of Kohiso in the hill district of central Buka, the end of the story is that the two brothers were turned into birds, 614 773

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[1] Such information as I was able to collect during a short visit to the Kunua mountain district of central Bougainville indicates that in that area, where the culture differs considerably from that of the coast, there are actually two primary divisions, each divided into several subsidiary clans, the names of which were given as follows: Kérakera (Eagle) division: Tókora, Arási, Aratawérit, Arawítala, Tówo. Huhúrifa (Hornbill) division: Anakópu, Bwataaféra, Tásu'ul, Aitatúu'a, Bokapuatá'e. No meaning was assigned to the words used for the subdivisions. Unfortunately, my opportunities for investigation in this area were very limited. [184]

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but the kind of bird is not specified, and this particular version omits the statement that all the people are descended from the sons of the old woman, so it provides no clue as to the ideas held about the original relation of the people to the birds whose names they have given to their clans.

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At Saposa I obtained a version of the myth which differs from the others in passing briefly over the incidents connected with the monster, which figure largely in all the rest, but giving in detail the origin of the clans from the children born to the old woman. I got it from two very old women, Temin and Bo'in. They told it, with endless repetitions and digressions, throughout the whole of a long day, in snatches, with intervals for rest, for they were very feeble and quickly became tired. It was like listening to the recital of an epic. Even through the quavering whimper of extreme age, one felt that the speakers were telling what was to them no mere tale, but a recital of truths that went to the very roots of the life of their people. The portion of the story that is relevant to the subject under discussion is here given in somewhat abbreviated form, as the disconnected way in which it was told makes it hard to follow in literal translation.

The old woman is here called Morena. The first part of the story, as told in other places, how all the people ran away from the monster and left her alone, was omitted; it begins at the point where Morena wished to put an end to the pig who had frightened away the rest of the people and threatened to eat her.

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She said: 'There is no one to give me a child, I think I had better try with a banana.' So she took two bananas and copulated with them. Then she became pregnant, and the first child to be born was a girl. 'Ah, that is no use.' So she copulated again with bananas, and became pregnant again, and another child was born, this time it was a boy. 'That's all right, presently the pig will be killed.' She copulated again, and bore another girl, so now she had two girls. She said to them: 'You must be the wives of my son.' So her two children copulated, and the girl bore a child. Then Morena said: 'These are your clans. One of you belongs to Nakarib, one of you belongs to Naboin, and as for your children, they belong to Nakas.' Now at first there were no other clans, they came later. The boy who was Naboin copulated with the girl who was Nakarib, the girl bore a female child who was Nakas. Now Morena forbade the child Nakas to copulate with Naboin, because he was her father. So Morena copulated again with a banana, but the child she bore was a girl, she called her Nagai. Again she copulated, and bore

a male child, Konofats. He married the girl Nagai. Morena copulated 582
again with a banana, and bore a male child, Faŋanif. She told Faŋanif
to marry the girl Nakas.[1] She copulated once more, a Naboin girl was 614
born, and later another boy, Faŋanif, who married the Naboin girl. 773
Then she said: 'That is enough now. Now you must not marry back into your own clan. All the Nakarib people are kinsmen, all the Naboin people are kinsmen. If a Nakarib man likes a Naboin woman, he must bring payment, then he can take her. But if one of you takes a woman belonging to his own clan, then you must kill him.'

The story goes on to tell, at great length, how Morena made the 614
land for them, and gave them all their several portions of it, and
taught them how to get food for themselves, and all kinds of crafts. 773
Finally, she gave each of the clans a bird: to Nakarib *katoi'ian* (hawk), to Naboin *mãku* (eagle), to Nakas *kovkovkuk* (a bird with white feathers on its neck), to Nagai *tʃitʃio* (hornbill), to Faŋanif *tortʃiriri* (a small bird which lives in thick forest), to Konofats *kärō* (dove).

At this point the two old women said that was the end of the story. After a while they told another, of how Morena was responsible for putting the man in the moon, but I could not get them back to the subject of the clans, nor find out their relation to the birds that Morena had given them. A version of the same story obtained at Tiop, however, carries it a stage farther. Here the woman is called Topisbi'ɛ. When enough children have been born, and she has assigned a clan to each of them, she says to them: 'You, Naboin, must not eat the eagle. You, Natchi, must not play too much in the sea. You, Nakahi, must never kill a dog. You, Nawaniu, must not chase the bush-fowl. You, Amara, must not play with the turtles. These things you must tell to all the children who are kin to you.' But on my asking whether the people observed these restrictions at the present time, I was told that they did not.

It seems clear that the people are not thought to be descended from the birds associated with the various clans, and no information obtained from other sources gave any indication of the existence of such a belief. In all discussions the origin of the clans and their association with their totems was referred to this same

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[1] At the present time the rule is that a member of any clan may marry a member of any clan except his own. But marriages of people belonging to the same clan occur at Sipaai as well as elsewhere.

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myth, with only one exception. This is a single story collected at Kurtatchi, which explains the association of the clan Natchi with the hornbill as follows:

> A boy went and asked his mother for taro. His mother said: 'Why should I give you taro? Do you work in the taro garden?' Then she gave him a basket of stones. The boy said: 'All right, by and by you will be looking for me all the time, but I shall stay away.' Then he went away. Then his father cried: '*Tiragu!* (Alas!) my child has gone away.' He climbed up a bread-fruit tree, he sat down at the top of it, just like a bird. His father tried to catch him. He went on to another branch. His father went up, he went on to another branch. His father climbed after him. He went on to another tree, an almond. He was really a bird now, he ate almonds. His father tried to hold him, he jumped on to another branch, he went on to a banyan. Two legs grew on to him, the legs of a bird. He was just like a bird now, two wings came. He jumped on to another tree. The bird's head appeared. Then he went on to a banyan. His father climbed the banyan, he tried hard to catch him. But he went right away, he had turned into a bird. The bird was a hornbill. His father cried about him. Now all his clansmen are called Natchi.

Here again there seems to be no notion of descent, but there may perhaps be a reference to the custom of changing the names of a person's kinsmen at his death.

It would appear, therefore, that one feature deemed to be characteristic of totemism, i.e. descent from the totemic creature, is definitely absent from this area.

There is also lacking all idea that the associated creature ever helps the human beings belonging to the clan. In one case it is actually said to harm them. It is said that Manu, the eagle, takes children who belong to the Naboin clan up to his nest, and that if Naboin men go up to a nest where there are young the eagle kills them; he would be 'ashamed' to do this to members of the other clans.

No reverence is paid to the associated creature by members of the clan which bears its name, neither, so far as I am aware, are any ceremonies held in connexion with it. In former times a man would not kill the creature of his clan, but a member of another clan might kill it without arousing his anger. At Petats they said that a Kekeleo man might eat fowl. The eagle is not eaten anywhere, but I gathered that this is because it is not considered to be good for food, rather than because of its association with the clan Naboin. 614

Summarizing the conditions obtaining in this area in regard to totemism—if totemism it is to be called—we find the following state of affairs prevailing at the present time: The people are divided into groups each having a certain relationship to a species, animate or inanimate, which is of the same general kind for each group, and a member of one of these totemic groups cannot (except under special circumstances, such as adoption) change his membership. This is the minimum definition of totemism 'in the widest use of the term' as given in *Notes and Queries* (p. 76). But when we come to examine the nature of the 'certain relationship', we find it amounting to little more than the use of the creature's name. The totemic species is not regarded as an ancestor. It is not now treated with reverence or made the subject of any avoidances, though there is some evidence that this may have been the case in the past. I do not think that the breakdown, supposing it to be such, is due to contact with the white man. From the way in which the natives spoke of these things it seemed more likely that it happened long before the influence of the whites began to be felt in this area, and that possibly the bond between the totemic species and the clan associated with it was never very close. 773

## MEMBERSHIP OF CLANS

If questioned, any native will say that a man should marry a woman of a clan other than his own. Since the clans Naboin and Nakarib are by far the most numerous, the majority of marriages take place between these two. Where there are other clans, there does not appear to be, at the present time, any definite system of inter-clan mating, at least, so I was informed, and none is shown in the small amount of genealogical material I collected at Saposa. But my experience of places where clans other than Naboin and Nakarib were well represented is too limited to justify any statement as to whether this was or was not the case in times past. 614 582

Both at Petats and at Kurtatchi, while clan exogamy is the recognized rule, it appears never to have been inviolable. In my genealogies there are repeated instances of men marrying women of their own clan, and these occur not only in the present generation, but as far back as my information extends, i.e. at least two generations ago. Since this goes back to the grand-parental generation of

614 informants now advanced in years, it cannot be the result of a break-
down of the native system due to the influence of white contact.
582 It is considered to be in order if the two parties to such a marriage
belong to different villages, as is usually the case, since the custom
is for the mate to be sought outside the village. But it occasionally happens that two people of the same clan marry even if they live in the same village, provided they do not belong to any of the prohibited relationships. It is clear that the tie of blood is considered more important than the clan, since the prohibited relationships are not confined to clansmen, as will be shown in a subsequent paragraph.

614 The children belong to the clan of their mother. To this rule
[611] there is no exception, in the ordinary course of affairs. But if
a clan is greatly diminished in numbers it may adopt an infant of
597 another clan, with the consent of the clan to which the individual
belongs by right of birth. For example, if a Nakarib woman has a child, and the Naboin people wish to adopt it, a man of importance of the Naboin clan makes a feast and gives the child its name. It is then said to belong to the Naboin clan, and can use the Naboin decoration, and, if a boy, frequents the men's house belonging to the Naboin people. The members of his new clan are expected to provide for him in future, and though his mother may continue, if she so desire, to give him food beyond the time of suckling, she is
in no way bound to do so. She must not continue to care for him
[613] otherwise; this is the duty of the adopting clan, and would be
undertaken by the women belonging to the lineage of the man who
arranged the transaction and gave the child its name. For example,
[164] if the child has yaws, or one of the tropical sores no one ever
escapes, the people of his original clan must not tend or wash him, but this must be done by the adopting clan. The adopting clan must also find the wherewithal to provide him with a wife. If a female child is thus adopted, the adopting clan must arrange the marriage. The currency provided by the husband's people is paid to them, but the clan into which she was born is given a little of it, the amount being arranged by mutual consent. When the time comes to make the feast which reciprocates the payment, the clan to which she originally belonged helps the clan which took her over. The adopting clan provides for the marriage of her children, but such children may, if they please, revert to their mother's original clan. Thus Tatum, the mother of Matarɛ, was born into the

Nakarib clan, but the clan Natchi adopted her. The Natchi people 614
duly provided the ceremonial currency for Matarĕ's marriage. But 597
Matarĕ considers himself a member of the Nakarib clan.

In the olden days there was another way in which a clan could 614
acquire members by adoption. This was the case of children
taken in warfare. Adult prisoners of both sexes were killed and 597
eaten. As a reason for not keeping the women, they said it would 727
not do for the women to be taken to live in the villages of their [266]
enemies, they would always be thinking of their old homes and would run away. But the small children, both boys and girls, were brought to the village, and brought up in the families of their captors. They were assigned to the clan of the wife of the man who captured them; she looked after them as if she were their mother. They forgot all about their former home, and if they afterwards met any of their kinsmen in another fight they did not know them and could not talk their language. The names of several people to whom this had happened were given to me, some still living in villages along the North Bougainville coast and in Buka, including that of a woman who had been captured as a girl by the man—now in later middle life—who was talking to me, when he was 'a little fellow just learning how to use an axe'.

Members of certain clans are said to be characterized by the 614
position of the lines on the palms of their hands. The correct posi-
tions are shown in the accompanying sketches. 826

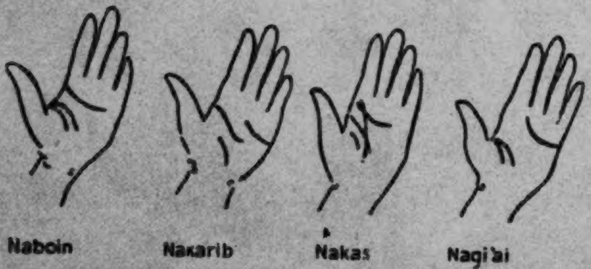

FIG. 3. Diagram showing palms characteristic of clans.

The first three of these were given independently in three different villages, Petats, Kurtatchi, and Saposa. That for Nagi'ai was added by Saposa only. No patterns were assigned to the other clans. It is said that a child will always have hands similar to those of his mother. I looked at the hands of a number of people, and when I

614 826 pointed out some that did not conform to type they said that those were wrong, but did not attempt any explanation, nor did the discrepancy appear to trouble them at all. One man said they must have got the lines from their fathers.

[171] This belief is found also in Buin, in the extreme south of Bougainville, where it was recorded by Thurnwald (1912, vol. i, p. 536 and Tafel III). He gives drawings of three patterns, one of which, for the Fish-eagle clan (*manugau*), corresponds exactly to the drawing in Fig. 3 for the Naboin (Manu) people.

## THE LINEAGE GROUP

613 The clan is, of course, made up of a number of lineage groups. The separate lineage groups seem to have been, in the olden days, far more self-contained than is the case at present, but even now the lineage functions to some extent as a unit with its own internal organization.

613 604 The child whose relations with his fellows we discussed at the beginning of this chapter will be taught from his infancy to regard as the person having most authority over him his mother's eldest brother, whom he calls *tsoanē*, and who calls him *pasunē*. But this man is himself under the authority of his own mother's eldest living brother, as long as any survive. The actual head of the lineage, therefore, is its eldest living male. The small child, however, [601] will not at first realize this, since the man in question, his mother's mother's brother, calls him *tsubna'in*, 'grandson', and shows him all the affectionate attention usual in this community between grandparent and grandchild.

613 621 423 The members of a lineage will often be found living together in a hamlet, on ground which they claim as the property of their clan. As a result of the government policy of encouraging the natives to group themselves together in larger villages, for greater ease of supervision, the hamlet, which seems to have been originally the local unit (and, in the mountain districts, still is), is now becoming merged in the village, so that the lineage group no longer dominates the situation as once it did. The older state of things is best illustrated at Saposa, where the people are scattered over a number of tiny islands. Each island was designated as the property of a certain lineage group, in some cases for habitation, in some for growing coco-nuts, in some for purposes of burial. At Lemanmanu, on the Lontis coast (NW. Buka), I was told that in the olden

days the Manu people lived at Lemanmanu and the Kekeleo people 613
at the neighbouring village of Lemankoa, a short distance along the 621
coast. There was great enmity between the two villages, so that
people from the one could not go inside the barricade of the other. 423
Intermarriage never took place between them in those days, but now that there is no more fighting they intermarry and live in either the husband's village or the wife's village as they please.

It is not to be supposed that the hamlet was ever composed 613
entirely of members of the lineage, since their spouses stood out-
side that group. The information at my disposal is not definite 621
enough to show with certainty whether these people were, in the 597
past, more inclined to be matrilocal than they now are, but there seems to be some likelihood that this was the case. This custom prevails, at the present time, to quite a considerable extent, but it appears to be, with certain reservations to be discussed later, a matter of personal preference whether a newly married couple take up their abode with the wife's people or with the husband's, i.e. whether marriage removes a member of the lineage from the hamlet, or adds to it an individual belonging to another clan. In the latter case, though individuals added by marriage form no part of the lineage group with which they are now affiliated by residence, they recognize the authority of the head of that group, without withdrawing their allegiance from the group which is theirs by birth. Sometimes other families connected with the new-comer will come and take up their residence in the hamlet in order to be near their kinsman. The hamlet, and still more the collection of hamlets which constitutes a village, is therefore composed of a number of individuals bound together by all or any of the varied ties of blood, of clan, of marriage, and of locality.

## *TSUNAUN* AND COMMONERS

In each village or group of hamlets there is one lineage group 613
which takes precedence of all the others. This lineage may belong
to any clan, and the clan to which it belongs is considered the most 621
important, and is generally the most numerous, in that village. It 565
may be that this group originally formed the nucleus round which the village has grown. The head of such a lineage is called *tsunaun*.[1]

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[1] In order to avoid ambiguity I have retained the word *tsunaun* instead of translating it, since there is no single word which gives its sense exactly. 'Person of rank' or 'person of importance' would perhaps be a fair equivalent. No term

613 621 565 The term applies not only to its actual head who is *tsunaun tſan* (= great *tsunaun*), but to his potential successors, and to women whose children will be in the direct line of succession.

613 565 The succession is the same for both *tsunaun* and commoners, and is hereditary, in the female line, but with the proviso that all the males of one generation, if they live in the place, but not otherwise, become head of the lineage in order of their birth, before the succession passes to the eldest sister's eldest son. That is to say, a man's successor is his next younger brother (in our sense of the word), and so on until there are no more brothers living. Cases occur in my genealogies of the succession then passing to the son of the mother's sister, who is hardly differentiated from a blood brother, but it does not appear to pass to any of the other persons designated by the same classificatory term. The next in succession is the eldest son of the eldest sister, or, if she have none, of the next sister in age who has one. For this purpose the children of two sisters count as sisters. No case occurs in my genealogies of a lineal successor failing to be forthcoming, but I was told that if this should occur, the child of some other woman of the same clan would be chosen. The first heir of a new generation, i.e. the eldest son of the eldest sister, is called *wamoa* ('first-born') in the Kurtatchi dialect, and *got* in the Petats dialect.

613 Some concrete examples from my genealogies will serve to illustrate this rule of succession. It is the same for Petats as for Kurtatchi, and holds good, so far as my information extends, throughout the area. Pinari, *tsunaun* of the Nakarib people at Gomen (afterwards amalgamated with Kurtatchi), had inherited from his mother's brother Pasis, who followed an elder 'brother' Nau'uston (actually the son of his mother's elder sister). The other males of this generation are all dead. Pinari's eldest sister, Pari, had a son who died in adolescence, who would have been Pinari's heir had he lived. Failing him, the present heir is Kakari, eldest son of Matēv, the daughter of Pinari's mother's sister, ranking therefore as Pinari's sister. Next to him will come Sankuro, a son of a younger sister of Pinari, but in age between Kakari and Kakari's younger brother, Wakuis, who will follow Sankuro. Then will

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is applied collectively to the people who are not *tsunaun*, but when it is required to emphasize the distinction a person will be described as *ti a pinpiun*, a person of no importance, literally, in the expressive pidgin-English phrase, 'man nothing'. For these people I have used the term 'commoners'.

come Wanias, *wamoa* of a new generation, son of Kakari's sister 613
Rus. At the time of my visit Wanias was about four years old,
already completely spoilt by the attention paid to him by virtue
of his position.

Belonging to the original village of Kurtatchi there is a *tsunaun* 613
lineage of the Nakarib clan. Its head had been Murian, who had
died some time before my period of residence. His younger 565
brother had died before him, so the succession passed to Siani,
the eldest son of Murian's mother's younger sister. It so happened
that Murian and Siani had the same father, he having married two
sisters, but this had no bearing on the succession. There are no
more brothers, so the office will be handed on to the *wamoa*, Matsi,
the son of Murian's eldest sister. Matsi is still a small boy. The
first son of his adolescent sister, Nawi, will be *wamoa* of his
generation, and will one day be the heir.

I could get no information as to the origin of this difference 613
between *tsunaun* and commoners. All discussions on the question
elicited nothing but that they were *tsunaun* because they were re- 565
lated to people who had been *tsunaun* before them. The only 727
information other than this was obtained from an old man at Tiop,
who said that in olden times a man could be made *tsunaun* if he 554
showed himself valiant in fighting. My visit to Tiop was brief, and
I had no opportunity of checking this statement with other informants; I give his account therefore with this reservation. 'If a
man had killed a great number of men, then it was decided that
he should be made *tsunaun*. A raid was made on an enemy village,
a prisoner was taken and brought back alive. His skin was cut
until the blood flowed. The men who were already *tsunaun* washed
the *tsunaun*-to-be in the prisoner's blood. This was done in the
presence of all the people, so that all should know that he was
*tsunaun*. The prisoner either died under this treatment or was [266]
killed, and the assembled people ate him in front of the principal
house in the village. After this had been done, if the sister of the
new *tsunaun* bore a child, he was *tsunaun* from birth, and so the
rank was perpetuated.'

Some *tsunaun* possessed, in the olden days, authority much 554
wider than that over their own kindred or village. This extended
authority seems to be bound up with the state of sporadic warfare 565
that existed all the time, not only between the coast people and
those of the interior, but also among the coast villages themselves.

554 565 Certain groups joined together against a common enemy, and asked one *tsunaun* to lead them all. Something of this extended authority, in a very attenuated condition, still survives. Pinari claimed a vague allegiance from the people of Timputs and Baniu, and said that before the time of the white man his lineage held sway over all the people living along the north coast of Bougainville and some of those of Buka. Pinari had a love of power and a somewhat exaggerated sense of his own importance, and detailed investigation in the area involved might have led to a modification of his statements, but there is no doubt that he had at one time been a *tsunaun* of considerable importance. He claimed that in the olden days his consent had to be asked before a fighting expedition was embarked upon: if he gave it, those who made the request had to pay him a length of ceremonial currency, if he refused it the project would be abandoned. The *tsunaun* was supposed to go to fight with his own people and to keep them together and prevent them from fighting among themselves. If he gave orders which were not obeyed, some of his followers would kill the offenders.

[177] 622 554 565 Exactly what the powers of the *tsunaun* were in the olden days it is now very difficult, and perhaps impossible, to ascertain. The whole position has been fundamentally altered by the new system introduced by the Germans and continued by the present Government. An official, called the 'kukerai',[1] is appointed for each village, or group of hamlets, who is responsible to the District Officer for the good behaviour of the villagers, but whose right to punish is limited to the imposition of a fine and, if that is ineffective, making a report to the D.O. He wears an official cap and is presented with a staff as a badge of office. He has under him a subordinate officer, called the 'tultul', who is usually chosen because of his ability to speak pidgin-English, so that he can act as interpreter between the natives and the government officials. In appointing the kukerai, inquiries are made of the natives as to the persons they consider of importance, and if possible some one who is *tsunaun* is chosen, when his position as a government official is materially strengthened by the fact that his authority is already recognized in the village. But in some instances the *tsunaun* is either unwilling to take office under the white man, or is

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[1] This word is said to belong to a New Britain dialect and to mean 'one who judges'.

considered by the D.O. to be unsuitable by reason of his age, 622
degree of intelligence, or on other grounds. Some other man is
then chosen at the discretion of the D.O., and though the natives 554
are obliged to acknowledge him, he continues to rank, in their 565
estimation, as a commoner, and his position is not an easy one, unless he is friendly with the hereditary head of the group. In the village of Tabut, the *tsunaun*, Karabun, refused to be kukerai, but Wasang, the man appointed, was his great friend, and they worked harmoniously together. But when I was collecting genealogies at Tabut, it was emphasized that Karabun and his mother, Tsonkaisa, were the people of importance in that village, and that Wasang was 'a nobody'. In case of actual hostility between the hereditary *tsunaun* and the government-appointed kukerai, the position of the latter, though unassailable, would be far from enviable. The possibility was admitted and discussed, but no instances of it came under my personal observation.

It seems likely that the elective and purely local office of 614
kukerai will, in course of time, entirely supersede the hereditary
*tsunaun*, who is primarily, though not exclusively, entitled to 622
allegiance from his own clan. An instance showing that this process 565
is already beginning may be cited from my records. Pinari, *tsunaun* of the Nakarib clan, was appointed kukerai of the village at which he lived, called Gomen. Siani, the *tsunaun* of the Naboin clan, residing at the village of Kurtatchi, about a quarter of a mile away, had been offered the official cap as kukerai of Kurtatchi, but had refused it, saying that he was content to be subordinate to Pinari as kukerai of both villages. He subsequently went off to work as an indentured labourer, returning towards the close of my visit. He now lives at Kurtatchi as an ordinary villager, and takes no part in the conduct of its affairs.

As a result of this substitution of the government-controlled jurisdiction of the kukerai for the traditional jurisdiction of the *tsunaun*, and with the passing of warfare, in which the powers and rights of the *tsunaun* were most clearly apparent, the original state of affairs has become so difficult to disentangle that I am not able to give a clear account of the exact position occupied by the *tsunaun* of the olden days. It is certain that he possessed the power of life and death over those under his jurisdiction, but I have no very clear evidence as to whether he exercised it entirely alone, or how much he conferred, in this and other matters of importance, 614 with other *tsunaun* or with the old men of the group. A good deal seems always to have depended on personal character. Although 622 the fact of being *tsunaun* was determined by heredity, and was 565 inalienable, certain people are remembered, while others are forgotten, and it is natural that the man of strong personality would exercise authority far exceeding that of a *tsunaun* who was weak or indolent.

Pinari, in his dual capacity of *tsunaun* and kukerai, claimed as much authority as he dared, and bitterly regretted that the rule of the white man had deprived him of the power of life and death. He adjudicated on disputed questions of all kinds, claimed to have a say in the marriages of the people under his jurisdiction, and arranged for the holding of all important ceremonies. He did, occasionally, confer with the other men of the community, but he resented advice or criticism, unless it was offered with a considerable amount of tact. But he showed great respect for his two sisters, the only kinsfolk of his own generation still living, and sometimes even asked their advice. All three possessed a certain dignity of bearing and carriage that in itself showed that they were conscious of their position.

554 At the present time, the distinction between *tsunaun* and commoners is still marked by the very apparent deference which is paid 565 by commoners to all people who are *tsunaun*. This was evident both from the respect paid to them in their presence and from the tone in which every one referred to them when speaking to me or among themselves, though there were some who dared to criticize Pinari—behind his back. But the most obvious difference consists of the way in which every event in the life of those who are *tsunaun* is marked by elaborate ceremonial procedure which is either absent, or much modified, in the case of commoners. This applies not only to major events such as birth, marriage, and death, but also to such minor landmarks as the first time the baby is carried on his mother's pack (see p. 189), the first time a girl goes to the bush to collect areca-palm spathes, and so on. With the abandonment of native ritual in consequence of contact with the white man, this last remaining distinction will shortly disappear, as it has already done, to all intents and purposes, at Petats.

The ceremonies attendant upon the life of a *tsunaun* will be described in their appropriate context. Apart from such occasions, people who are *tsunaun* live, and, it would appear, always have

lived, the same kind of life as commoners, observing the same 554
taboos, working at the same tasks, eating the same food, and living 565
in the same kind of huts. To this last statement there is one exception.
The hut in which lives the chief wife of the head of the
*tsunaun* lineage, who is usually herself *tsunaun*, has an extension in 342
front of it, roofed, and walled at the sides but open in front, and 554
provided with the usual platform. This is called the 'eye' of the 565
house. Here is kept the slit-gong belonging to the *tsunaun*, which
is beaten on ceremonial occasions as well as for dances. Here the
older men of the village will sometimes congregate to talk, while
the boys and younger men use the front of the men's house for
that purpose. Except on certain ceremonial occasions, women are [562]
not allowed there, as it is only an extension of the *tagoan*, or men's
verandah, of the ordinary houses. This extension makes the house
the longest in the village. Its interior is no different from that of
other houses. The houses occupied by other members of the
*tsunaun* lineage do not differ at all, either inside or out, from those
of commoners. There is no distinctive dress or attached ornament
peculiar to *tsunaun*, but some of the cicatrized patterns may not be
cut upon commoners.

So far as I can ascertain, the prestige of a *tsunaun* was never 554
directly a matter of the possession of property. He is not expected 556
to give large feasts at his own expense. If the group is concerned
in an important ceremony, for which much food must be provided, 565
he will contribute as much as possible, but the others must bring
their own contributions as well. He does, as a rule, own more
strings of ceremonial currency than most people can boast of,
either handed down on the death of former *tsunaun* or received as
payment for favours shown. But he needs more than a commoner [583]
to provide for the marriage payments of the young men of his
lineage, who, being themselves *tsunaun*, should marry women
equal to them in position.

A *tsunaun* usually has several wives, but that is not in itself a 565
sign of rank, since commoners may also have as many as they wish 595
and can provide for. He will, however, usually be betrothed to at 611
least two while still a mere boy, whereas the commoner is probably
betrothed in youth to one only, pleasing himself as to any subsequent
marriages. It is usual for the first wife of a man who is
*tsunaun* to be herself *tsunaun*, belonging to another village, and
usually to another clan. His other wives may, if he so desires, be

565 commoners, but in that case their children are not *tsunaun*, and
595 there is no possibility of their acquiring that status either by
courtesy or by reason of any ceremonial procedure or by payment.
611 Children by a woman who is *tsunaun* in her own right in another village are given their full meed of honour in that village, even though they may live with their father's people. They receive a measure of recognition in their father's village, but cannot succeed to the headship there. To illustrate by a concrete case: Rus, Pinari's chief wife, to whom he had been betrothed in childhood, was the sister of the *tsunaun* of the village of Ieta, on the southern coast of Buka, across Buka Passage. She had an elder sister, Kiots, whose son, Gerwan, was the next in succession at Ieta, but after his death, Wasē, son of Rus and Pinari, would be *tsunaun* at Ieta. Owing, as Pinari said, to his fear of 'poison', and as other people said, to pressure from his father, who was anxious to keep him among his followers, Wasē decided, on the death of his mother's elder brother, with whom he had been staying, to return and take up his residence at Kurtatchi. Here he was treated with respect as the son of Pinari, but it was explained to me that he was only 'half-*tsunaun*' in that village, and was definitely inferior in position to Kakari, Pinari's 'sister's' son. Pinari pushed him to the fore as much as he could, and did his best to play him against Kakari, whom he covertly disliked. Actually Wasē took quite a prominent part in the affairs of the village, and was to share with Kakari the responsibility for organizing the *watawutʃ* ceremony under Pinari's tuition.

565 A woman who is *tsunaun* may marry a commoner if she likes
582 him, and if he can produce the necessary large amount of cere-
611 monial currency. The children of such a marriage are *tsunaun*; the fact that their father was a commoner makes no difference at all.

565 Although it may easily happen that a *tsunaun* is possessed of special knowledge of some particular kind of magic, this is inci-
754 dental to his position and not essentially connected with it. Magical
789 knowledge is just as often the property of commoners. Sobak, one of the rain-makers of Kurtatchi, is a commoner. Pinari, the *tsunaun tʃan*, took the principal part at the ceremony for planting a new taro garden described in Chapter IX, but at a precisely comparable ceremony performed for a taro garden belonging to Tabut, that role was filled by a commoner. Examples might be multiplied. But those who are *tsunaun* are regarded as specially

liable to come to harm through black magic, or, as they call it, 565
'poison', which will probably be made against them by those who 754
are jealous of their power, though I do not think there is any implied 789
suggestion that a *tsunaun*'s direct heirs would try to kill him in order to succeed to the headship of the lineage. Their danger is never far from the minds of members of the *tsunaun* lineage. It is responsible for some at least of the ritual surrounding the lives of all who are *tsunaun*. On the occasion of a ceremony [852]
performed for the child Wanias, I asked why wailing by the women, resembling the ritual wailing for the dead, played such a prominent part in the proceedings, and was told that it was because they were sorry for Wanias, who would probably meet his death by poison because he was *tsunaun*.

## RELATIONSHIP SYSTEM

Returning again to the single individual who was our starting-point, 601
we have now to examine his position in regard to the people to whom he is connected by ties either of blood or marriage. The relationship system is, as is to be expected in Melanesia, of the kind termed 'classificatory', in which the same term is applied to a number of individuals standing to the person who uses the term in different physiological relationships, varying much in the nearness of the blood tie between them. But in using these terms he does not lose sight of such distinctions, although they are not expressed in his nomenclature. There are always certain people who stand closer to him than others to whom he applies the same relationship term, while those who are actually farthest removed in blood, especially if also distant in residence, may mean to him almost nothing, although, when questioned, he includes them in his application of the term.[1] In every case, relatives who are also

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[1] The rendering of a Melanesian relationship term by an English word belonging to our own relationship system is unsatisfactory, because it can hardly fail to suggest a spurious similarity in connotation to that which we habitually associate with the word chosen as a translation. But it would be difficult to render a native system intelligible without proceeding to the unfamiliar by way of the familiar, and it has therefore been customary to adopt, as a conventional translation for each term, the English name for the relative who, of all those to whom the term is applied, stands physiologically nearest to the individual. For example, the word applied to the mother, mother's sister, father's sister, father's other wives, father's brother's wife, &c., is conventionally translated 'mother'. This may serve so long as it is made clear that there is no confusion in the mind of the native speaker between the various individuals to whom he applies the term, and that a very definite distinction is always present between

members of the lineage are regarded as more important than those called by the same term who are outside it. To give but one example, the mother's sister stands much closer to the individual than the father's sister, although the term *tʃina-* is given to them both.

To set out all the relationships covered by each of the various terms separately would be a task in which the result would offer scant reward for the labour involved to the writer in compiling it or the reader in toiling through it. I propose to discuss the more important of the ties covered by each term, and to illustrate as well as I can from concrete cases what these count for in the life of the individual. Further extensions can be traced by reference to the generalized genealogical trees (Tables A and B). The natives themselves do not follow up their system to its farthest logical ramifications, and the extent to which they apply the terms and the attached rules and prohibitions depends to a very considerable extent on geographical proximity.

The relationship terms were obtained in the course of collecting genealogies, by asking my informants what they called each of the relatives named in answer to the regulation questions used in recording the individual's genealogy. They were subsequently checked by making a list of people whose actual relationships were known to me through the genealogies, and asking each of these what term he or she applied to all the other people on the list. A further check was provided by noting the terms by which different persons were referred to in the course of conversation, or in discussing the parts played by them in various ceremonies.

These people do not take any very keen interest in their family history, and I found no one with the phenomenal memory for the names of his ancestors that has been recorded of natives elsewhere. Most of my genealogies do not go back beyond the grandparents of my informants, and in many cases the names of even these are forgotten, except the names of the maternal grandmother, sometimes of her sisters, and occasionally that of the maternal grandfather. Attempts to go back farther met with no success, 'the

his actual mother and all the other women for whom he uses the same relationship term. The convention chosen might just as well have been to translate this word by 'aunt', with the same proviso. So too with other terms. As some of them cannot be easily rendered by a single English word, I have not hesitated to retain the native terms when a conventional translation does not seem to meet the case.

native's grandfather', as Guppy says (1887, p. 76), 'being deemed a person of so high antiquity, that in referring to past events he seldom cares to go beyond'—a statement which, though made long before the elaboration of the genealogical method, still holds good. Sometimes a relationship term will be used which cannot be accounted for by the individual's genealogy, and occasionally I have been able to trace it subsequently, and found it to go back to two sisters of a previous generation. The bond remains after its origin has been forgotten.

Some of these terms are never used without a suffixed possessive attached to them, others use the separate form of the possessive. I could discover no basis for the difference. It does not seem to be the case that the suffixed form expresses a nearer or more personal relationship, as might perhaps be surmised from the other uses of this form. For example, the words for 'mother' and 'father' have the suffixed possessive, but that for 'child' has not. The following example will illustrate this usage:

| *Suffixed possessive* | *Adjectival possessive* |
|---|---|
| *tʃinanẽ*, my mother | *bai'i pio*, my child |
| *tʃinamen*, your mother | *bai'i pe'en*, your child |
| *tʃinania*, his (her) mother | *bai'i pia*, his (her) child |
| *tʃinerer*, their mother | *bai'i pe'er*, their child |

For convenience of reference, a list of relationship terms is given on pp. 56, 57 with the translation reduced to its simplest terms, reciprocal pairs being taken together. This list gives the terms in use at Kurtatchi. To avoid confusion, the terms of the Petats dialect are given in a similar table in Appendix II. The genealogies and relationship terms which I collected at other villages in different parts of Buka, and along the whole of the north coast of Bougainville, though not complete, are sufficient to show that the system is essentially the same throughout all this area. That of the Kunua mountain district appears to be different, but I did not get enough information about it during my brief visit to enable me to analyse it.

The terms as here given are, in general, those used by an individual in referring to the people to whom he is thus related, or in speaking of the relatives of other people. In some cases they can also be used as terms of address, in others they are not so used; the terms of address where this occurs are given

[text continues on p. 58]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

601

## LIST OF RELATIONSHIP TERMS AND THEIR MOST IMPORTANT APPLICATIONS

NOTE. Where the suffixed possessive is used, the form given is that for the first person singular, with the possessive separated by a hyphen.

| TERM | RECIPROCAL |
|---|---|
| | 1. *tʃína-nĕ : bái'i* |
| Mother, other wives of father | Child (*bai'i uetĕ* = son; *bai'i mon* = daughter) |
| Mother's sister, father's sister | Child of sibling |
| Wife of father's brother | Child of husband's brother |
| | 2. *táma-nĕ : bai'i* |
| Father | Child |
| Father's brother | Brother's child |
| Husband of father's sister | Wife's brother's child |
| | 3. *tsóa-nĕ : pasí-nĕ* |
| Mother's brother. (Used by m. or f.) | Sister's child. (Used by m. only, speaking of m. or f.) |

4. *kíar*

Sibling and parallel cousin of same sex as speaker. Also, in wider sense, clansman. (Used only between persons of the same sex.)

5. *wéunĕ-nĕ*

Sibling and parallel cousin of opposite sex to speaker. (Used by m. speaking of f. and by f. speaking of m.)

6. *magin*

| | |
|---|---|
| Spouse of one's *kiar*, i.e. brother's wife (m.s.), sister's husband (f.s.). (Used by m. speaking of f. and by f. speaking of m.) | *Kiar* of one's spouse, i.e. husband's brother (f.s.), wife's sister (m.s.). (Used by f. speaking of m. and by m. speaking of f.) |

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

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7. *táuwē-nē*

| | |
|---|---|
| Spouse of one's *wevnē-*, i.e. sister's husband (m.s.), brother's wife (f.s.). (Used by m. speaking of m. and by f. speaking of f.) | *Wevnē-* of one's spouse, i.e. wife's brother (m.s.), husband's sister (f.s.). (Used by m. speaking of m. and by f. speaking of f.) |

8. *pi'an*

| | |
|---|---|
| Child (m. or f.) of mother's brother (cross-cousin) | Child (m. or f.) of father's sister (cross-cousin) |

9. *watʃitʃio*

| | |
|---|---|
| Parent's female cross-cousin, i.e. | Child (m. or f.) of cross-cousin, i.e. |
| Mother's mother's brother's daughter | Father's sister's daughter's child |
| Mother's father's sister's daughter | Mother's brother's daughter's child |
| Father's mother's brother's daughter | Father's sister's son's child |
| Father's father's sister's daughter, also | Mother's brother's son's child, also |
| Wife of mother's brother | Child of husband's sister |

10. *tsúbu-nē : tsúbna'in*

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's parents, father's parents | Child (m. or f.) of son or daughter |

11. *míntʃē-nē* or *uĕtē pio : múta-nē* or *mon pio*

| | |
|---|---|
| Husband | Wife |

12. *wáris*

| | |
|---|---|
| Wife's parents | Daughter's husband |

13. *rílanbe-nē*

| | |
|---|---|
| Husband's parents | Son's wife |

14. *ríwan*

Parents of child's spouse

15. *taö*

Co-wife

601 in the following notes. Relationship may also be expressed by a transitive verb formed out of these terms and the causative prefix *wa-* which may be said to correspond to our *be-* as in 'befriend'. For example, *wataman* or *watʃinan* means to stand to a person in the relation of father or mother; *Nomoin wapi'an pi Gav* means 'Nomoin is *pi'an* to Gav' (i.e. is his cross-cousin).

*Notes on the relationship terms*

1. *Tʃina- : bai'i.*

*Tʃina-* is applied primarily to the actual mother. Second to her in importance comes the mother's sister, then her ortho-cousins (the daughters of her mother's sister).

On the other side of the family it is given to the father's sisters and his parallel cousins (the daughters of his father's brother). Further, it is used of any woman added to the parental generation on both sides by the fact of her marriage to any of either parent's siblings or parallel cousins.

There is never any confusion in the mind of the speaker between his actual mother and the other women to whom he applies this term. Among these others his feelings of nearness and affection [604] vary in intensity. Nearest to his own mother comes his mother's sister, who, if she should be resident in the same village, has helped to look after him from his earliest babyhood. The relatives on his father's side, i.e. his father's sister and his father's brother's wife, stand further from him, though he will accord them respect and help them if need arise, just as readily as he helps his mother's relations.

593 882 The bond between a girl and her actual mother remains very close throughout life, for even if she goes to live with her husband's people, she will often come home for long visits. A boy is taken from his mother when he goes into the bush preparatory to putting on the *upi*, and their connexion is henceforth but distant until after the *upi* has been ceremonially removed, perhaps ten years later. During the intervening years he sleeps in the men's house, and consorts only with people of his own sex. After this, he may return to live in his mother's hut, perhaps bringing his wife there, or he may build another hut for himself and his wife. He is then expected to look after his mother and to help her with her heavy work, and to care for her if she is left a widow in her old age.

601 595 In the case of a man with more than one wife, the term *tʃina-* is

applied by all the children to all of them. But the use of the term 601
does not in this instance imply that any motherly care is shown
by one wife towards the children of another. As a rule they live 595
in separate huts, and each looks after her own offspring, the others
having much less to do with their co-wife's children than has the
latter's sister, except in the case of a man marrying two sisters,
when the 'mother's sister' relation holds good. Otherwise, one
wife, if she takes any notice at all of the child of another, is more
likely to 'put upon' the child if she be a girl, making her run
errands and do other work for her. In some instances which [578]
came under my notice this was a source of quarrel between the
domineering wife and her husband, who took his child's part
against her.

The word *tʃinanē* is never used as a form of address. A child 601
calls his mother *na*. Children must never use their mother's per-
sonal name, but when they are grown up and the mother is old, 551
they may use some name which has been given to her on a special occasion, perhaps when her husband dies. For example, Tchub may not call his mother by her personal name Diwats, but he may use the name Pasu, which means 'short of breath', and was given to her because her husband fought for breath before he died. It is by this name that she is generally known in the village, the other I learned first while taking her family's genealogy.

### 2. *Tama- : bai'i.*

The views of these natives in regard to physical paternity and 601
the customary procedure when extra-marital intercourse results in pregnancy are discussed in Chapter IV. For sociological purposes the term *tama-* may be described as applying to the mother's husband. Where a widow or a divorced woman remarries, it is applied by her children to her new husband. In the majority of cases the most important person to whom an individual applies the term *tamanē* ('my father') is actually the child's physiological father. Its extensions are to the father's brother, all the father's male cousins, and the mother's sister's husband.

The bond between a father and his children is a close and 593
affectionate one; it is expressed in caresses while the children are little, and, when they are older, in the lively interest the father takes in all their doings and the affairs of their everyday lives. The connexion between father and son is not interrupted, as is that

593 between mother and son, when the boy puts on the *upi*, in fact
he is then just beginning to be taken out by his father on fishing
and hunting expeditions, and to be a real companion to him. It is
[584] the father who chooses his son's first wife, often while the son is
still quite a small boy. An old father will not infrequently live with
his married son. I have known a man to beat his wife severely
because he thought she had not taken sufficient care of his father
during his own absence. A daughter comes in for a fair share of
her father's affection, but I did not notice, in the families which
I kept under observation, any marked preference for the daughter
[578] over the son. In more than one instance there were apt to be
quarrels between a man and his adult daughter, while I did not
hear of any marked dissensions between a man and his adult son.
One rather striking case was that of a married daughter living a
very short distance off, who seemed to consider it no business of
hers to come and look after her old father when he was ill, leaving
him consistently alone until he died. The villagers did not comment on this neglect as if it were anything unusual.

601 *Tamanĕ* is not a term of address. A child calls his father *pa*. When he is grown up he may use some secondary name, as in the case of his mother.

3. *Tsoa-: pasu-*.

601 The term *tsoa-* is applied by individuals of both sexes to the
mother's brother, the mother's mother's brother's son, and the
604 mother's mother's sister's son, i.e. to the males of the mother's
generation on her side of the house, excluding those introduced by
marriage. These men call their sister's (or their cousin's) children
*pasu-*, irrespective of the children's sex. The man who counts for
most in this relationship is the mother's eldest living brother, who
is officially head of his sister's household, and possibly of the whole
lineage, and is a person of considerable importance, especially if
the lineage be *tsunaun*. The extension of the term to the mother's
mother's *brother's* son seems curious, as he is, of course, normally
of a different clan and does not belong to the lineage group. There
are sufficient examples in my genealogies, however, to authenticate
this. The term is not applied to any relative on the father's side
of the house, the males of the father's generation on his side of the
house being known as *tamo-*.

604 The *tsoa-* does not necessarily enjoin discipline, or dispense

punishment, since but little of either falls to the lot of the children 604
of these natives, and what little there is is just as likely to be in the hands of mother or father as of *tsoa-*. But the relationship seems throughout to be an official rather than a personal one. It is most in evidence during ceremonial procedure, and will be discussed in this respect in various portions of this book. This does not mean that there is no affection between *tsoa-* and *pasu-*, but that depends entirely on the personalities of the individuals.

The *tsoa-* shares with the father the training of the boy in hunting and fishing. 604 If he lives in another village, his nephew will go and stay for long periods in that village, sleeping, if he wears the 868 *upi*, in the men's house belonging to his clan, but being provided [541] with food by the wife of his *tsoa*. In the case of a boy who stands in the direct line of succession to the headship of a tsunaun lineage, the *tsoa-* must, as the young man grows up, teach him certain ceremonial observances which he will later be called upon to carry out. This right cannot be alienated from him, even though he be not fitted for the responsibility. Pinari had decided to allow Kakari, his *pasu-*, to conduct the approaching *watawutʃ* ceremony, under his supervision, so that he would know the ritual. But he had no great confidence in Kakari, who is a somewhat casual and inefficient young man, so he intended to include his own son Wasē in the instruction, and let him share the responsibility for the ceremony with Kakari. This was not according to rule, but Pinari considered that he was within his rights in so doing, and no one gainsaid him. He could not alienate the succession from Kakari, but it was very evident that had it been possible he would have done so. His sister Pari told me that he was secretly very much displeased with Kakari for his slackness, but that he was 'ashamed' to scold him about it because Kakari was the heir. In this particular case the personal preference for the son over the [593] sister's son was very marked, and I do not think the case was an isolated one.[1] In many instances known to me, the son, and not the maternal nephew, was the recipient of special knowledge of some particular kind of magic, such as rain-making or love charms.

While there are no taboos governing the *tsoa- : pasu-* relationship, 604 when the nephew is grown up there is always a certain amount of reserve between the two. A man's *tsoa-* would not go

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[1] The social implications of a situation of this kind are discussed by Malinowski, who found it occurring in the Trobriands (1926 (1), pp. 100 ff.).

604 to his house if he were not there, it would be considered an insult to the *pasu-*'s wife though he calls her by the same term as his own son's wife, to whom he would go freely.

A man owes certain duties to his *tsoa-*, the chief of which was, in the olden days, to assist him in fighting. He must provide the greater part of the food for his *tsoa-* in old age.

In the case of a female the *tsoa- : pasu-* relationship seems to count for less than with a male, perhaps because there is no question of succession. No specially interesting incidents illustrating the relation between a girl and her mother's brother came under my notice, other than the very exceptional case of rape discussed on p. 77.

4. *Kiar* (term used reciprocally).

601 To understand many of the terms in this relationship system it is essential to bear in mind the way in which the use of the words *kiar* and *wevnē-* differs from our use of the words 'brother' and 'sister'. Whereas our usage depends upon the sex of the person spoken of, the Melanesian usage depends upon the sex of the speaker. That is to say, while we use 'brother' or 'sister' according to whether the sibling to whom we refer is male or female, the Melanesian uses *kiar* if he is referring to a sibling of the same sex as himself, and *wevnē-* in referring to a sibling of the opposite sex. It follows that *kiar* is applied by a man to his brother and by a woman to her sister, while *wevnē-* is applied by a man to his sister and by a woman to her brother. No distinction is made according to whether the speaker is older or younger than the person spoken of.

601 By extension the term *kiar* is used between parallel cousins of
the same sex, i.e. by the children of two brothers or of two sisters.
543 No special designation is used between 'ortho-cousins', i.e. cousins
605 in the line in which descent is reckoned, in this case the children
of two sisters. But, in practice, the relationship between such is closer than that between the children of two brothers, and unless great precision is used in investigating the facts, the distinction between ortho-cousins and blood brothers and sisters is very easy to overlook; it appears frequently to be ignored, if not actually lost sight of, by the individuals concerned.

593 This is a very close and friendly relationship. A person's *kiar*
606 is the first to whom he turns for help in any enterprise, and is the

only relative whose property, such as coco-nuts or areca-nut, he 593
may requisition if necessary. Two women who are *kiar* will work 605
together and will look after each other's children. If one dies, the
other will take her sister's baby and suckle it, if she is in a position
to do so. They are very often both married to the same man, but
there is, so far as my knowledge goes, less friction between them
than between co-wives who are unrelated. It is not uncommon
for two brothers to marry two sisters, and to build huts next door
to one another.

*Kiar* may be used as a term of address, and so far as I know 601
there is no alternative vocative form.

One of the women of Kurtatchi adopted me as her *kiar*, on her 608
own initiative. She never failed to respond to any request I made
of her, and would let me have a supply of taro even when she had
not too large a store for herself. In return she considered herself
entitled to ask me for tobacco once in a while, a concession I never
permitted to others, but she did not abuse the privilege. I used
sometimes to work in her taro garden, which pleased her very
much, being the proper thing for a *kiar* to do.

5. *Wevnē-* (term used reciprocally).

This term is used only between people of opposite sexes, in 601
accordance with the rule discussed in the preceding note. It
is applied, primarily, by a man to his sister and by a woman to 593
her brother, and also to parallel cousins, i.e. the children of the
mother's sister and of the father's brother, provided they are of 605
the opposite sex to the speaker, that is to say, to the children (of
the appropriate sex) of any person the parents call *kiar*. While
both are little the relation between *wevnē-* is very similar to that
between *kiar*. If the girl be the elder, she looks after her little
brother, pets him, and carries him about. Little boys are usually
immensely pleased with their baby sisters. Several whom I knew
well were always dragging me off to admire their little sisters and
to see what they could do.

Withdrawal of intimacy begins abruptly when the boy is sent 593
to the bush preparatory to putting on the *upi*. As long as he wears
it his contact with his sister is reduced to a minimum, since he 882
is strictly debarred from all but the most distant necessary converse with girls and women. After he has finished the *upi* ceremonies this prohibition is removed, but though there is no actual

593 taboo attached to the *wevnē-* relationship, there is a feeling of
'shame' between them which persists throughout life. They
882 would be 'ashamed' to talk to each other without other people
present. If a man's *wevnē-* calls him to come and take some food from her he may do so, but more probably he will be 'ashamed' and will pretend not to hear her.

593 Jokes on sexual subjects may not be passed by anybody with
a woman in the presence of her brother. But traditional stories
831 involving sexual situations were told me freely by persons of both
576 sexes in the presence of their *wevnē-*. It is not correct to bandy with a woman, while her brother is present, certain slightly improper words, which in the general way are looked upon much as we look on slang.[1] Still less should expressions which are actually regarded as obscene be used under these circumstances. One day a man living near me, in a rage with his wife, accused her of having improper relations with another man, using one of these expressions. Her brother overheard it, and was furious, not at such things having been said to his sister, but at their having been said in his hearing. He said he would go away, and then her husband could swear at her as much as he liked. He did actually leave the village, and did not return for several days, staying meanwhile with some people who were camping at the taro garden.

6. *Wagun* (term used reciprocally).

601 The use of this term and the next following will be best understood if considered in the light of the explanation given of the application of the terms *kiar* and *wevnē-*. *Wagun* is employed by males in reference to females and by females in reference to males, never between persons of the same sex. A man applies it to the wife of any one he calls *kiar*, and a wife to any one her husband calls *kiar*. We might say it applies to 'in-laws' of the same generation as the speaker but of the opposite sex.

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[1] The existence of this rule I learnt by breaking it. There is a certain word, *biak*, an abbreviation of *bibiak*, which means 'faeces', but is used much as we use the expression 'Rot!' to indicate jocular disbelief in something that has been said. Having been taught this by Marotē as the proper retort to make on a previous occasion, I once jokingly countered with it a remark of her own. She immediately became quite serious and changed the subject. When she had me alone she explained that I ought not to have said it to her while her brother was listening. I was forgiven on the score of ignorance, and obtained much enlightenment on the rules of the *wevnē-* relationship as the result of my innocent breach of good manners.

It will be seen that in all these cases the woman is a potential 601
wife for the man she calls *wagun*, for he may have as his wives
two sisters either synchronously or consecutively, and he is entitled 607
to take his brother's wife after the death of his brother. If 587
this marriage takes place, the terms for 'husband' and 'wife' are
substituted for *wagun*. But as long as the *wagun* relationship
obtains, certain restrictions are observed. I once saw Marotɛ pass
near a log on which her *wagun*, Togen, was sitting. As she approached
she called out '*Watagio!*' ('Look out!') Immediately
he rose from his seat, and remained standing till she had gone.
People who are *wagun* to each other may not eat in each other's
presence. If this cannot be avoided, the woman must cover her
face with her hood. They may not touch each other's body or
hair. A man's wife's sister may not prepare his food. Sobak's
wife's sister, Bawt, was divorced from her husband at Hanahan
and came to live with her sister at Kurtatchi. In the olden days
Sobak would, he told me, have married her, but he refrained from
doing so in deference to the wishes of the priest, who discourages
polygamy. Bawt and her three children, however, made their
home permanently with Sobak and his wife, sharing their single
hut. While his wife was paying a visit to her relations at Hanahan,
both continued to sleep in the hut, but Sobak went to his *kiar*,
Watchiu, to get his meals. (Thus precisely reversing the taboos
observed among ourselves!)

*Wagun* may not address each other by their personal names, 607
but may use adopted names, e.g. the woman may be called by the
name she takes if her child dies. For example, Pesɛ's first child 551
died when it could barely walk; since then she has been known
as Tchinamoa—'mother of one (dead child)'. Matarɛ, her sister's
husband, calls her by this name, never using the name Pesɛ.

These taboos are usually brought to an end when the mother 607
or father of the woman dies. Ceremonial pudding is prepared by
the woman and her sister. A length of *imun* (ceremonial currency 768
of flying fox or porpoise teeth) is hung on a spear by her sister's 431
husband, and put up beside her hut. The woman comes out with
her hood on her head. Her *wagun* comes up to her and takes it off. [436]
The woman then takes possession of the spear and the *imun*, but
at some later date she must reciprocate with another gift of like
nature. The two families eat the ceremonial pudding together,
and the *wagun* taboos then cease to be observed.

601 7. *Tauwē-* (term used reciprocally).

This term is used only between persons of the same sex. It is connected with the use of the term *wevnē-* in exactly the same manner as the use of *wagun* is connected with that of *kiár*. It is applied by a man to the husband of any woman he calls *wevnē-*, and to any man his wife calls *wevnē-*. A woman uses it of the wife of any one she calls *wevnē-*, and of any one her husband calls *wevnē-*. That is to say, it applies between 'in-laws' of the same generation and the same sex.

607 There is no taboo on personal contact or on eating in each other's presence. The only restriction attaching to the *tauwē-* relationship is that individuals thus related cannot call each other by name. They do not even use a substitute name, but say the relationship term. This restriction ceases automatically when the first child of either union is born, no ceremonial procedure being necessary.

The term implies a certain intimacy as between equals, and in fact persons so related are often good friends and go about or work together. As so often in the course of field work, my attention was first drawn to this aspect of the relationship by an exception to the general rule. Pinari, a *tsunaun* of great importance, married as one of his wives Kwimau, the full sister of Bwapip, a commoner. In discussing relationship terms with Bwapip in connexion with his genealogy, he told me that before this marriage took place Pinari used to call him by his name, but since then he has called him *tauwenē*. But Bwapip, although entitled to call Pinari *tauwenē* also, said he felt ashamed to do so, and as he could no longer use his name, he always called him by his official government title of 'kukerai'. This clue led me to study the behaviour to each other of various other people standing in the *tauwē-* relationship, with the result that the frequency of the existence of friendly co-operation became evident. It is not in any way prescribed, but may be compared with the business and social partnerships which not infrequently obtain in our own society between brothers-in-law and between sisters-in-law.

8. *Pi'an* (term used reciprocally).

605 This term is used by a person of either sex for any of his cross-cousins, i.e. for the children, whether male or female, of his mother's brother (and for those of any other man to which he

applies the same relationship term *tsoa-*) and to the children of 605
his father's sister, although he applies to this woman the term *tʃina-* ('mother'). It is also applied to the children of any woman in the ascending generation who stands to the individual in the relationship called *watʃitʃio* (see no. 9).

This is a taboo relationship. Persons calling each other *pi'an* must not touch each other's hair, must not use paint out of the same dish for painting hair, face, or body, and must not sleep on each other's bed even if unoccupied. The touching of the hair in particular is to be avoided. For this reason, while a person may take a cigarette or a pipe from between the lips of his *pi'an*, he may not take it from the hole in his ear-lobe (a frequent method of carrying such things), or from behind his ear. If these taboos are [753]
broken it is thought that a skin disease will break out upon the offender. But *pi'an* may use each other's less personal possessions, such as fishing nets.

If taro is cooked in the house, or a feast made for any member of it, his *pi'an* may not eat any. This rule deprived two small children, Gav and Gaua, of all share in the much-desired taro-and-coco-nut pudding that was made on the many ceremonial occasions observed for Wanias, who is their mother's father's sister's daughter's son.

This taboo never comes to an end. It carries with it a prohibi- 605
tion of marriage, which is not, however, absolutely inviolable, at
least, a case came to my notice in which it was broken although 582
under protest. Both families involved in the marriage were 565
*tsunaun*, and such families appear to have, or to allocate to themselves, the right to break customary rules with a degree of impunity denied to commoners. Rusu, wife of Pinari, very much wished her daughters, Pesē and Marotē, to marry two brothers who, though they belonged to another village, stood to the girls in the relation of *pi'an*, their mother being Pinari's cross-cousin, and Pinari therefore their *tsoa-*. The mother of the prospective bridegrooms was against the match, and said to her sons: 'I don't think you ought to marry back your *pi'an*.' But she was overruled, and the marriage took place. In this case one breach of rule was expiated by another breach of the same rule, for these two marriages were compensated for by a union (also arranged by Rusu) between her son Wasē and his *pi'an* Takon, 'sister' (actually ortho-cousin) of the men in question (see Fig. 4). In discussing this question when it arose during the taking of their genealogies,

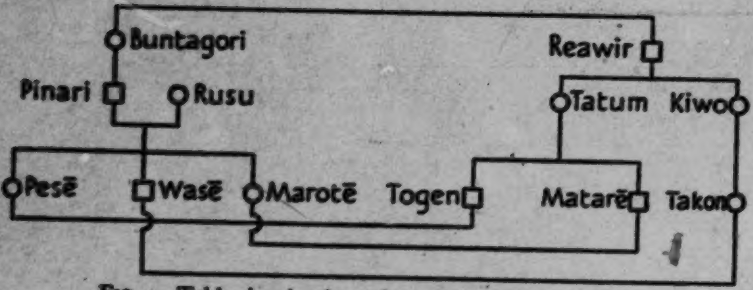
605 582 565 Togen and Matarē told me that their marriages were not really in order, but that they agreed because they were afraid of offending Pinari. In spite of this inauspicious beginning, both marriages seem to be turning out reasonably well.

9. *Watʃutʃio* (term used reciprocally).

601 This term is applied by a woman to the children of her cross-cousins on either side of the house, that is to say, the offspring of her mother's brother's children or of her father's sister's children, and by them to her. It will be seen that the reciprocal term applies to people belonging to an upper and a lower generation, and that while the lower generation can be either male or female, in the upper generation the term applies to females only.

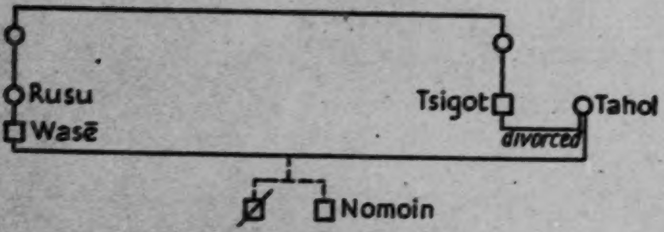
604 582 684 This is a taboo relationship. The woman of the elder generation may not hold such a child in her arms when it is small, and she must not touch it when it is grown up. She must never eat in its presence. This relationship carries with it a very strong taboo against marriage, which is somewhat striking in view of the fact that two persons standing to each other in this relationship are always of different clans, as will be apparent from the table of kinship terms. I was informed more than once that in the olden days the penalty for extra-marital intercourse between *watʃutʃio*, if discovered, was death for both. Members of the woman's lineage would kill the woman, and members of the man's lineage would kill the man. The woman was then eaten by the man's [266] lineage-group and the man by the woman's, no retaliation following on either side. At the present time, they say, all that would happen is that the couple would be banished from the village.

601 604 582 The term *watʃutʃio* is also used reciprocally between a woman and the child of her husband's sister (i.e. her husband's *wevnē-*). By extension, it also applies to the child of any other individual who stands to her husband in the relationship of *wevnē-*. But this does not carry with it so strong a prohibition against marriage, which, though irregular, is not impossible. Tahol, married to Tsigot, took as her lover Wasē, son of Rusu, Tsigot's *wevnē-* (actually his ortho-cousin). After this affair had twice resulted in pregnancy, Tsigot divorced Tahol, and Wasē married her. In telling me about this all the individuals concerned laid stress on the fact that she was not Wasē's *watʃutʃio tsün* ('real' or 'true' *watʃutʃio*) or the marriage would never have been countenanced.


Buntagori
Reawir
Pinari
Rusu
Tatum
Kiwo
Pesē
Wasē
Marotē
Togen
Matarē
Takon

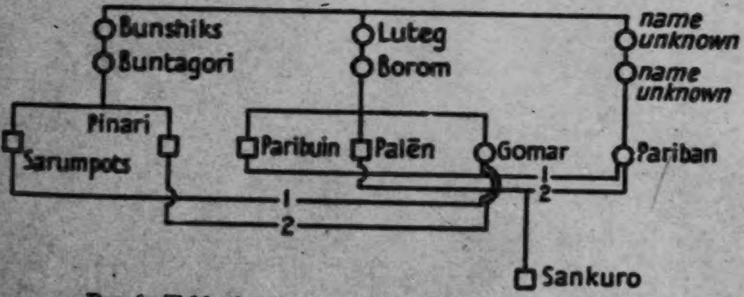
582
605

FIG. 4. Table showing irregular marriages between *pi'an*.
Only relevant details shown.


Rusu
Wasē
Tsigot
Tahol
divorced
Nomoin

582
604

FIG. 5. Table showing irregular marriage between *watʃitʃio*.
Only relevant details shown.


Bunshiks
Buntagori
Luteg
Borom
name unknown
name unknown
Pinari
Sarumpots
Paribuin
Palēn
Gomar
Pariban
1
2
1
2
Sankuro

582
605

FIG. 6. Table showing irregular marriages between *teuné-*.
Only relevant details shown.

[p. 69]

601 *Watʃitʃio* is seldom used as a term of address. A child will call his *watʃitʃio* by the same term of address as he uses for his mother —*na*—and may refer to her, in speaking to a third person, as *tʃinanē* (my mother), while she, for her part, may call him *bai'i pio* (my child), but without showing him any of the endearments which normally accompany the *tʃina- : bai'i* relationship. It will be remembered that she belongs to the same generation as the women he refers to as *tʃina-*. This term seems to be in more general use in everyday life, *watʃitʃio* being a more formal mode of reference especially required on ceremonial occasions, and for this reason it was some time before I appreciated its importance.

604 It is tempting to speculate on the meaning of this relationship between a woman and the children of her cross-cousins, with such strong taboos attached to it. I do not know of any similar stress laid on this tie elsewhere. It seems just possible that it may be a relic of some marriage system formerly obtaining, in which the cross-cousin was the preferred mate, as is the case in many Melanesian communities. But I have no actual evidence or information in support of this theory, and it would not account for the inclusion of the children of female cross-cousins (i.e. the children of the father's sister's daughter and the mother's brother's daughter).[1]

604 I should like tentatively to suggest another explanation. If
585 reference be made to the account of the marriage ceremony on
p. 91, and of the various ceremonies performed for a child
852 described on p. 186 (no. 3), on p. 187 (no. 5), and on p. 189 (no. 7),
it will be seen that the individual's *watʃitʃio* takes a prominent part in each, and that her role seems to be either to impersonate the child (as in the ceremony for first placing on the ground, where the *watʃitʃio* is decorated with the same kind of leaves as is the child himself), or, on other occasions, to act as a substitute for the child, undertaking first the action he is about to engage upon, as if to interpose herself between him and the danger involved in so doing. For example, in the ceremony for first being carried on his mother's pack, one of his *watʃitʃio*, after being carried in this way by another woman, herself carries the child on the same pack,

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[1] Mrs. Seligman has drawn my attention to the fact that marriage with the daughter of the female cross-cousin is an essential feature of Ambrym culture (see A. Bernard Deacon, 'The Regulation of Marriage in Ambrym', *J.R.A.I.* lvii, pp. 325 et seq.). In Ambrym marriage with the widow of the mother's brother is also allowed. The same term is, however, not used for mother's brother's wife and for child of the cross-cousin as in North Bougainville.

temporarily setting aside the taboo on physical contact. Again, in the marriage ceremony, the imitation of the sexual act gone through with one another by the women who stand in that relationship to the bridegroom might be interpreted as taking over to themselves the danger attaching to entry into the married state. This would account for the prohibition against personal contact and also for the strong taboo against marriage. But the natives never at any time made any comments which would suggest that such an idea was involved, and this interpretation of the function of the *watſitſio* is therefore hypothetical only. 604 585 852

10. *Tsubu- : tsubna'in*.

All the grandparents, on both sides of the house, and of both sexes, come under the designation *tsubunē*, and any ancestor farther back than the grandparental generation is given the same appellation. Similarly, all the grandchildren are referred to as *tsubna'in pio*, which also embraces great-grandchildren, though it would appear to be rare for a native to live to be old enough to see the children of the fourth descending generation. Neither *tsubunē* nor *tsubna'in* is a term of address, *bubu* being used instead of both of them when speaking directly to the relative concerned. 601

This is a very close and affectionate relationship, even more than is commonly the case between grandparent and grandchild among ourselves. No taboos or restrictions of any sort are attached to it. As usual, the relatives on the mother's side, especially the mother's mother, stand closer to the child than do the other people to whom he applies the term, but, as usual, much depends on proximity. The grandparents take a large part in looking after the children while they are small, especially when they become of an age to be left at home when the mother goes to the taro garden, or when she has a yet smaller infant to tend. One old man at Kurtatchi was always to be seen with his grandchild on his back, and when the young family went off to visit their other relations he wandered about quite disconsolately waiting for their return; he was typical of many. It is the duty of the grandchildren to care for their grandparents in old age. There were two blind women at Kurtatchi who were always attended and led about by their small granddaughters. The relationship might also be illustrated by plentiful examples from my collection of tales. 603

601 The remainder of the terms to be discussed are concerned entirely with relationships entered into upon marriage.

11. *Uëtë : mon* or *muntſë- : muta-*.

The first pair of terms, which actually mean merely 'man' and 'woman', or, as adjectives, 'male' and 'female', are the usual ones applied by a woman to her husband and by a man to his wife or wives. They are usually distinguished from the general term expressing merely the sex distinction by the addition of the possessive adjective, *uëtë pio*, my husband, *mon pio*, my wife. They may be used as terms of address, and also by a third party, for example, another person speaking to a woman about her husband will say *uëtë pe'en*, your husband. The second pair of terms is used only in referring to husband or wife in their absence, and not as terms of address. Both pairs may be used during the period between betrothal and marriage, but are applied only to the actual, and not to merely potential, mates.

[551] When newly married, couples do not use each other's personal name, for though there is no formal taboo on so doing, they are said to be 'ashamed'. They call each other *uëtë* and *mon*. I have heard a woman call her husband *tab*, which is the exact equivalent of our 'old thing'!

The relationship between husband and wife is discussed in Chapter III.

12. *Waris* (term used reciprocally).

This term is used by a man with reference to both the parents of his wife, and is extended to cover all the other people his wife calls *tſina-* or *tama-*, and also to her *tsoa-* and his wife, that is to say, to all his wife's relatives in the parental generation. Reciprocally, it is applied by all these people to the husband of any female they call *bai'i* or, in the case of the *tsoa-*, *pasunë*. This means that an unmarried girl is *waris* to the husband of her brother's or sister's children.

606 This is the most important of all the taboo relationships. But the full force of the restrictions is felt only in the case of *waris* of opposite sex, that is to say, between a man and his wife's mother. His wife's father is also his *waris*, and towards him he must conduct himself with respect and without undue familiarity. But his relations with all his female *waris*, and with the actual mother of his wife in

particular, are hedged about with the strictest taboos that are 606
known in this society. The woman is held chiefly responsible for seeing that these rules are kept, but the man, for his part, must take care that difficult situations do not arise through his fault, and that his mother-in-law is not put to undue inconvenience in observing the taboos between them.

A man must not see the face of his female *waris*, nor her hair.
For this reason she carries about with her constantly a kind of [292]
pointed hood made of pandanus leaves, which, when her *waris* is present or expected, or where there is a chance of meeting him by accident, she keeps on her head, and pulls, if necessary, over her face. Most particularly she must never be seen by him while eating, and if she has to eat in his presence, she goes as far away from him as possible, pulls her hood over her face, and eats behind it. On encountering in the bush a party of which any relation a woman calls *waris* is likely to be one, she will leave the path and hide behind a tree till they have gone. I have often sat chatting with a group of women on the beach, when, at the approach of a party of men, some one will whisper '*Waris*', and immediately those who have hoods with them will cover their faces, and those who have not will disappear. This custom was still being observed with the greatest strictness throughout the area at the time of
my visit. A remark deriding it, made by the native R.C. Mission [177]
teacher at Tabut, was the occasion for an outburst of feeling on the part of the women both of that village and of Kurtatchi (described on p. 459). But Mr. Gordon Thomas, in a communication written about a year later, states that it has been abandoned on the island of Pororan (1933, no. 44), and there is no doubt that it will shortly disappear altogether.

Further restrictions on the relations between a man and his
mother-in-law and other female *waris* are as follows: They must [514]
not defecate within sight of one another (in the ordinary way no shame is attached to being seen in the act of defecating). They must not touch one another. They must not sleep in the same house. They must not chew areca-nut in the presence of each other. They must not speak to one another directly, but must converse through the wife.

They must not say each other's personal name, nor even a [551]
substitute name. To refer to each other in speaking to a third party, the term *waris* is used. When there is a child, the mother-

606 in-law may refer to her son-in-law as 'the father of So-and-so', and sometimes, even before the child is born, a name will be given to it for this purpose, which is changed at birth if the sex turns out to be wrong.

[888] This taboo ceases to operate when the wife's mother is very old. She may then go and live with her daughter and her *waris*, and be looked after by both of them. Sometimes the taboo is lifted when there are several children. One of the native Mission teachers told me that he did it when his first child was born, because it would not do for him to hold too closely to the old customs. But usually three or more children are born before the [784] taboo is removed. This is done by a small ceremony. The man makes ceremonial pudding, takes a piece of it, and also a piece of areca-nut, breaks both into two, eats one part himself and gives the other part to his *waris*, who also eats. If a number of children have been born but have all died in infancy, the taboo may still be broken in this way.

[689] If a man inadvertently sees his *waris* he must expiate the offence by paying a string of *imun* to her through his wife. When I asked what would happen if a man and his *waris* were caught looking at one another on purpose, the assembled company was—or professed to be—extremely shocked and protested that such a thing could not happen. I surmise that the face-saving scheme above-mentioned saves the situation in such a case.

606 184 764 At Petats I was told that the taboo cannot be lifted during the lifetime of the mother-in-law, but when she dies her son-in-law lifts the lid of the coffin and looks at her face, and throws a fathom of shell currency (*beroan*) into the coffin. This is supposed to be buried with her, but sometimes her own relatives take it out and keep it. If the son-in-law omits to do this there is gossip, and it is said that he is not sorry about the death of his *waris*.

13. *Ruanbĕ-* (term used reciprocally).

601 This term is used by a woman to and of her husband's actual parents, and also to and of any one who stands to her husband in the relation of *tama-* or *tʃina-* or *tsoa-*. Reciprocally, it is applied by both males and females to their son's wife, and also to the wives of all the men they call *bai'i*, and by a man to the wife of any man he calls *pasunĕ*, e.g. to the wife of his sister's son.

606 591 No restrictions are observed between *ruanbĕ-*, even where the

persons concerned are of opposite sexes, as in the case of a woman 606
and her husband's father. The son's wife spends a great deal of
her time between betrothal and marriage living in the hut of her 591
*ruanbě-* and working for them. After marriage the couple may live
near them or near the wife's parents, but in the latter case will pay
extended visits to her husband's parents at intervals.

14. *Suwan* (term used reciprocally).

This term is used by both parents of the husband in reference 601
to both parents of his wife, and reciprocally by the parents of the
woman in reference to the parents of the man. At the beginning 606
of the young couple's married life the *suwan* relationship is accompanied by certain taboos which are considered only second in importance to those associated with the *waris* relationship. They do not, however, include any prohibition against seeing each other or against addressing each other directly, except that names may not be used, the term *suwan* serving as a form of address. *Suwan* may not touch one another, they may not eat in each other's presence, or even chew areca-nut together. But there is no objection to their sleeping in the same house.

These restrictions are removed when the wife has her first child, [784]
even if it dies. The two mothers prepare food, the two fathers prepare ceremonial pudding, and all four *suwan* eat together, each couple eating what the other couple has prepared, and the taboo is thus lifted.

15. *Taö* (co-wife).

This term is used by one of the wives of a man to refer to, and 601
also sometimes to address, any of his other wives, though there
is no restriction on the use of names in addressing one another. 595
No distinction in terminology is made between the first or chief wife, and subsequent wives, but in practice the latter are supposed to give way to the former, though, if they stand high in their husband's favour, they probably will not do so. The man calls his wives *mon* without distinction of priority.

## RELATIONSHIP SYSTEM AND REGULATION OF MARRIAGE

There are no enjoined or preferred marriages in this system. 582
Although the boy may be, and generally is, older than the girl, marriages are, in general, with mates of the same generation.

582 [595] (Exceptions to this[1] occur in the case of men who have several wives, their later acquisitions being sometimes much younger than the husbands.) It will be remembered that parallel cousins are classed with siblings, with whom marriage is forbidden, and that cross-cousins (*pi'án*) are taboo relatives, marriage between whom, though falling short of incest, is viewed with decided disapproval, and this although the individuals belong to different clans. These restrictions, taken together, rule out marriages between all the people who appear in the tables of relationship terms. It follows that a man's wife must be chosen from outside his relations on both sides of the house. As a matter of fact, the more distant extensions of the terms are not always kept in mind, especially if the people concerned live in a far-off village, so that if all the genealogies were followed back for another generation or two, intermarriages would doubtless be brought to light. But these would be incidental, and would not invalidate the system as here described, since the relationships are not considered by the individuals concerned in arranging the marriage. Intermarriages between relatives do occasionally occur, but the amount of care taken to impress upon me that they were irregular, in such examples as I came across, shows that they are never taken as a matter of course. Some of these have already been mentioned. Another, possessing unusual features, is perhaps worth detailing at some length.

582 588 [836] [839] A girl named Pariban fell in love with a young man named Paribuin, and persuaded him to have intercourse with her in the bush. The two were caught, and there was great consternation on the part of their elders, because they stood to each other in the relationship of *weunē*- owing to the fact that their maternal grandmothers were sisters. Finally they were permitted to marry in spite of this. But the rest of the lineage group were very angry, and in revenge Sarumpots, the grandson of another sister, seized Gomar, the (actual) sister of Paribuin (to whom he stood in exactly the same relation as Paribuin did to Pariban), while she was working in the taro garden, and forced her to have intercourse with him. When it was settled that Parabuin was to be allowed to marry Pariban, Sarumpots married Gomar, but great stress was laid by my informants on the fact that this marriage would not have been possible had it not been for the other. Once these marriages had taken place the matter was considered regularized, and on Parabuin's death without children Pariban duly became the wife of

[1] [i.e., marriages generally being with mates of the same generation. — Analyst]

his brother Palēn, who, of course, was also her *wevnē-*. To him she bore a son Sankuro, who was given his rightful position as tsunaun as though his mother's marriage had been perfectly in order. Sankuro is now a boy of sixteen or thereabouts, so that this affair must have taken place upwards of twenty years ago. But from the vividness with which the whole story was related to me, it must have made a great impression on the village. On the death of Sarumpots, the other protagonist in the drama, his wife Gomar, passed in the natural course of events to his brother Pinari, again her *wevnē-*, whose chief wife she now is, having succeeded to that position after the death of his first wife. The unravelling of the relationship terms involved in the genealogy of this family puzzled me very much, until the mystery was cleared up by the recital of the story given above (see Fig. 6).[1] The fact that the relationship was two generations removed took this marriage out of the category of incest. Had the two couples concerned been blood brothers and sisters, it would under no circumstances have been allowed. I heard of no case of actual brother-sister incest, neither does any instance of it occur in any of the stories in my collection. 582 588 [835]

Incestuous unions are, however, by no means absent. The worst form of incest is between a man and his sister's daughter (the *tsoo-*: *pasu-* relationship). A case of this kind occurred in the village of Kurtatchi some little time before my visit. Wasalau, a man notorious for his sexual laxity, raped his sister's daughter, Poskea, scarcely more than a child. She had a baby, which died at birth. There was a great scandal over the affair. Wasalau was banished from the village by Pinari (who openly regretted that the restrictions imposed by the white man prevented him from putting a spear through him), and will never dare to show his face in it again. Pinari subsequently arranged a marriage for Poskea with the brother of one of his own wives, with whom she now lives, apparently happily. 835 684

No case of mother-son incest came within my own experience, but the names of two men, now dead, were given to me as having attempted it without success. It finds a place in my collection of stories, some of which are clearly 'founded on fact', though others are as clearly imaginative or legendary. 835

Sexual intercourse between father and daughter would appear to occur not infrequently, especially where fully grown daughters, married to men away working as indentured labourers, continue

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 69. —Analyst]

Category 116 1:Blackwood ON6 Buka

Card 002

835 to live at home in the absence of their husbands. I did not actually come across a case in which this was proved to have occurred, but it is a feature in many tales, and in discussions with the natives arising out of such stories they said that 'plenty of people do it'. While disapproved of, it is not viewed with the same horror as intercourse between a man and his sister's daughter. It is to be remembered that the father is not a member of the lineage.

## NAMES

551 Reference was made in the discussion of taboo relationships to the taking of supplementary names. The question of names must therefore be considered in relation to society.

553 It is of no great moment who gives a name to a new-born child. Usually it is a member of his lineage, often his maternal grandmother, but any other person may be asked for or offer a name. If a man falls down in sight of the child's mother before the name has been given, it is considered suitable for him to give it.

551 The name given is often one which has belonged to a deceased relative, possibly one of the mother's brothers or sisters, especially if the child be tsunaun. A boy cannot be given his father's name 'because his father is not of his lineage' (*boania*). If the child is not given the name of one of his forebears, a name will often be suggested by some incident, often trivial, that happened at the time, much as English children have been called 'Jubilee' or christened after some one in the news. A small boy at Petats was called Buluŋan, which means 'a message', because his father received a message just as he was born. Nomoin, the name of a baby at Kurtatchi, means 'Go first', and arose out of a dispute over a pathway. Tariri—'Ours'—was the name given to a welcome Petats baby, and Poni—'Again'—to one possibly not so welcome. Sometimes the references are not such as we would consider altogether happy ones. Kalabus was so called because he was born while his father was in prison (= calaboose, pidgin-English for prison), and Kela because his father was bald. 553 Nowadays children are given a European name by the priest when he comes to baptize them, [854] but they generally receive a native name as well.

The name is given a few days after birth, usually on the tenth day, when the child is washed. It is retained in the case of a boy till he puts on the *upi*, and in the case of a girl till her first menstruation ceremony. This ceremony is held only for girls

who are *tsunaun*; in the case of commoners the occasion goes 553
unmarked, and there is no change of name. Theoretically the previous name is now taboo and should be heard no more, but in practice it is often retained.

In adult life, names are changed chiefly as a result of death. No 551
change is made on marriage, or on the birth of a child, but if the
child should die, both mother and father take another name as 765
part of their mourning. A woman who loses her first-born will call herself Tchinamoa, 'mother of one (dead child)', and will continue to use that name even after the birth of other children who survive. Similarly, the child's father will be called Tamanamoa, 'father of one'. Other names assumed in consequence of the loss of children are Tamanakets, 'father of a buried (child)', Tamanaguwur (from *taguwur*, a child who dies of croup), Bunamoa, 'grandparent of one (dead child)', &c. One woman who had lost all her children styled herself, pathetically, Tchinpasen, 'Mother alone'. An odd hybrid name is Tchinarop, the mother of a child who died at Rabaul and was let down into the grave with a *rope*. Similarly, a child will mark the loss of a parent by calling himself Moitaman or Ketaman, 'no father' (*ke* being an abbreviation of *ake*, no, not). In the latter case the name referred to the loss of the individual's father's brother, his actual father being still alive. Loss of a mother may be marked by taking the name Tatchinan (*ake ta tʃina*), 'no mother'. A widow will sometimes take some name connected with her husband's death, but this is not nearly so general as the change upon the death of a child.

For the death of a child or an adult commoner, only the nearer 551
relatives change their names, and even this appears to be done at 565
the discretion of the individual. The former name may remain in
use, and after a time the assumed name is heard mainly from those 765
who find it convenient because the personal name is taboo to them. But for the death of a *tsunaun* every one in the village, even the children, will change, adopting some name having a bearing on the catastrophe. Sarumpots, the brother of Pinari (the same man who figures in the story told on a previous page), had his leg bitten off by a shark, in consequence of which he died. Every one in the place took some name connected with this disaster. Two persons—father and daughter (no relation to Sarumpots)—took the name Baki, a word meaning 'shark', not in the dialect spoken at Kurtatchi, but in that of Hanahan on Buka, a village with which Kurtatchi

551 has an intimate connexion. Another woman is now called Tchina'-
eviat; *eviat* is the word for the bamboo rod used in catching bonito,
565 the connexion being that Sarumpots was engaged in bonito-fishing
765 when the accident occurred. The name of Sobak, my next-door
neighbour, means 'to make a grab at', as the shark does at its
victim, and commemorates the same catastrophe. In cases of
importance the old names seem to be dropped completely. I never
succeeded in ascertaining what the names of these people had
been before. All inquiries were side-stepped by the answer: 'No
one uses it.'

551 As previously explained, these substitute names may be used by relatives who are not permitted to say the individual's personal name. The taboo on the names of certain relatives extends to the use of words which are the same as these names, for which some substitute must be found, either a circumlocution or a word from another dialect.

551 These taboos are falling into disuse in consequence of contact
177 with the white man. Most of the people at Petats showed no
hesitation in saying the names of their taboo relatives when giving
me their genealogies, but at Kurtatchi they either gave me a substitute name or the name of the relationship, or asked some one standing by to say the forbidden word. One man, finding himself alone with me, having occasion to speak of his brother's wife, whose name he should not say, whispered: 'She is my *wagun*, but I'll steal her name and say it quietly.'

[591] The whole system of substituting or changing names is destined to disappear in the near future by reason of the introduction of the Government census. 'Name e stop along paper belong white man, no can loose im.'

## SUMMARY

612 The outstanding characteristics of the structure of this society
613 may be summarized as follows: The kindred, comprising the
mother and the father, the siblings of both, and their children, is
591 the unit of which the individual is most aware in relation to the
ordinary give-and-take of everyday life. In general, the tie between
the individual and his relatives on the mother's side of the house
(his lineage) is the stronger, but much depends upon whether the
individual is living in the mother's or the father's village. This is
to some extent a matter of his parents' choice, but if one individual

of a married couple is of more importance than the other, the 612
spouse will take up residence in the village of the partner who has 613
the higher status. In any case, the kindred, as defined above, 591
counts for more than the clan.

The recognized social unit is the lineage, its head is the eldest 565
living male, hence it follows that the person to whom an individual 604
looks as the one officially in authority over him is his mother's
eldest living brother. Some lineage groups take precedence of the 613
rest; their members are known as *tsunaun*, and the head of such
a group is a person of great authority, though now possessing less
than in the olden days.

For the reckoning of descent and succession the mother's side 428
of the house is all-important, the father's side completely ignored,
i.e. the community is in this respect exclusively matrilineal. But 611
in the case of inheritance of personal property, either in goods or
in knowledge, the society is both matrilineal and patrilineal, that
is to say, a man can bequeath such property to his son or to his
sister's son, or divide it between them, as he pleases.

Throughout the area there are two main clans, but others, 614
smaller in numbers, though not considered as subdivisions, occur:
the names and number of these small clans differ in different
districts. With each clan is associated some creature, usually, but
not always, a bird, but the association now amounts to little more
than that of name, though it may once have been more important. [721]
The significance of the clan as a social unit seems to have declined
considerably with the abolition of warfare.

Marriage is normally exogamous, but exceptions to this rule 582
seem always to have occurred not infrequently. The important
thing is to avoid persons with whom direct relationship can be
traced either through the mother or through the father, marriages
between cousins and the children of cousins being strongly taboo.
(This applies to both parallel and cross-cousins.) The bride is
preferably obtained from another village.

The relationship system is a 'classificatory' one, comparable 601
with those found in other parts of Melanesia, with strong taboos 606
regulating social intercourse between certain persons. The most
important of these are their regulations applying to the wife's
mother–daughter's husband relationship, and to that between the
parents of husband and the parents of wife. These restrictions are
lifted under certain circumstances.

## III

# MARRIAGE AND SEX RELATIONS

124 585 [797] NO marriages took place at Kurtatchi during the nine months of my residence. Had there been any, they would have been conducted according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, since the village now has a resident native Mission teacher. If I had gone there a month or two earlier, I should have been able to witness the final stages of the marriage of Kakari, Pinari's nephew and heir, to Muben, a girl of rank from the village of Baniu, but I did not hear of this until too late. The account here given was obtained from a group of people who had themselves taken part in the events they described, of which at least the marriage ceremony itself was sufficiently recent to be clearly remembered. It was told in public, the audience, as usual, chiming in at intervals to add some detail omitted by the narrators. During visits to other villages, I obtained what information I could about the ritual as performed there, thus eliciting some local differences which are noted in their appropriate places. The main lines of the procedure are, however, similar throughout the area dealt with in this book. I was able to be present at some of the preliminary proceedings conducted on behalf of different individuals, but for the sequence of events and for the bulk of the detail I have been obliged to rely on my informants.

### SEQUENCE OF EVENTS LEADING UP TO MARRIAGE

584 [436] A boy may be betrothed even before he has put on the *upi*, i.e. when he is less than seven or eight years old, and a girl when still quite a baby. The boy's father makes a series of visits to various villages, and when he finds a girl who takes his fancy, he brings a spear, puts a string of *beroan* (ceremonial currency of shell disks, see p. 446 and Pl. 67) round it, and offers it to the girl's mother. If the betrothal meets with her approval, she takes the spear and puts it up in the rafters of her hut, where it remains as a sign that the girl is promised. The father of the boy and the mother of the girl chew the betel-mixture together, and arrange a time when the boy's mother will go and chew betel in the girl's village. The boy

is not told anything about the betrothal. It is usual for the father 584
of a boy who is *tsunaun* to choose for his son's first wife a girl who
is his equal in rank, but there appears to be no hard and fast rule [565]
on the subject. A *tsunaun* girl may be betrothed to a commoner
if her mother agrees, but this is somewhat unusual, as it involves
the handing over, at a later stage in the negotiations, of a larger [436]
amount of ceremonial currency than a commoner is likely to have
at his disposal.

At the time arranged the boy's mother goes to the girl's village, 584
taking with her some leaves of the plant called *unun*, which were 824
used for women's girdles before they possessed loin-cloths, and
the variegated leaves of *iag* (*Coleus Blumei var.*). This plant is [291]
grown along with taro in the gardens and is supposed to ensure a good crop, so it is possible that the use of its leaves in betrothal may have some reference to the bride's future fertility, but my informants did not say so. It is used also in the ceremony for a pregnant woman (see p. 142). The boy's mother decorates the girl with these leaves, putting some round her neck and some round her waist. The two mothers chew the betel-mixture together. Except for this, nothing is eaten at this part of the proceedings, and there is no dancing. Word goes round to all the villages that the girl is betrothed, so that no one else will try to get her. But she still remains with her mother, and does not go near the boy's village as yet.

When she is about seven or eight ('as big as Kiram's wife Buin', 584
who is about that age), the boy's mother goes to the girl's village [302]
and paints the girl's hair with *oin*. If the boy's mother is dead his mother's sister undertakes this duty. When she has finished painting the girl's hair, she may, if she wishes, take the girl home with her. She first chews the betel-mixture with the girl's mother, and fixes a time for her to come and visit her daughter. The girl then accompanies her future mother-in-law home, and the boy now sees his bride for the first time. This first meeting is called *komau*. The girl goes inside the boy's mother's hut, but she stays near the woman's entrance, and does not go near his bed (if he has not yet put on the *upi* and is therefore still sleeping there). She must not speak to the boy; the two are very shy with one another.

After three or four days agreed upon have passed, the girl's mother comes to the boy's village, accompanied by other women from her own village. Any woman who wishes may join in this

584 visit. The girl meets the party outside her mother-in-law's hut, and they all go inside it by the women's entrance, except the girl's mother, who must remain outside on the women's verandah. The boy enters the hut by the men's entrance. His mother is already inside. All the women wear their hoods; the girl must also have a hood, though in the ordinary way she does not need to wear one at this age. A hood is put on the head of the boy. The assembled company all sit down in the hut and chew the betel-mixture. The boy's mother cooks taro for her guests, and provides coco-nuts, but no pig-meat. The time for eating pig has not come yet. When they have all eaten as much as they wish, the boy takes off the hood he has been wearing, but the girl keeps hers on. The girl's mother must not come into the hut at all, she sits outside on the women's verandah and is given her share of food and areca-nut there. Presently they begin to talk about going home. All the women who came with the girl's mother on the visit are given coco-nuts and taro and areca-nuts to take back with them.

The girl stays behind with her husband's mother, who must keep her however bitterly she may cry. She stays for one or two or three months. If she is a very little girl she generally stays quietly, but an older girl often frets for her mother, and if her village is near enough she not infrequently runs away home. (Tagoal ran away to Ruri several times.) If this happens, the girl's mother must take ceremonial pudding (*menak*) and bring it with the girl back to her mother-in-law. At the end of this visit the girl goes back to her mother and lives with her for some time, the duration of which apparently varies with the girl's development and at the discretion of her mother.

583 When the girl's mother thinks it is time for the ceremonial currency to be handed over (usually when her daughter's breasts are just beginning to enlarge, but sometimes earlier than this), she prepares a large quantity of food, fish, opossum, coco-nuts, taro, *menak*, and also pig. She must not ask in words for the currency, but she sends a message to the boy's mother that she is cooking, and soon after a crowd of men and women from the girl's village come to the boy's village, bringing the food that has been prepared. The food is brought to the boy's mother's house, and when she sees the pig-meat among the other things, she knows that she is expected to produce the currency soon. The people who have brought the food stay awhile in her hut, and she must

provide them with taro and *menak*, &c. When they have eaten, 583
they go back to the girl's village.

Soon after the boy's mother has received this intimation by 584
means of the offering of pig-meat, she cooks pieces of pig and taro
and wraps them up into packages with leaves, lays them in a *kōbū* [415]
(receptacle made of the spathe of the areca-palm), and sends it to
the relative she expects to provide her with the necessary ceremonial [824]
currency in respect of the marriage of her son. This is
generally her brother, the boy's *tsoa*, but if he cannot produce
enough a similar *kōbū* containing food is sent to other relatives
until enough is provided. If necessary, the relatives of the
boy's father may also be called upon. If the recipient of the *kōbū*
cannot provide any currency-strings, he must not eat any of the
food, but must send the *kōbū* back with its contents untouched.
If he can help, he eats the food sent to him, and presently brings [436]
to the boy's mother such strings of *imun* (currency consisting of
porpoise or flying-fox teeth, see p. 448 and Pl. 67) or *beroan* as he
is prepared to contribute. It is not handed over to the girl's people
at once, but remains for a time in the boy's mother's hut. Sometimes
it takes a long time to collect the necessary amount.

The amount required is more or less governed by convention, 583
but was said by my informants to be fixed by the girl's father. In
actual fact, I found that other relatives, including her mother's 436
brother, especially if he lived in the same village, also had a say in
the matter. In this, as in many other matters, practice is more
elastic than theory. It varies in different districts, and also according
to the position of the girl. For a girl who is *tsunaun* a much [565]
larger amount changes hands than for a commoner. For Tagoal,
Kiram's wife, it was ten fathoms of *beroan* and ten of *imun*, both
porpoise and flying fox. A fathom of *beroan* has a value to the
natives of about 5*s*. in our money, and one of *imun* of either kind [435]
is worth about £5, in their estimation, so that the arbitrary conventional
value of the currency handed over in respect of Tagoal's
marriage amounted to about £52 10*s*. For a commoner a usual
amount is said to be four fathoms of *beroan* and two of *imun*. But
it may be more, and it is said sometimes to be as little as one string
of *imun* and one or two of *beroan*.

In answer to a question as to what would happen if the boy's 583
people could not collect the amount asked for, my informants said
the ceremony would be deferred until they had. Asked further, 'But

583 suppose they never did?' they seemed to think that in such a case the match would be declared off, but no one had ever heard of such a thing happening. As there is a considerable number of people who can be applied to for contributions, such a contingency, if it does occur, is probably rare.

When she has collected enough currency the boy's mother sends word to the girl's mother and fixes a time to go and pay it, some days ahead. A man goes to take this message; apparently any man who is willing to undertake the journey may do so. The girl's mother prepares a feast, which must include pig. If the girl is a commoner there need not be much pig-meat, but for a girl *tsunaun* many pigs must be provided.

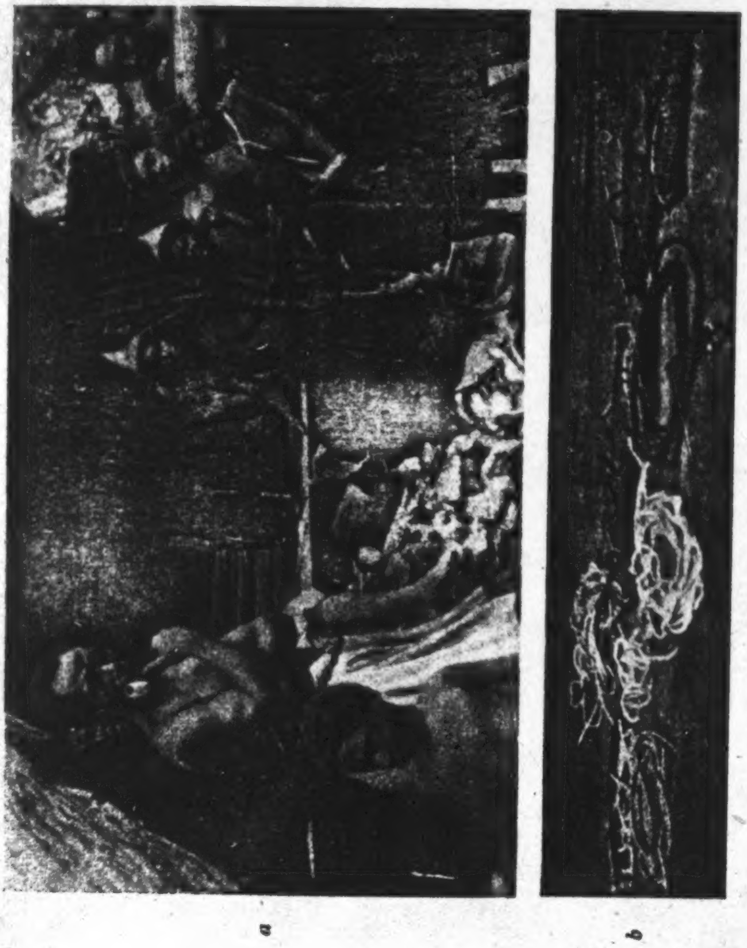
[824] [531] The boy's mother and her brother, and also the boy's father, count up the strings of *imun*, and rub the teeth with the cut stalks of the plant *rurupari* to clean them. They rub fresh *oin* over the strings that hold the teeth together, and put the *imun* into a pot with more *oin*. When the cleaning is finished, the slit-gong is beaten as many times as there are strings of currency, both *imun* and *beroan*. This is done the day before the visit of payment is made.

583 276 The next day the boy's mother, accompanied by many of the people of her village, goes to the girl's village. They do not go right up to it at first, but sit down beside the path near the village and wait. Meanwhile, the girl's mother skins a large quantity of areca-nuts and fills up a *kōbū* with them, she pours powdered lime over them and puts pepper-stick on top of them. Then she puts into the *kōbū* one string of *imun* and one string of *beroan*, which she must give to the boy's mother and mother's brother. This is said to be 'to pay for the boy'.

[602] Then those relatives of the girl who will henceforward stand to the man in the relation of *tauwē* (i.e. her brothers, both blood and classificatory), go and carry the *kōbū* full of areca-nuts to the people who are waiting on the road. All those who will henceforward be *waris* to the boy (his wife's parents, and all those to whom she applies the same relationship terms) remain in the hut belonging to the girl's mother; they all put on hoods—even the men must put on the women's hoods for a short time. They stay in the hut until the *tauwē* come back with the *kōbū*, from which the boy's relatives have taken out the *imun* and *beroan* and as many of the areca-nuts as they require. If there are a number in the party they may take them all.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 6



*a.* DISPLAYING CEREMONIAL CURRENCY FOR A BRIDE
*b.* NEARER VIEW OF THE CURRENCY DISPLAYED

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436
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854

[Facing p. 86]

When the boy's mother sees that they have all had as much as they wish,[1] she tells the boy's father and his *tsoa* (mother's brother) to go to the village. All the women come up, yelling as they do at a *hāna*, and enter the village, and go to the men's verandah (*tagoan*) of the girl's mother's hut. A man selected for the purpose by the girl's *tsoa*, who must not do it himself, receives from the visitors the ceremonial currency they have brought, stands on the platform of the *tagoan*, and hangs up the strings of *imun* from the roof of the hut. Or this may be done at the hut of the girl's *tsoa* instead of her mother's hut. This procedure is followed in the case of a *tsunaun* only. If the girl is a commoner the *imun* is not hung up, but is merely laid with the *beroan* on the *tagoan*, and no ornaments or paint are put on the girl. This was the case in a ceremony which I saw, and shall now describe. 583

On this occasion, I went with a party from Kurtatchi to Ananki, a village a few miles to the east, to witness the handing over of the ceremonial currency in respect of a girl's marriage to a boy of Musang, another village farther along the road. We took with us some packets of ceremonial pudding, which we gave to our hosts on our arrival. For a long time every one sat about on various verandahs, chatting and chewing the betel-mixture, the girl not being visible. Finally she came out of the hut in which she had been living with her mother's sister (both her parents were dead). [736] She was quite a little girl, whose breasts had hardly yet begun to swell. The people from Musang took her off with them without any great show of farewells. Her brother told me she did not want to go and had been crying all the morning. After they had gone, the ceremonial currency they had brought was spread out on the verandah of the hut. There were four strings of *imun* and six of *beroan* (Pl. 6). After it had been inspected by everybody, it was distributed among the girl's relatives. Matĕv, one of our party from Kurtatchi, the bride's father's *mœrol* ('sister'), was allotted two, one of which she said was intended for her brother. She was given her choice, but contented herself with taking two strings of *beroan*, although they are much less valuable than *imun*, saying she was ashamed to take the *imun* from the relatives with whom the girl had been living, her mother's people. How far this was customary, and how far it was due to Matĕv's generosity, I do not know. As soon as she had put the strings into her basket, we took our departure, and I have no information as to how the remaining

[1] [i.e., of betel-and-nut. — Analyst]

PLATE 7

[Facing p. 87]

291
301

*a.* TAGOAL COMING TO VISIT HER HUSBAND'S PEOPLE

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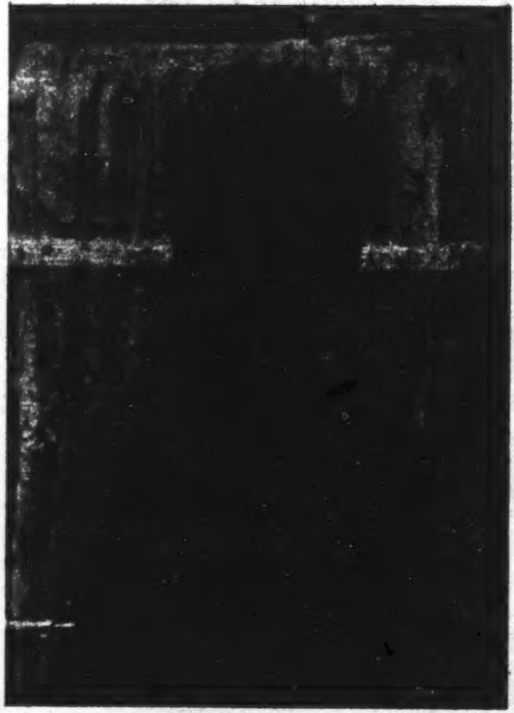
417



*b.* TAKON, WIFE OF WASĒ

583 strings were shared. This occasion was comparatively devoid of
ceremony, because the girl was a commoner.

583 Up to the time when the strings of *imun* are hung up from the
roof of the hut, a girl who is *tsunaun* must remain inside. Her
565 mother has painted her hair with red and black paint (*oin* and
[302] *tʃina*), in alternate stripes. If she belongs to the clan Naboin the
paint is put on in many narrow stripes, to represent a *sui*, a kind
[614] of sea-urchin. If she belongs to the clan Nakarib she has a broad black stripe on each side of her head and a red one in the centre. I could get no explanation of the difference in the patterns, except that they 'belonged to' the respective clans. The *sui* is not a totem. *Beroan* and *imun* belonging to her own people are put on her wrists, and her *ruanbẽ* (husband's mother) or some one chosen by her, usually the girl's *tauwẽ* (husband's sister) puts more paint on her hair, on the top of the *usboŋ* pattern that had previously been put on, so that her head is heavy with paint. Then the *imun* and *beroan* are taken off her wrists and given back to her mother. The strings of currency which were hung up over the *tagoan* are taken down, and all the guests, both men and women, go into the hut, and eat the food that has been provided by the girl's mother. When all have eaten their fill, they go outside, except the boy's mother, who remains inside, looking for a chance to give to the girl's mother a string of *imun* and one of *beroan* which she kept back for the purpose, when the rest of the currency was hung up at the *tagoan*. This is for the girl's mother personally. She does not get any of the strings which were hung up, they go to the girl's *tsoa* and other relatives on both sides of the house. The boy's mother must give these personal strings to the girl's mother secretly, when no one is looking. When she has done so, the two mothers join the rest of the party outside the hut, and all the guests are given food to take back with them in the *kŏbŭ* they have brought on purpose. They get taro, 'possum, pig, *menak*, all in large quantities.

583 The girl must now go back with her husband's people. But if
[565 she is *tsunaun* she is not allowed to walk, so a man who belongs to
482] the same clan as her husband takes her up pick-a-back. If she is
small and light she is carried thus all the way to her husband's
village, but if she is heavy she is carried only for a short distance
outside her own village and then set down. So she comes to the
583 boy's village, and there she must now remain. Once the currency
574 has been handed over, she cannot go back to her mother any more

except for a visit. Whenever she does this, her mother must always 583
make some *menak* and bring it back with the girl, whom she must 574
escort in person.

After one of these visits to her mother a further ceremonial gift
is made by the girl's mother to the boy's people. On her return
she is accompanied by a number of women from her own village,
bringing *menak* and taro, both cooked and raw. A few men accompany
them, carrying a pig, which must be alive. Some ceremonial [436]
currency is also brought; the amount varies and is apparently immaterial.
In the two cases personally known to me, for Tchawawan
two fathoms of *imun* and one of *beroan*, for Tagoal one of *imun* and
one of *beroan* were brought.[1] On this occasion the girl and the
women who accompany her come round to the front of the boy's
mother's hut and go in by the men's entrance (*tagoan*), never used
by women in the ordinary way. The pig is brought as payment for
the privilege of using the front part of the house. If no pig were
forthcoming, whenever the boy's mother was angry with the girl
she would taunt her with it, saying: 'Why does this woman sit
down in my *tagoan*? What did you bring me? Your people did
not bring me a pig to eat, you have not paid for my *tagoan*.' That
is why they bring a pig. If it were not done, the wife could not go
into the front portion of the hut, and she would not be allowed to
perform certain personal services for her husband, such as cutting [302]
his hair and putting paint on it in preparation for ceremonies or
dancing. Tagoal remained with Kiram's people for four weeks
after this ceremony.

During the next few years the girl spends much of her time with 583
her husband's people, living in her mother-in-law's hut, and working
for her. But if the boy is still wearing the *upi* she must not 882
speak to him, though she may do him small services. The boy's
mother says to her: 'Do not be shy of your husband. If I am not
here when he asks for taro, you go and give it to him.' (A boy
wearing the *upi* is allowed to come to the door of his mother's hut
to fetch the taro she has cooked for him, but he may not enter it.)
In the case of a girl married to a man who already has a wife and 583
a hut of his own, she lives in his hut and helps his other wife, but 545
the marriage is never consummated during this period. Takon,

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[1] The strings of *beroan* worn by Tagoal in the photograph (Pl. 7a)[a] were all taken off before her relatives went home, and put on a much smaller girl in the party, who wore them back to Ruri.

a [Cat. 116, facing p. 87, —Analyst]

583 595 the young wife of Wasĕ, aged perhaps ten (Pl. 7*b*), was thus living in Wasĕ's hut at the time of my residence.

## THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY

585 No further ceremony takes place until the girl has 'grown big'. Some people wait until she has menstruated for the first time before they hold the feast at which she is given to her husband, sometimes it is held before she has menstruated, in which case the husband does not wait for this to happen before consummating the marriage.

585 285 [386] [438] When the time for this feast is getting near, all the women *kōma* (dance and yell, see p. 414). At first they *kōma* without feasting for several nights. They prepare baskets to hold the food to be used in the ceremony. These are made of a kind of rattan cane dyed red (*riri*). The coastal people are obliged to buy this red cane from the people of the mountains, who alone know the secret of the dye. The baskets are trimmed with *beroan* round the edges, and trade beads are hung over them. Before they had any trade beads they used dogs' teeth for this purpose. The baskets are also trimmed with all sorts of aromatic plants and leaves. The boy's mother makes one basket, the girl's mother makes another. The general name for these baskets is *seban*; the special name for baskets made by the people of the Nakarib clan is *kuwir* or *kuwirtsun*, for those of the Naboin clan *popalat*. When the baskets are finished, all the women come with them and hang them up on the branch of a tree, then the women take bows and arrows, paddles, axes, &c., and jump about (*sani*) waving them, and the slit-gong is beaten.

585 When the time for the feast is close at hand, the basket made by the boy's mother is taken down and put in her hut. The girl's people come and fetch it, bringing in exchange the basket made by the girl's mother. This is a sign that the girl's mother has enough pigs and other food for the marriage ceremony. They take back the basket made by the boy's mother, which remains for a while at the house of the girl's mother, and the women of the girl's village go through the same performance with the bows and arrows and paddles.

[417] Meanwhile, the people of the boy's village have been making a platform (*tiwan*) out of split areca-palm trunks. The men make it in the bush, and leave it on the road close to the village. The women of the village go, singing, and ornament it with flowers and

aromatic leaves. Then they bring it into the village and put it in 585
the hut of the boy's mother. The boy's mother catches a pig and
cooks it. The men and women who helped with the platform must
be given pig to eat all together. The platform is laid down inside
the house.

Then all the women who stand in the relation of *watʃitʃio* to 585
the boy (see Chap. II, p. 68, for this relationship) go and lie on
the platform in couples, holding each other fast. Each couple 831
pretends to be husband and wife, who play at copulating with each
other. When one couple has been lying on the platform for a while
they get up and another pair take their places, till all the boy's
*watʃitʃio* have taken part in the performance.

When this is finished, all the men and women of the boy's 585
village adorn themselves with paint and put on the mark called
*wakai*—a line of white outlining the edge of the hair and the forehead. 302
Then they all go to the girl's village. They *kōma* along the
road. The people of the girl's village have been similarly adorning
themselves and they also *kōma*. They ornament the girl with the [301]
*wakai* line and with a clam-shell nose ornament, and hang strings
of *beroan* across her shoulders and round her waist.

The people from the boy's village reach the girl's village just 585
after dark. They *kōma* as they come. They join in the *kōma* at
the girl's village. All the people of both villages stand up together
and *kōma*. But the boy and the girl do not join in it, they hide in
different huts, and are not allowed to come out. The boy's mother
joins in the *kōma*, but the girl's mother stays with her daughter
inside her own hut. This goes on all night.

Just before dawn breaks, one of the girl's male relatives takes 585
up the boy on his shoulder (*watok*). This duty must not be performed
by the girl's *tsoa*, who is *waris* to the girl's husband and 482
cannot touch him. It is usually undertaken by one of the men who
will be *tauwē* to the husband, i.e. his wife's brother, blood or classificatory.
He is assisted by men of the boy's clan, who place their
hands under the boy's buttocks and take some of the weight. The
corresponding relative of the boy, who is *tauwē* to the girl, i.e. her
husband's sister, takes up the girl on her shoulders in the same
way, and is similarly assisted by members of the girl's clan. The
heads of both boy and girl are ornamented with cock's feathers, [301]
and strings of *beroan* are hung across their shoulders. *Beroan* is
also hung over both the wrists of the boy, but not of the girl.

585 The boy and the girl are then supposed to weep, the girl a great deal, the boy only a little; he must shed tears but must not cry aloud, he would be ashamed to do so. Some boys do not weep at all.

They are carried round in *kōma* formation, accompanied by all the other people. They go round once only, then the girl is taken back to her own hut, and the boy to the hut he slept in the night before. This may be the *tobar* (boys' house), but if he has friends in the village he may sleep with them.

When the sun is well up they all *kōma* again, the couple being carried as before.

585
417 A platform has been prepared beforehand, made of areca-palm planks, and laid on the *tagoan* of the girl's mother's hut. It is ornamented with flowers and aromatic plants, canarium almond and sugar-cane, &c., and is covered with women's hoods. A fence is set up round it, made of coco-nut palm leaves, so that it is all enclosed.

585 When the *kōma* is finished, and the couple have been carried round once again, all the people who will in future stand to the boy in the relation of *waris* (his wife's parents, actual and classificatory) sit down on the ground in two lines opposite to each other, with their legs stretched out so that the soles of the feet of those composing one line are touching the soles of the feet of the people in the other line. The rest of the people keep up the *kōma*. The bridal pair are carried round the dancers once, then they are set down, and must walk along the line of outstretched legs.

After this the bridal pair and those accompanying them go inside the enclosure. The relative of the girl who has been carrying the boy sits down on the platform that has been prepared inside the enclosure, and takes the boy on his knees. Then the relative of the boy who previously carried the girl sits down beside him and takes the girl on her knees. The two sit side by side, close together. All the women put on their hoods. From now onwards the rules of avoidance between the husband and his wife's parents (*waris*), and between the parents of husband and parents of wife (*suwan*), must be observed. (For these see Chap. II, pp. 72–5.) Then
585 the boy's father takes the girl's legs and lays them across the legs of
184 the boy, so that the boy's legs are underneath and the girl's over them. In an account obtained from Tabut it was said that the boy's father takes one of the girl's legs and lays it across the boy, and then takes one of the boy's legs and lays it across the girl, so

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

that the legs are intertwined. This may be a local difference; the 585
account was quite clear and definite in both cases. At Tabut there [184]
was added: 'Then they all talk to the girl, and tell her: "Now you know how to hold your husband's skin, you must not be ashamed any more now."'

Then the boy's mother's brother (at Tabut they said any of the older men of the village would do as well) takes a piece of pig out of the ceremonial basket (*seban*), cuts off a bit, and holds it to the mouth of the girl; she must only smell it, not bite it. Then he puts it to the mouth of the boy in the same way. Neither of them must actually touch the meat. Then he puts the meat back into the *seban*. Then he takes a coco-nut shell full of water, and holds it to the girl's mouth, but she must not drink any of it. In the same way he holds it to the boy's mouth. He then takes areca-nuts and pepper-stick. He breaks one areca-nut in half. One half is given to the boy, who hands it to the girl. She bites off a piece with her teeth, and gives the rest back to the boy. Then the pepper-stick is dipped into the lime-pot, and the boy gives it to the girl, who eats part of it. What remains is dipped again into the lime, and the girl gives it to the boy, who must chew it. If he is not shy he manages to chew all of it, but sometimes he is so shy he cannot chew, and it remains in his mouth.

Then the women who are the boy's *waris*, who have been sitting on the ground all this time with their hoods over their faces, are told to lift up the hoods and look at their son-in-law so that they will know him. 'Look in the face of your *waris*, it won't do for you to go making some other man think you are his *waris*.' Then the young couple untwine their legs and get down off the knees of their respective *tauvē*. Then a man goes to the slit-gong and [533]
beats it with a succession of short quick beats, thus:

• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •

The other men blow on the Pan-pipes, and the women *kōma*. The *seban* are hung up in the rafters. Food is distributed.

After this the boy gets up and goes off at once to his own village. The girl waits till all the women belonging to the boy's village are ready, then the boy's mother, who is *ruanbē* to the girl, carries her pick-a-back. All the men and women relatives of the boy go along with them, and come to their own village. As soon as they arrive, a big feast is made for the young married couple. All the food is

585 put on the platform that was previously prepared in the boy's mother's hut. All the kinsmen of the boy, male and female, who belong to the same clan (that is, all the members of his lineage) go and eat with the young couple, and they can bring in any one they wish, irrespective of clan. They eat all the food that was given them at the girl's village, which the women have brought back with them. The young couple really eat this time, instead of pretending.

Then the married pair lie down together on one bed[1] inside the boy's mother's hut and the marriage is consummated. My informants ended their account by saying: 'The man wants the woman all the time, they have connexion again and again, they go on all the time, they cannot sleep.'

585 The account given at Tabut differs somewhat from the preceding
one obtained at Kurtatchi. Apart from the details previously
184 mentioned, the ceremony is described as taking place at the boy's village, and after it, all the boy's *waris* go back to their own village, while the girl stays with her husband, and is supposed to cry for her mother—some really cry, some only pretend. When the sun goes down, the young couple are told to go into the boy's mother's hut and eat the taro that they will find there. Not many people are there, only the boy's mother and his grandmother. The boy's grandmother tells the girl: 'Now you must not be ashamed before your husband any more.' Then she tells the boy: 'And you, you must not be ashamed before your wife. You two can sleep together on one bed now, and can eat together out of one basket of taro.' Then the two eat, the boy eats first and the girl after him. They eat a piece of pig and a piece of taro. The boy bites off a piece and then gives the rest to the girl. This is to signify that, in future, when the husband eats, he will not finish all the food, but will leave some for his wife, who must finish it, and the girl must take care to provide the man with plenty of food. 'Then the two lie together and have sexual intercourse, they laugh on the bed, they play with each other and talk, and chew the betel-mixture, they
532 do not sleep.'

184 On the Lontis coast, north-western Buka, when a woman who
565 is *tsunaun* marries and is escorted to her husband's hut—or rather
585 to his mother's hut, where they will live at first, in most instances—

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[513] [1] In the ordinary way man and wife occupy separate planks, with the usual space between for a smouldering fire.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

PLATE 8

532
585

a b

a. FEMALE FIGURE USED IN MARRIAGE CEREMONY, BUKA

b. MALE FIGURE, CICATRIZED

[facing p. 94]

184 532 565 585 she is preceded by a man carrying a wooden figure (*kaisa*) representing a woman, carved out of soft wood, about three feet high, and realistically painted, no physical features being omitted. A long pole-like handle is carved in one piece with the figure, by means of which the figure is carried on high like a standard. It is set down beside the door of the hut, and after the bride has gone in, it is taken to the *tobar* belonging to the men of the bridegroom's [842] mother's clan, and carefully stored there. This figure, although that of an adult, represents the woman's future child; its purpose is to ensure that she will soon conceive. It is female because it is [562] desirable that her first child shall be a girl. Female children are much desired in this community because, descent being matrilineal, the children of a woman who is *tsunaun* will themselves be *tsunaun* and carry on the line, whatever the position of their father. When once the figure is placed in the *tobar* it may not be taken out again, for if a woman were to see it the child would die. It remains in the *tobar* until the child is fully grown, when it is destroyed. But the hold of this belief is weakening, and on my expressing a desire to purchase one such figure which was shown to me, I was permitted to do so, on condition that I carried it away carefully swathed in wrappings, and did not allow any of the native women to see it, a promise which I took care to keep. It is reproduced in Pl. 8*a*.

532 435 There are certain men who know how to carve these figures. Unless the bridegroom's family numbers one of these among its members, they have to pay one string of *beroan* and give a pig to the man who makes it, or they may pay another six strings of *beroan* in lieu of the pig.

532 177 171 The use of these figures is rapidly dying out on the island of Buka and its adjacent islets, owing to discouragement by the missionaries on the ground that they are obscene. On Bougainville, very similar figures are made for use in the *watawutʃ* ceremony (see Pl. 28), but so far as I could ascertain they are not used in the marriage rites in that region.

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### SUMMARY OF EVENTS LEADING UP TO MARRIAGE

| *Occasion* | *Transactions* |
|---|---|
| 1. Betrothal, when both are children, the girl often quite a baby. | Father of boy presents spear hung with one string of *beroan* to mother of girl. Betel-mixture chewed. |

| *Occasion* | *Transactions* |
|---|---|
| 584 2. First visit of mother of boy to mother of girl. Soon after 1. | Aromatic plants brought by mother of boy to decorate girl. Betel-mixture chewed. |
| 3. Visit of boy's mother to take back girl for her first visit. When girl is about 7 or 8 years old. | Paint for head of girl brought by boy's mother. Betel-mixture chewed. |
| 4. Visit of girl's mother to see her daughter in mother-in-law's hut, 3 or 4 days after 3. | Food and areca-nut provided by boy's mother for girl's mother and accompanying women. No pig given at this stage. |
| Girl remains with mother-in-law for a month or more. | If she runs away, her mother must make *menak* for the boy's mother and must bring her back. |
| 583 5. Request for handing over of ceremonial currency. At discretion of girl's mother, but usually at first signs of breast development. | Girl's mother sends food, including pig-meat, to boy's mother, the pig being a hint that it is time to produce the currency. |
| 6. Boy's mother collects ceremonial currency from her brother and other male relatives. | Boy's mother sends pieces of pig to relatives who are expected to help provide the currency. |
| 7. Visit of boy's people to girl's people to hand over currency, and to bring back girl for long visit. As soon as enough currency has been collected. | Agreed amount of ceremonial currency handed over for division among the girl's relatives. One string given as personal gift, secretly, by boy's mother to girl's mother. One string given by girl's mother to boy's relatives 'to pay for the boy'. |
| 8. During the next few years girl spends much time with her mother-in-law, returning to her mother only for occasional visits. | |
| 9. Special visit of girl and her relatives to boy's mother to pay for *tagoan*. Sometime during 8. | Girl's mother and relatives bring *menak* and a live pig to boy's relatives, and small amount of ceremonial currency. |

| *Occasion.* | *Transactions.* | |
|---|---|---|
| 10. Marriage ceremony. Usually not until boy has taken off *upi* and girl has been through her first menstruation ceremony. | Exchange of ceremonial baskets of taro. Much food given by bride's mother to bridegroom's relatives. | 585 |

## MARRIAGE PAYMENTS

It is recommended in *Notes and Queries* (1929 ed., p. 101) that the investigator should 'employ the native term in describing or referring to payments or gifts made by the groom or his group to the father or group of the bride'. Among the people of North Bougainville there would appear to be no special designation for this transaction. Since it always takes the form of strings of *imun* or *beroan*, which I have described as 'ceremonial currency' (for reasons given in Chapter XII), I have used this phrase in connexion with the marriage payments, supplementing it, where the context seemed to render this advisable, by the words 'handed over in respect of a wife'. This is, admittedly, clumsy, but it states exactly what takes place, without begging the question of its significance, while none of the more convenient expressions proposed in the extensive correspondence that has been going on over this matter seems to be entirely without objection. (See *Man*, 1929-33, *passim*.) 583 [436]

In the area with which this book is concerned, neither the ritual nor the social aspects of the situation seem to be considered of importance. The currency which changes hands is definitely not a symbolical token marking 'the sealing of a contract', nor is it an 'indemnity' or 'payment of compensation to a group that loses a member'. The many discussions I had with the natives, both men and women, leave me in no doubt whatever that they do, actually, regard it as a financial transaction exactly on the same lines as any other purchase, but of more importance than most, the use of ceremonial currency being confined to very special occasions (see Chap. XII, pp. 446-9). Nowadays, actual coin sometimes changes hands instead of strings of shell disks and teeth. One father of my acquaintance demanded £10 in shillings for his daughter, which her suitor thought was too dear! The word for the handing over of the currency, *wen*, is the same as that which is used for 'pay' in speaking of any commercial transaction involving ordinary buying and selling (which in this community is usually performed through the medium of barter). In speaking of illicit [437]

In speaking of illicit

583 intercourse with another man's wife, they use the expression *gun*
[837] *amot*, which is fairly translatable by 'steal' and is applied also to acts of theft in the ordinary sense in which we use that term. It is, of course, dangerous to rely too much on linguistic evidence, but
[684] it is noteworthy that to 'steal' a man's wife and to steal his ceremonial currency were once bracketed together, by a man with whom I was discussing the subject of theft, as crimes belonging to the same category, and that in some cases the same penalty has been exacted for both. All the people with whom I discussed the matter in relation to marriage gave me the impression that no distinction existed in their minds between paying for a wife and paying for anything else of importance.

586 The rules governing the operation of the custom are entirely compatible with this view. If the woman refuses to perform the duties of a wife, her husband can, and does, divorce her and demand his currency back—he is not receiving what he paid for so he repudiates the purchase. But if she has cause to divorce him, he does not get his currency returned to him, the break-down of the transaction was not her fault. If she dies without giving
768 him a child, he will expect to be repaid, unless he receives a sister
587 in her place. Pinari told me that the currency handed over in respect of Riro, the wife of his son Wasē, who had died, childless, not very long before my visit, would be returned, except one string, which was to be retained by her relatives 'because her body stays here', the woman having been buried at Kurtatchi. I have not seen a similar custom recorded elsewhere. If her death
845 occurs in child-birth, and the child lives, repayment is made in
768 part only, one string being retained 'for the child'. But if the child dies too, the full amount is usually asked and given. For a wife dying after having borne more than one child, no repayment is expected—the husband has had his money's worth, so to speak.

562 It does not follow that the woman is regarded as the absolute property of the man to do as he likes with. That is definitely not
581 the case. What seems to me to be the crucial point was put very clearly by a woman, Matēv, on our way back from witnessing this very transaction, when the matter was naturally the subject of conversation. She said:

*'Tab to wen nor a kiki pi mon.'*
Thing pay we genitals of woman.

i.e. 'What we pay for is the woman's genitals.' That is to say,

it is not the woman that is bought, but the right to use her body 562
for the satisfaction of the husband and the procreation of children
by him. With this the man also acquires the right to be looked 581
after and provided with food properly prepared, and failure on [586]
the part of the wife in these respects is regarded as ground for
divorce. It is a wife, as distinct from a woman in her capacity as
an individual, that is purchased when the strings of ceremonial
currency pass from the bridegroom's family to that of the bride.
She is not thereby prevented from being a person with rights of
her own in the community, for her position in this society is far
from being a negligible one, as will be seen from other portions
of this book. My impression is that while they definitely regard
the handing over of the ceremonial currency as a commercial
transaction, it is not in any way detrimental to the dignity of the
woman, nor does this point of view react unfavourably on her
status in the community.

### RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SEXES PRIOR TO MARRIAGE

It will be noted that there is no feature in the series of betrothal 831
ceremonies, nor in the final ceremony preceding the consummation
of the marriage, involving a test of the girl's virginity. The
question was never brought up spontaneously by the natives in our
conversations regarding various aspects of sex and marriage, and
the lack of response to such guarded inquiries as I made—direct
questions being liable to produce misleading results—would seem
to indicate that the matter is not considered of primary importance.
It is noteworthy, too, that out of several hundred folk-tales and
legends in my collection not a single one has any bearing on this
point, though practically every other aspect of the sexual life is
illustrated therein. Two cases of rape occur in my records, but [839
both were attended by special circumstances. One, complicated
by incest, has already been discussed (p. 77). The other (referred 674]
to on p. 230) concerned a girl who had attained adult years without
being married owing to a deformity. Perhaps the fact that in the
past it was only exceptionally that a girl was not claimed by a
husband at or before sexual maturity accounts for the absence of
stress on the subject. Nowadays, in the more sophisticated 836
villages, where the age of marriage is getting appreciably later, and
some freedom of choice as to whether a girl marries or not is just
possible, a new situation is arising. In the few such cases known

836 to me—there were none at Kurtatchi—the unmarried girls indulged in amours as freely as their married contemporaries, but, like them, were desirous of avoiding pregnancy, fearing that they would then be under some difficulty in obtaining a husband later. But in places where there has been little white contact, I incline to think, though the evidence bearing on the point is rather inferential than direct, that pre-marital intercourse is not, and never has been, prevalent among these natives, to any great extent, in respect of either males or females.

882 In this area the relations between the sexes before marriage 834 must be considered in the light of two circumstances which have a very definite influence upon them. The first is the elaborate hedge of taboos and restrictions surrounding the boys wearing the *upi*, that is to say, all the boys between the ages of about ten and about eighteen. These regulations are—or were at the time of my visit—still strictly binding, or, if broken, so much care is taken that the delinquents are seldom found out. Their effect is to keep the boys completely away from the women and girls, from which it follows that sexual advances are forbidden. One or two cases were reported to me of boys indulging in sexual intercourse while still wearing the *upi*, but they were spoken of with bated breath, and clearly considered very great enormities and quite exceptional. [684] This, I believe, indicates the actual position and was not merely the statement of the conventional standpoint. In the olden days, discovery would have been punished with death for both parties.

582 The second factor to be considered is that boys, and more especially girls, are generally betrothed while still quite small [164] children. I was told of girls who had been betrothed 'before they had yaws', which indicates that they were hardly more than a year old, since this tropical skin disease falls to the lot of practically 584 every child about the age of one or two years. My informants told me that the match was generally arranged by the boy's father, but in practice I found that it was just as likely to be the boy's mother's brother who took the initiative, and that other people also might, and often did, take a hand in the matter. One day, while I was visiting the village of Tabut, a man from Ruri came over to see if he could get a certain young woman as a wife for his sister's son. He was prepared to give two strings of *imun* and some *beroan*, the amount of which he did not state. She was married to a man who is working at Timputs, but he said the man had divorced her,

though he did not know why. Her relatives would not consent to 584
the match, they said her husband might want her back. As it was
near the end of my period of residence, I did not hear whether
anything further was done in the matter. In another case, in which
all the principals were personally known to me, that of Kakari's
marriage to Muben, the match was suggested by Muben's *tsoa*
(actually the mother's mother's sister's son, but equivalent to the
mother's brother). He lived at Kurtatchi, but actually belonged
to Baniu, where Muben's mother lived. He was very ambitious, [557]
and clearly wanted the marriage because it allied him to the most
important family in the district. That is to say, while the initiative
usually rests with the boy's family, it may, on occasion, be taken by
some relative of the bride's. Again, Pinari, who liked to exercise
his authority, saw to it that he had a say in the case of betrothals [565]
of any of the young people in his village, even of those not closely [554]
related to him, and as he was *tsunaun tʃan*, deference was paid to
his views.

The betrothal is not absolutely binding until the ceremonial 583
currency has been handed over by the boy's people. This may be 584
done while the girl is still quite small, but it is not necessary, 684
or usual, to do so until her breasts begin to develop. Once
arranged, a betrothal is seldom broken, even before the currency
has changed hands, and to break it after that is a serious matter.
A case came to my notice where a man fell in love with a girl who
was already betrothed, and eventually ran away with her. Although
the ceremonial exchanges connected with the prospective marriage
had not been completed, the affair was regarded as a serious
breach of customary rule, but it was finally settled by a payment
of ceremonial currency from the lover to the girl's affianced
husband. The couple have been living very happily together for
several years. They have one child, a boy about a year old, whom
both adore. It seems to be a genuine love match, a somewhat [831]
rare occurrence among these people.

At the time of betrothal, the boy may be considerably older than 582
the girl, and may have finished his puberty ceremonies and taken
off the *upi*, or he may be only slightly older and continue to wear
the *upi* for several years subsequently. All except the youngest
boys wearing the *upi* at Kurtatchi were already betrothed. The 582
marriage is never consummated till the puberty ceremonies are 585
finished and the *upi* removed, and usually not until the girl has

582 experienced her first menstruation, though there appear to be
[585] some exceptions to this latter rule. A youth who is *tsunaun* will
565 have more than one wife assigned to him at an early age. They
582 are called husband and wife from the time of betrothal. Kiram,
595 a lad of fourteen or fifteen, had for his first 'wife' Tagoal, a girl
of perhaps ten or twelve (see Pl. 7 *a*). For her the ceremonial currency had been handed over. His second 'wife', Buin, was about seven or eight, and was still spending most of her time with her mother, the currency not having changed hands as yet.

574 During the years between betrothal and the marriage ceremony,
584 the girl pays long and frequent visits to her husband's people, or
883 may, in some cases, be taken over by them altogether, particularly
if her mother is not living. But if the boy still wears the *upi*, they are kept rigorously apart; there is no chance of their getting to know each other at all, and when the time comes for the marriage to be consummated they are still practically strangers. Some girls fret a good deal on their visits to their 'in-laws', others appear to settle down quite happily. As regards the routine of her life, the early betrothal makes little difference to a girl. She works for her husband's people instead of for her own, and looks after his babies, if he is already married, instead of the babies of her mother's family. She is, as a rule, well treated by her prospective mother-in-law, and drops into place with the girls of her own age in the village, who treat her as one of themselves.

## BEGINNING OF MARRIED LIFE

591 After the final marriage ceremony, the young couple usually settle down near the husband's people, sometimes actually in his mother's hut, to begin with. Kakari and Muben were still living with Matĕv nine months after their marriage, in spite of Matĕv's repeated hints that it was time he built a hut for himself in the vacant space next to hers. But sometimes, under pressure from the girl's people, the couple will live in her village, especially if she be a person of importance. There are enough instances of both practices to suggest that it is not correct to describe these natives as either 'matri-' or 'patrilocal', but that there is freedom of choice, with the balance towards the custom of living in the village which was the husband's home before marriage. In either case, they will, in years to come, spend a certain amount of time in the village which was the home of the other partner.

PLATE 9

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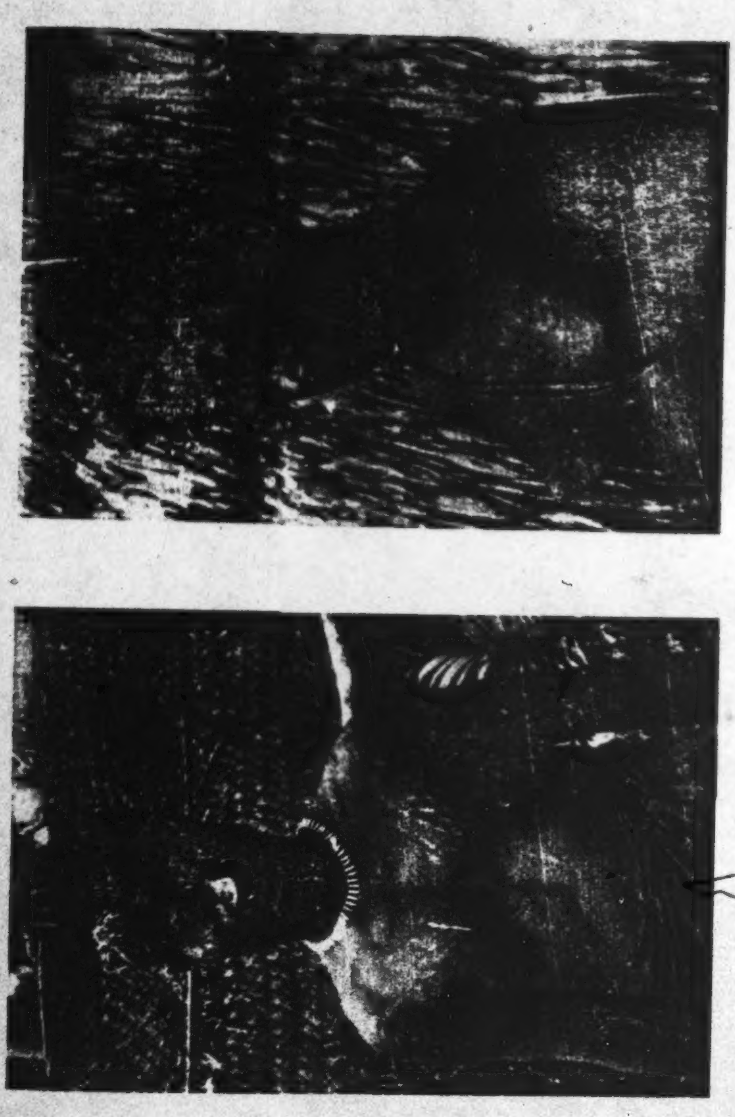

A NEWLY MARRIED PAIR: KAKARI AND MUBEN

[Facing p. 102]

593 The time when the girl is handed over to her husband is, in every case, judging both from what I have seen and from what the girls themselves have told me, a period of strain. It not infrequently happens that the young wife, whether from actual fear or merely from shyness, runs away before the marriage can be consummated, and takes refuge with her mother. Her mother is supposed to bring her back, together with an offering of ceremonial pudding, but sometimes much persuasion, or even force, is necessary before she can be induced to return. An instance of this came under my personal observation. Gerigir is a young man of perhaps nineteen or twenty, his wife, Kalo, perhaps thirteen or fourteen. She belongs to a village several miles distant. She did not want to be married, and has frequently run away and returned to her mother. On one occasion she stayed away for several months, and this came to the notice of Pinari, who keeps a sharp eye on all that happens in his village. He finally asked Gerigir why his wife was not living with him. It turned out that he had never consummated the marriage. He said she always ran away from him. Pinari sent him, with some other people, to fetch her. I went with the party. When we got there, Kalo hid herself inside her mother's hut, crying bitterly, and nothing would persuade her to come. Her mother refused to force her, and finally we had to return without her. Another deputation was sent over next day, and out of shame her mother made her go; she was brought into Kurtatchi, still crying. She stayed a couple of weeks, during which the marriage was consummated, and then ran away again. Gerigir was shortly after-
[837] wards discovered in a compromising situation with one of Pinari's wives, and thought it prudent to absent himself from Kurtatchi, so he went and lived in his wife's village, from which he had not returned when I left.

789 The following 'medicine' may be used by a man whose wife frets for her mother:

[824] *Kaharisk* (*Selaginella flabellata*).

Take the leaves of this fern and mix them with *oin*, and rub this mixture on to the girl's hair. This will make her cease to long for her mother and she will stay with you.

593 The outset of her married life is a trying time for the girl. Muḅen was a pathetic figure for many weeks after her marriage with Kakari (Pl. 9), who, having a septic foot and other affairs of

593 his own to worry about, did not take much notice of her, in spite of her shy efforts to tend and please him. It was obvious that she was lonely and unhappy, although Kakari's mother, Matēv, was kind to her, and encouraged her to take her share in the life of the village. Before I left she had begun to settle down better, and the two of them might be seen going about together, but Kakari never seemed to appreciate her, though she was acknowledged to be an attractive girl.

## LATER MARRIED LIFE

[576] How much affection eventually grows up between the young husband and his still younger wife, it is difficult to say. Etiquette forbids any show of affection in public, and in such personal matters one is obliged, obviously, to rely largely upon inference. So far as my observation goes, it seemed to me that the younger
[837] men were often neglectful of their wives. This may in part have been due to shyness, but in more than one case known to me the youth was certainly carrying on an intrigue with another man's wife a couple of months or so after the consummation of his own marriage. Judging from external appearance, the early years of a young couple's life together seem, in many cases, to be difficult and perhaps unhappy. But man and wife eventually become accustomed to each other and settle down, especially when there
515 are children, for the most part amicably enough. In later married life I noticed that deference was shown to a man's first wife, to whom he had been betrothed in childhood, beyond that bestowed upon subsequent wives, and if she were dead she was referred to in terms implying affection, at least this seemed to be the case with some of the men whose marriages came under discussion in the
593 course of taking their genealogies. It was more difficult to get the women to talk about their husbands. Some old widows looked back upon their married lives with anything but pleasure, but in other cases there was evidence of real affection, an outstanding
[764] example being that of the widow, a middle-aged woman still not unattractive, who begged that her husband might be buried in the house, and who was determined not to marry again because she had cared so much for him. This attitude was perfectly comprehensible to the village, and was said not to be unusual.

On the whole, I incline to think that a census of happy, unhappy, and tolerable marriages among these people would reveal about the

same proportion of each as would be obtained from a similar census in an equal number of households in our own society. But the 593
basis of happiness or unhappiness would in most cases differ; more or less, perhaps, according to what stratum of our own society the sample used for comparison represented. Perhaps one Kurtatchi man's definition of a good wife would be accepted by a certain proportion of European husbands. Speaking of his own wife, he said: 'She looks after me well, and doesn't talk too much, and she doesn't play with other men while I am away.' [581]

I have often wondered at the amount of ill treatment some of the women put up with without having recourse to divorce. They look upon scoldings and beatings and neglect, often undeserved, as a matter of course. Usually quarrels are quickly forgotten and neither party seems to bear malice. I think few women are persistently and continually ill-treated by their husbands. Certain men had a reputation in the village for being cruel to their wives, but on the whole, such cases were not typical, and the men were looked upon with disfavour by the other villagers. But practically every husband in the place beat his wife occasionally. Chastisement is usually administered inside the hut. I never witnessed such an episode, but I have often heard screams coming from a hut and been told that So-and-so's husband was beating her, the word used being *ib*, the same as 'to strike' or 'to fight'. It appears to be done not so much in a burst of sudden anger as deliberately, in cold blood, as a punishment. For example, one man beat his wife because he thought she did not take sufficient care of his old father, with whom they were living, when he was ill. But some men—and it was these who had the reputation for ill-treating their wives—would do it in anger and on very slight provocation, e.g. if a meal was not ready when they wanted it. One of them, who had three wives and was unkind to all of them, told me himself that one of his wives had left him because he beat her with his walking-stick; he was angry with her because she wanted to make his daughter by another wife work for her. He had no hesitation in telling me this, and was certain that the provocation was ample and that the right was on his side. She came back, however, after two days, and, as he put it: 'When I saw her I was not angry any more, and she was not either.' The same man told me, apparently priding himself on his righteousness, that he never beats his eldest wife, since she became blind, because he is sorry for her. But he 562 578 593

562 neglects her and is surly with her, and even in his best temper
578 seems to take pleasure in teasing her by snatching her pipe out
593 of her mouth or hiding her tobacco. She is looked after by one of his other wives, and would, if she left him, have no one to take care of her material needs.

The fault for an unhappy marriage is not always with the man. The two following instances give the other side of the picture. I transcribe them from my file of 'personal histories'.

562 Dau is a gentle, unassuming man, very fond of his wife Ira, the
578 daughter of Pinari. He is working as an indentured labourer, but
593 on a plantation near enough for him to come to the village fairly
159 often. But although he spends all his earnings on Ira, bringing her loin-cloths and beads, &c., she treats him abominably, refuses to look after him when he comes, will not cook for him, and is always
[578] nagging him. Sometimes she cooks food for him and leaves it for another woman to give to him, which is a deliberate insult. She is a bad-tempered woman, and is always having quarrels with the other people, especially with her father, who once gave her a whipping because of the way she treated her husband. She is disliked in the village, and the other women told me that her husband could easily divorce her because she would not cook for him, but that he cared too much for her. She does not want to be divorced because he brings her presents. They have been married only a few months. This is definitely an unhappy marriage with the woman to blame, so far as I can ascertain.

Rus, now aged somewhere in her twenties, was married to Keketsian of Ieta, while both were children, but he died before she had any children by him. She was subsequently married to
[855 Watawi, by whom she has a son Wanias, now aged about 3-4, who will some day be heir to the *tsunaun*, and is completely spoilt by
565] her and the whole village. She is a cross, sulky woman, and never got on well with Watawi, who is said to have tried his hardest to make her happy. Watawi became very ill, but she refused to nurse him or to provide him with food. Finally Mrs. Hadden, for whom Watawi had worked, took pity on him and kept him at her plantation, where she looked after him till he died. All the time he was there, Rus would never come near him, though he continually asked for her, neither would she let him see his baby, of whom he was passionately fond. When she was sent for, she returned angry messages that she couldn't be bothered with him. He had been

dead for rather less than a year when I was at Kurtatchi. She had 562
not remarried, and seemed to have no wish to do so. The general 578
opinion was that she was a bad wife and because of her reputation 593
for hardness would not easily get another husband. As the
daughter of Matēv and mother of a future *tsunaun*, she has a posi- 159
tion in the village in her own right, and Pinari, her *tsoa* (mother's
brother), sees to it that she does not want. Here, again, the failure
of the marriage seems to have been the fault of the woman, but in
this case only one of the pair is personally known to me.

## CHOICE OF A MATE

The prearranged marriage makes it impossible to study the 584
motives that enter into the choice of a mate in the case of young
people. They have no choice in the matter. This applies to a
man's first marriage always, and in the case of a *tsunaun* probably
to the second and perhaps to the third. An older man takes other 595
wives selected by himself according to his own preference, and if
the woman he decides upon be young, she has probably little say
in the matter, provided her relatives agree to the match. But if she
definitely dislikes him, she may prevail on her people not to sanction
it. Not infrequently a man chooses as his second wife the full
(usually younger) sister of his first. This seems, as far as I could
judge, to be a successful arrangement as a rule. I knew fairly
intimately several families in which this had been done, and the
two sisters seemed to get on very amicably together. In all the
instances which came under my personal observation they each
had a hut, but were next-door neighbours. In the case best known
to me, the husband lived most of the time with the elder sister, but
treated both well. There were two children of the first wife's
living, the elder adolescent; three others had died. The second
wife had one child; two had died. The two households worked
and played together very pleasantly, so far as an outsider could
judge.

The women would not admit that they had any say at all in the 584
matter of a husband, even apart from the early betrothal. It did
not occur to them to rebel against the customary procedure. But
more than one man told me that one of his wives asked him to take
her because she liked him so much, although, since I was never
able to get this confirmed by the women, I cannot decide how
much the statement owed to male vanity, or its denial to female

584 bashfulness. As a matter of fact, it was obvious, though not avowed, that a considerable amount of choice could be exercised by a woman, if desired, in that she could very probably get the man she wanted to enter into a clandestine association with her, which might eventually lead to marriage, as will be shown in a subsequent paragraph.

832 In discussing with the men what physical attributes they considered desirable in their women, it emerged that they prefer a light skin, specially one with a reddish tinge, which is much less common than the darker browns. The effect produced by cicatrization (this is described in detail on pp. 426–32) is also admired. 'That is a fine girl, she has marks all over her body,' is a typical expression of admiration. Upstanding, hemispherical breasts were also mentioned as adding to a girl's attractiveness. This characteristic is only to be found in girls who have not yet borne a child, after this the breasts sag and rapidly lose their beauty. Several girls singled out by name by various men of the village as being especially attractive physically, confirmed the verbal description given above (see Pl. 10).

It was more difficult to get the women to describe their ideal of male beauty. They do not like their men too thin, or too old. Some said they preferred men with little or no hair on their bodies. But, in general, they seem to attach more importance to the attainments of a man as a hunter or fisherman than to his physical attributes.

### MARRIAGE OF BROTHER'S WIDOW

587 Additional wives are not infrequently acquired by virtue of the custom that the brother of a dead man has the first claim upon his widow or widows, for whom he is not required to pay over any ceremonial currency. He is not absolutely obliged to take her. If there are several, they may be distributed among the brothers, or among other relatives also standing to the dead man in the relationship *kiar*—usually his ortho-cousins (mother's sister's sons). None of these need pay over any ceremonial currency in respect of the wives thus acquired by them. Whether a man takes over his dead brother's wives or not, depends partly upon whether he likes them, and partly on whether he can afford to keep them and their children. Sometimes other considerations weigh with him also. Patchip of Tabut has not married his brother's widow,

PLATE 10

*a.* IRA

*b.* TARUBI

THE BELLES OF THE VILLAGE

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[Facing p.108]

PLATE II

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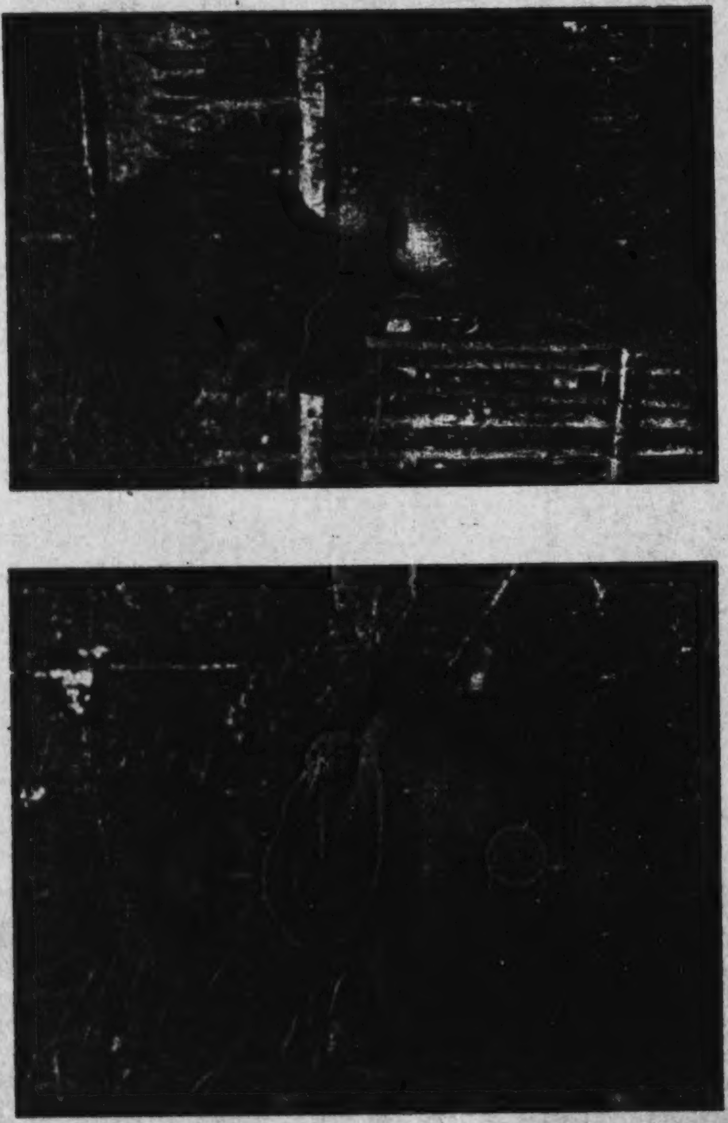

MATARÉ AND HIS WIFE MAROTÉ

[facing p. 109]

though the other villagers are always asking him why he does not do so. He says he does not want to, because he is too sad over the loss of his brother. If another man wanted to marry her, he would be willing. 587

The widow goes to her husband's brother as soon as the final funerary rites have been held (see Chap. XIV). There is no ceremony on such an occasion. She has (so far as I could learn, but it is difficult to be quite sure) little choice in the matter if her late husband's brother really wants her, but otherwise, should she prefer not to marry again, she will probably not be forced to do so. If she is old, she usually goes to live with one or other of her married children, who will support her. In several instances known to me, the woman chose to return to her own village, as Matɛv did when her husband Boar of Saposa died. In her case it was clearly to her advantage to do so, since she holds a prominent position at Kurtatchi as sister of the *tsunaun tʃan*, and mother of his heir. Another Saposa man wanted to marry her, but she wished to come home, and her brother Pinari supported her. He told me that if it had been Boar's brother who wanted her he would not have objected, although he was glad to have her and her children at Kurtatchi. 587 768

If the husband's brother takes the widow, he is bound to look after her and her children, if young, or to make provision for them in some other way. Sometimes an arrangement is made with the woman's relatives, who may, and often do, take one or more of the children and bring them up.

If another man wishes to marry her, he gives an agreed amount of ceremonial currency to the deceased husband's brother, and one string to the woman's relatives: not more than one, as my informants were careful to explain to me, because enough had already changed hands on the occasion of her previous marriage. The children usually go with their mother to her new home, and I have never heard of a man refusing to take them. But sometimes one will go to her relatives by mutual agreement.

The custom of marrying the brother's widow is now falling into disuse owing to the discouragement of polygamy by the missionaries. 587 178

## DIVORCE

Divorce is frequent and easy. The woman has as much right to demand it as the man, and neither party can deny it to the other. 586

586 The procedure is simple. The woman either goes, or is sent, back to her own people, and probably quickly finds another husband. If the husband divorces the wife, he demands the return of the ceremonial currency he gave to her people at the time of the marriage. If the wife divorces the husband, her relatives are under no obligation to return the ceremonial currency, but in practice they sometimes do so—it seems to be a matter of family pride. The children go with the mother. If she marries again, her new husband takes the children also. In many cases with which I am personally acquainted, he looks after them with as much care as if they were his own, and it was only on taking the genealogy of the family in detail that I discovered the actual state of affairs. Sometimes, however, they are cared for by other relatives of the woman, probably her sister.

Reasons for divorce on the part of the husband are as follows (the order is that in which they were given to me):

1. Persistent refusal on the part of the wife to cook his food, or continual slowness and carelessness in doing so.[1]
2. Refusal of sexual intercourse. In one case this was considered sufficient ground even though the reason for the refusal was that the woman considered it was too soon after the birth of their child (see p. 156 for this regulation). In this case, however, the feeling of the village was against the man, and no one else would marry him.
3. Bad skin disease. This will not usually be given as a cause by itself, but additional to some other charge, probably laziness.
4. [837] Adultery, as a rule only if it results in pregnancy, otherwise it is usually condoned, especially if carried on quietly.

Reasons for divorce on the part of the wife are:

1. Failure of the husband to take his share in the work of providing food for the household.
2. Persistent cruelty and severe beating. (But this seems to be very bad indeed before it is countered by divorce.)
3. Inability to perform the sexual act.

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[1] During my residence a dispute arose about the wives of two men of Ieta (on Buka). They had married women from villages within Pinari's sphere of influence, so they appealed to him in the matter. They said that although the ceremonial currency had been handed over in respect of these women, and the marriage rites completed, their wives refused to live with them at Ieta or to cook their food or to look after them, so they demanded the return of their currency. Pinari paid them from his own stock, and said he would recover it from the women's relatives.

If a woman is angry with her husband, her method of retaliation is to go off to her own people, if her village is within reach, taking the youngest child with her. This usually brings the husband over within a day or two, with entreaties to return, because he cannot bear to be parted from his baby. Sometimes his wife will persistently refuse to come back for a long time, and there will be talk of a divorce, but in the end she will relent. This happened again and again in the course of my stay at Kurtatchi. 593 578

There is 'medicine' to make a runaway wife come back: 789

> If your wife runs away from you, get some of the leaves of the plant *rakot*, squeeze out the sap, then get some one to steal your wife's pipe, put some of the sap inside the pipe and have it given back to her. As she smokes it her thoughts will turn to you and she will come back. 824

Sometimes marital quarrels end in the suicide of one or other of the pair. This question is discussed in further detail in Chapter XIV. Suffice it to say in the present context that the examples which came to my notice—by hearsay, however, only—lead me to suggest that these people do not support Havelock Ellis's suggestion that 'among primitive peoples suicide from erotic motives seems to occur chiefly among women' (1933, p. 277). 762

### SOME TYPICAL MARITAL HISTORIES

The information given in the preceding paragraphs was obtained from several informants at different times, and where occasion arose was corroborated by my own observation. Several of the points are illustrated by the matrimonial adventures of Pinari, the *tsunaun tſan* at Kurtatchi, which may be considered typical, except that most men content themselves with three or four wives to Pinari's eleven, of whom, however, only four are now living. 595

#### *Marital history of Pinari*

1. He was betrothed to Rusu, a woman of rank at Ieta, when both were young. She bore him six children, of whom three are living, now adult and married. She had been dead for some years when I was at Kurtatchi, but was always spoken of by Pinari as if he had cared for her.
2. Tchinagot. Was married to Pinari when she was quite a small child, as his second wife, but died before the marriage was consummated. Pinari regretted this very much. He said she was 'very good'.
3. Tchinawoa. Died with her first child, who died also.
4. Tauwo. Had two children by Pinari, one died in infancy, the other is now about six or seven, and is looked after by Pinari. She has

595 been dead for some years. Pinari had nothing to say about these two
women.

5, 6. Esa and Tchinawat. Both these women were divorced by Pinari
[586] shortly after marriage because they did not get on with his chief wife
Rusu. Pinari said he told them: 'If you are not cross you can stay, if you
are cross you can go back to your own home, I don't like you any more.'
Eventually his brother Boie married both of them; when he died they
went back to their own village. Both are now dead.

7. Gomar. Was married as a child to Sarumpots, the son of Pinari's
mother by another husband. He was eaten by a shark before she had
[588] had any children by him. This marriage was highly irregular (it is discussed
on p. 76), but having taken place, Pinari's succession to her as
his brother's widow was quite in order. She is now Pinari's chief wife,
[832] since the death of Rusu. Pinari liked her, and made magic to gain her
love.[1] They seem to get on very well together, though she now takes
second place in his regard, I think, to Kwimau. Her first child died
when a few days old. The second is now in her early twenties. Then she
lost four in infancy, and has now an infant about a year old.

8. Kwimau, whom he married after nos. 5 and 6 had been divorced.
[588] This marriage was also irregular, since she is Pinari's mother's brother's
daughter (*pi'an*), usually a forbidden relationship (see Chap. II). Pinari
says they liked each other so much that he had to take her. She is
markedly his favourite; he usually occupies her hut, shows her great
deference, and chooses her as his companion on various occasions. She
has two sons by him, both still quite little.

9. Kumun. A commoner belonging to this village. She married a
man belonging to a village about ten miles off, and lived there till he
died. Then she came back to live with her grandfather at Kurtatchi,
and Pinari took a fancy to her and 'bought' her from him. She has had
three children by her first husband and one by Pinari, but all are dead.
[837] She has a reputation for carrying on intrigues with other men, and after
one of the villagers was found in her hut, Pinari took her away to live
at the taro garden for a long time. When I left she was pregnant. Pinari
declared the child was not his, but she refused to admit that any one
else was responsible for it. Pinari was very angry about it, but it seemed
to me to be more because his dignity was outraged by the fact that some
one had dared to interfere with his—the *tsunaun*'s—wife, in his own
hut, than because he cared much for Kumun. She is, I think, very
highly sexed, and was much freer with speech and gesture in public
than most of the women. She is known to make assignations for other
women with their lovers.

10. Kamits. Had been the wife of a man named Soli, by whom she

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[1] The magic he used is recorded on p. 121.

had two children. Pinari married her after Soli's death, and took one child. The other is being looked after by Soli's people at the village of Ruri. No children by Pinari. 595

11. Sang. Widow of Boie, son of Pinari's mother by another husband. At Boie's death Pinari took her according to custom. She has one child, whom Pinari also took. Pinari said she had no children by him 'yet'. She was still wearing her hair in the fashion of widows when I came to the village, but cut it while I was there. I think Boie had been dead for about a year. [587] [302 765]

At the time of my visit, Pinari was negotiating for a girl at the village of Ieta, on Buka, from which his first wife came. He had been over several times to try to get her, but she did not want him and always ran away into the bush. Her family were in favour of the match, so he probably got her in the end, but they were not forcing her. One night a storm blew down a large tree in the near neighbourhood of the village, blocking the road to it. Pinari told me that he was sure it was caused by magic made by Gomar to spite him, because she was angry that he wished to take another wife. [789]

While he quite clearly prefers Kwimau to any of the others, Pinari pays quite a lot of attention to all his wives, and to their children, whether they are his own or belong to a former husband. He is generous with tobacco, and when he goes to a plantation to sell copra he often brings them some little present from the store. [157]

As a further example of the marriages that take place among these people, I give the history of Sobak, who is a commoner.

### *Marital history of Sobak*

1. Sobak's first wife was Sieli, to whom he was betrothed when both were young. They had no children for some time, then there was a son, who is now about ten. Sieli has been dead for some years. 593

2. His second was Niwuts, whom he married when he was older but she quite a child. He divorced her 'because she had a sore' (probably a tropical ulcer, these being frequent and often very bad in this region). He told me that he said to her: 'You go back to your own village, I don't want to be married to you.' There were no children. She now lives alone at Gowĕ, a village farther down the coast. She has not remarried. [586] [164]

3. His third, with whom he lives at present, is Tsonakets, who was previously divorced from Tskoi of Hanahan (a village on the east coast of Buka), for what reason I do not know. Tskoi told Sobak he could have her if he liked. Sobak consulted Pinari, who approved, and had her brought over to Kurtatchi. She has a son, now in his teens, whom

593 Sobak treats as if he were his own. She is a hard worker, and lets the
other women take advantage of her, making her carry the heaviest loads.
Sobak does not make any more demands upon her as regards work than
most men make on their wives. He always seems kind to her, and says
she is a good wife. I have never heard him talk of beating her. Once she
went on a visit to relatives at Hanahan and stayed several days. Sobak
was very worried, and told me he was afraid some man there was keeping
her away, but all was well when she came back.

Tsonakets has a sister, who was also married at Hanahan, but after
her husband's death she came to live in Sobak's household at Kurtatchi,
bringing her three little boys. Sobak takes care of them all. In the
[576] ordinary way he would have married her, but he does not wish to offend
the priest by taking another wife, so he says he is not going to do so.

### EXTRA-MARITAL RELATIONS

837 In this society, where marriage at or before arrival at sexual
maturity is the rule, it follows that such illicit intercourse as may
take place will be between persons each of whom is married to
another individual.

837 In the olden days, according to my informants, adultery was
684 regarded as a very serious offence, the penalty for discovery being
death to both parties. The man's relatives would be responsible
[696] for the exaction of the penalty in the case of the man, and the
woman's in the case of the woman, no retaliation being offered on
[266] either side. An old cannibal of Saposa further stated that the
bodies of such offenders were eaten, but at Kurtatchi they said
that this final insult was only for those who committed a particularly
abhorrent kind of incest (see p. 68). It seems feasible to suppose
that the actual state of affairs may have been idealized a little in
reminiscence, and that clandestine intercourse was neither so rare
nor so drastically punished as report would lead one to believe.
In the tales, honour was often satisfied by a fight, and this is a usual
outcome nowadays. In some instances, particularly if the advances
of the suitor had been unwelcome, he was taken to the beach,
where spears and arrows were shot at him. But apparently he was
allowed to shoot in return. In answer to questions, arising out of
[685] such stories, I was told that this was a true account of what actually
used to happen, not merely a made-up tale. It is noteworthy that
the same punishment was meted out to any one caught stealing
ceremonial currency.

837 Whatever may have been the state of things in the past, there

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

seems no doubt that clandestine intercourse has very much increased in frequency of late years, and is no longer regarded as seriously as it used to be. This was stated so emphatically and by so many different people in different localities, that there must be some truth in it. It is safe, I think, to say that the taking of the right to exact the death penalty out of the hands of the native *tsunaun*, consequent upon the rule of the white man, has resulted in a general slackening of observance of the customary laws. Another factor which undoubtedly plays a part in the increase of adultery is the absence of many of the younger men, who go away to work as indentured labourers. They may be absent, under the present regulations, for three years. The young wives usually continue to live with their own relatives, unless the mother-in-law keeps them with her, and in either case, they not infrequently console themselves with the young men of the place. The discouragement of polygamy has also some influence—and will in future have more—on the increase in extra-marital intercourse. 837 681 178 167

At the present time a very considerable amount of illicit love-making certainly takes place, in fact there were probably few couples, in the villages known to me, of which one or other, if not both, was not, or had not at some time been, engaged in an affair of this kind. Sometimes the meetings are arranged by a third party, either man or, I think more usually, woman, sometimes they are planned directly between the lovers themselves. As one man put it: 'The man says to the woman: "To-morrow I will have you again. You come and wait for me here." The next day the woman's husband says to her: "Come, you and I will go to work." She says: "No, I can't, I am ill." But she is only pretending to be ill. Then her husband goes alone to work, and she goes to join her lover in the bush.' Here is a story giving the other side of the picture, as told by a woman:

> Night came, the husband and wife went into their hut. They went to bed, the woman went to sleep, but the man only pretended to sleep. Presently he got up very quietly, he went outside, he went to the other woman, the one he wanted. His wife woke up, she looked at the bed, her man was not lying on it, the bed was empty. Then she cried, she cried about her husband, she cried, and cried, and cried. Then she got up and took up her husband's bed, and carried it outside, then she broke it all to bits. A woman said: 'Why is she breaking the bed?' Another 837 578

837 578 woman answered: 'She is angry with her husband, because he has gone to meet another woman in the bush.'

Sometimes the lover is bold enough to come to the woman in her own hut. This, if discovered, very considerably aggravates the offence. In the case of Kumun, referred to on p. 112, it seemed to me that Pinari was hardly more angry over the pregnancy itself than he was over the fact that she and her lover had been together in the hut. It turned out that some one who was in their confidence had betrayed them, and Gerigir was caught standing beside her bed while she was lying on it. He made a great point of the fact that he was not lying down with her, but in the end he paid a length of *imun* to Pinari as compensation, though both vehemently denied that he was the father of her expected child. Pinari, however, was not appeased by the payment, even though he accepted it, and Gerigir was still in disgrace when I left, three months later.

837 538 Endless tales are told about such intrigues. A common incident in them is that the child of one of the pair, angry with its parent, perhaps for not giving it something it wanted, spies on the couple, and goes and tells the husband or wife, as the case may be, of its parent's lover what is going on. Whether this happens in real life as often as it does in the tales, I do not know, but it is certain that the children often have a pretty shrewd idea of the state of affairs.

837 Cases of what would in our own society be described as 'enticement' sometimes occur. I select the following instance, which is not an isolated one, from my files: Erut was married to Masor, a man belonging to another village. Pasab, of Kurtatchi, whose [832] first wife was dead, wanted her, and made love magic with *magor* (see p. 121) to cause her to leave her husband and come to him. She did so; her husband divorced her, was given back his ceremonial currency, and Pasab married her. 593 They have one little girl. I saw a good deal of their family life, and thought the relations between them, both with each other and with the child, were extremely good. They are always working in one another's company, seem very happy together, and I have not heard any gossip about either of them, which is rather unusual.

832 824 If a man wishes to have his wife back, he may try the following 'medicine':

> If your wife has run away with another man, chew the rootlet of the plant *wapiu* (unidentified) with the betel-mixture, and spit the mixture

832

on to the doors of your house. Your wife will then love you again and 824
will come back to you.

Often but little notice is taken of these affairs. Occasionally an 837
injured husband will claim from his wife's lover a string of ceremonial currency or a pig, or he may take the opportunity to divorce his wife, but usually only if he wishes to do so on other grounds. More often nothing is done about it, unless the woman becomes pregnant.

There are a number of plants (see pp. 134–8) believed to possess 824
contraceptive properties, which are generally known and widely
used by the women in their intrigues. Whatever the reason, it is 842
certain that these affairs are followed by pregnancy less often than 837
might be expected. When conception does occur, the matter
begins to be taken seriously. Sometimes the woman will pretend 847
that the child is her husband's, and this will be tacitly accepted, 848
even though other people besides the couple and the woman's husband know it to be false. This I have on hearsay evidence only. In other cases—this also I have only through informants, but from more than one, and these reasonably reliable—attempts are made to produce an abortion in order to avoid discovery. One account given to me runs as follows: 'If a woman has been with her lover in the bush and finds she is pregnant, she says to him: "My blood is not flowing, I think I am going to have a child, I have had no flow for one moon." They are ashamed, and talk about it for a long time. Then the man gets the leaves of the *karĕb* plant (a tough creeper, of the *Rutaceae* order, whose stems are used for making string), and chews them with lime, and rubs the mixture on the women's abdomen. She swallows some of it, and it causes the flow to begin again. Then the man says to all the people who laughed at the woman because they thought she was pregnant: "Look, she is menstruating, she is not pregnant".' It may be that the massaging of the abdomen is sufficiently violent to produce the desired effect, without presupposing any actual result of chewing the *karĕb* leaves. They say that a woman will never bring about an abortion in the case of a child by her own husband, however many she may have. But they do it for the children of their lovers, because if a woman has a child by a man other than her husband
she is ashamed. Cases have occurred in the past of women preg- [762]
nant by their lovers committing suicide by jumping from the top of a tree.

837 The more usual procedure, nowadays, however, is that the
586 husband divorces the woman, who then marries her lover. Several
such cases were personally known to me. The following is typical:
848 Tahol was married to Tsigot, a man much older than herself, and
while he was absent from the village Wasĕ became her lover. She
became pregnant; her husband was very angry when he discovered
it, but did not divorce her. The child died. Tsigot went to Rabaul
to work as an indentured labourer, Wasĕ and Tahol became lovers
again and had another child. This time Tsigot divorced Tahol,
and Wasĕ married her as his third wife. As far as I can judge they
are living very happily together. His first wife has died, and his
second is still an immature child, though she lives in his hut. He
[855] seems to be really fond of Tahol, and both adore the baby, now
nearly two years old, who gets even more petting than Melanesian
children usually do.

837 No stigma of any sort attaches to the child of such a union,
whether the parents marry or not, and none to the woman if her
848 lover marries her. In most of the instances that came under my
observation, marriage had taken place after the woman's divorce.
These marriages seem to be among the happiest that I met with,
which is, perhaps, only to be expected, since they are almost the
only ones in this society which can fairly be said to be the result of
individual preference on both sides. But many, perhaps the
majority, of the clandestine affairs are not taken seriously by either
partner, and are clearly entered into for no other reason than the
gratification of physical desire. The word used for them, *riuk*, is
[195] translatable as 'play'; it is the same word as is used for the play of
a child. and was also applied to the antics of my kitten.

### WOMEN'S PART IN INTRIGUES

837 Mrs. Hadden, who was one of the first white people to live in
this part of the country, and who has always been interested in the
natives, told me she was certain that the woman was, more often
than not, the more active, if not the instigating partner in love
affairs. A similar view was expressed, quite independently, by one
of the priests, who had worked in the district for many years.
Direct evidence is difficult to obtain, but there is reason to think
837 that this is true. It is strongly suggested in the folk-tales, which
do, I am sure, reflect actual conditions. There is, for example,
538 a frequently recurring incident of a woman who pretended to be

ill in order to persuade the man called in to treat her to have coitus with her. The following incident, which happened while I was at Kurtatchi, seems to provide further evidence, in spite of the asseverations of the lady concerned. I give it for what it is worth, with the comments I made shortly after.

'Tarubi is the wife of Tchiriv. Both are about the same age, I should judge somewhere in their early twenties. She was discovered carrying on intrigues with three other men of the village at the same time, two married, the other a widower. Apparently one of the villagers knew about it but said nothing, till one day he told some one at Ruri, Tarubi's father's village. A Kurtatchi man visiting Ruri heard it talked about, and being a friend of Tchiriv's he came back to Kurtatchi in a furious temper and charged Tarubi with it. She admitted the truth of the accusation, but said she didn't want to do it, but the men liked her so much! Tchiriv knew nothing about it till he was told. He said nothing to Tarubi, but went about looking very disconsolate all the rest of the day. Pinari happened to be away. When he came back, after a day or two, the case was laid before him, and he summoned all the people concerned to his hut, where he charged the men with "stealing" Tchiriv's wife. The men denied it, but Tarubi said it was true. Eventually Pinari decided that no action was called for on his part. He said that if he had had plenty of men in his village he would have reported it to the District Officer and asked for the men to be imprisoned, but as he was short of men he would overlook it on condition that Tarubi promised to behave herself in future, thus clearly indicating that he considered she was to blame. It so happened that one of the men involved was his own nephew, and also that one of his wives was proved to have made some of the assignations. He said that he would beat her for it, but I don't think he did. The village clearly regarded the verdict as a show of weakness on Pinari's part. The general opinion was that Tarubi was a public nuisance, and that Tchiriv had better divorce her and send her back to her own village. But Tchiriv said he did not want to send her away. He is really fond of her, and they continue to go about together as before. He is distinctly lacking in vindictiveness, for the day after the investigation he and two of the men concerned were all on my verandah together, apparently on the most amicable terms. It seemed to me that, on the whole, he was rather flattered that his wife should be the object of so much

837 attention. She herself behaved throughout as if nothing was the matter, and the affair blew over.'

In this case, public opinion, both male and female, was definitely against Tarubi, who was held responsible. Although most of the people who condemned her were carrying on—or had at some time carried on—similar affairs of their own, it seemed to be regarded as bad form to overdo it. Matarē, in discussing the case with me, said in so many words that it was all right to have a love affair with one person, but it was bad to have more than one. On another occasion similar judgement was passed against a man for the same
[753] reason. He had a reputation for carrying on with a number of women, and when he developed a bad mastoid abscess, it was held to be due to 'poison' made by some of the men whose wives he had 'stolen'. The general opinion was that he richly deserved it; the sympathy generally shown to a person who is seriously ill was not accorded him, and no one, except his old mother, seemed to be sorry when he died. But perhaps, in both cases, the chief crime was to be found out!

### COURTSHIP AND LOVE-MAGIC

584 The advances which lead up to such intrigues as have just been described provide the only occasion in this society for anything of the nature of courtship, since the pre-arranged marriage of children leaves no opening for it, and the demand of an older man for a woman he fancies as his second or subsequent wife can hardly be so described. In some cases efforts are made by the man to ingratiate himself with the woman so that she will be willing to marry him. But these cases were few, or at least so I gathered from discussions both with men and women.

832 A man who wishes to gain the favours of a woman decks his person with aromatic plants, or rubs them on his skin, trims his hair, and decorates himself with paint. All these things may be done by anybody at any time, so his appearance need excite no remark. He finds an opportunity, often during a dance, to indicate his desires to the woman, and if she is willing, they steal away into the bush. He does not trust to his own personal charms to achieve this end, but supplements his own efforts with an appeal to higher powers to help him, or at least with the use of the appropriate 'medicine'. This is called *ēto*, the same word as is used for the preparations used in hunting, fishing, and other magic, as well as

for medicines for healing sickness, these being all in the same category in the native's mind. I have a large number of such 'prescriptions' in my collection, some given me under pledge of secrecy. It will be noted that some of them also include an antidote, for use when the affair has become tiresome. Incidentally, I gathered that they may, sometimes, attract the wrong woman. 832

Both the two most powerful magical substances known to these natives, *sisiwa* and *magor* (see pp. 474–6), are employed in love-magic, and also a vast array of plants, many having aromatic properties which are doubtless the cause of their being selected. 832 824

*Sisiwa* is used in the following manner:

> To make a woman love you, get some leaves of the plant *rarakot* and powder some *sisiwa* on to them. Rub the two together and smear the mixture on to a piece of tobacco which you then give to the woman whom you desire. Then take a little more *sisiwa* and make it hot over the fire. As she smokes the tobacco, and as the *sisiwa* gets hot, so she will become warmed towards you, and the next day she will come to you. She will be hot with desire for you, and you will copulate and copulate and copulate. When you are tired of her, and want the affair to come to an end, take a little *sisiwa* and put it into water, her passion will then be cooled.

*Sisiwa* may also be used to take revenge on a woman who refuses you her favours. 789

> If you are angry with a woman because she will not have intercourse with you, powder a little *sisiwa* into the palm of your hand, get some food belonging to the woman, or some of her pepper-stick or areca-nut, sprinkle the powder on it, and give it to her to eat. On some pretext get a piece of it back from her, put a little more powder on it, and throw it into the fire. Then the woman will have sores come out on her skin. If she will not give you the piece back, you cannot make this medicine.

*Magor* is used thus: 832

> To make a woman love you, chew some *magor* with the betel-mixture, remaining silent the while. Spit out the mixture in the direction of the woman you want while you are both dancing. She will then come and take hold of you, and will desire you. 824

This was the medicine made by Pinari to obtain the affection of Gomar, and by Pasab for Erut.

Another, more elaborate method, invokes the aid of the *urar* (spirits of the dead). 832

> If you wish to make a woman desire you, you can make this medicine.

832 The morning you intend to do this you must not have had sexual intercourse with anybody the night before. You must not defecate until after you have finished making the medicine. Both these are very strong taboos. You must not go with all the other men to the beach when they get up. You must get up alone, at dawn, when all the other people are still asleep. Take some *magor* with you into the bush, cut a piece of the [824] stem of the creeper *karavetan* (a parasitic plant with a thick juicy stem, unidentified). Hang it up on a tree. Clean it well with your knife. Get ready to call out the name of the woman you want. Cut the piece of stem in two with your knife, with one sharp stroke, at the same time calling out quickly the name of the woman. Then rub *magor* on the cut end and drink the sap that runs out, mixed with the *magor*. Then spit it out, and say:

> '*Kuvian sen its imoin me mon owa, ne en ton rēs wē ma ia ini pio.*'
> 'Kuvian' (the name of the *urar*), 'you copulate first with this woman and then you bring her and give her to me.'

You must not go straight to the woman, but wait for a time when all the people have gone to the bush to work. When you want to go to her, take a leaf of *karavetan* and heat it in the fire, then press it on your eyes. Then take the leaf and hang it up in your hut, in the rafters over your bed. As the leaf withers, the woman will think of you, and then when she sees you she will desire you.

This is a very secret thing. It must not be told to every one. Most [437 people do not know it. If I wish I can tell it to a member of my own 424] clan. If men of another clan wish to know it, they pay very highly for it, with *beroan* and paint and axes and knives.

Another form of magic was given to the man who told it to me, by his own particular *urar*, Butchiar, in a dream. He said he had tried it on a certain woman, and it worked very well. He asked me not to tell it to any of his own people, or to let them know that he had given it to me.

First call on the *urar* Butchiar, and say these words:

> '*Butchiar tar na pi mon arawa, rēs ka ma ne, rēs me mon, io mayin no ia.*'
> 'Butchiar, look at that woman there, bring her, bring the woman, I want her.'

Then watch till you see the woman eating. As she takes a mouthful, say: '*Kalat!*' As she chews, say: '*Dami!*' As she swallows, say: '*Kunom!*' (The man could give no meaning for these words, he said he got them from the *urar*.) This talk will turn the woman's belly to you, and she will think about you. She will ask you for water, but you must not give her any, you must run away from her.

When she goes to sleep the next night she will see you, and will think you want her to get up. In the morning she will say to you: 'Oh, I could 832 not sleep last night, I saw you standing up in front of me, I can't think of my husband any more, I think about you only. I think you gave me some medicine?' You must say: 'No, I did not go near you, I did not run about in the night.' She will say: 'Never mind, I want to leave my husband now, I like you too much.'

If you want the affair to finish, you take two plants, *rakot* and *rurupari*. [824] Squeeze the leaf of *rurupari* with some water and give it to the woman to drink, and make her eat some of the stem of *rakot*. Then she will sleep well at night and will not think of you any more. But if she likes you very much she may refuse to take this medicine, and then you can do nothing.

Many of these 'prescriptions' are carried out without invoking the help of the *urar*. The methods vary. Some typical ones run as follows:

Take some leaves of the plant *waruyon* (unidenti[illegible]) and squeeze [824] them together in your hand. Ask the woman you want to give you some water, this she will bring in a coco-nut shell. Put the squeezed leaves into the coco-nut shell, and drink the water. Then scrape off the skin of the long root of the same plant and chew it with the betel-mixture. Throw away part of the skin in the place where the woman is. This you must do when no one is looking. Swallow some of the chewed mixture. Next time there is a dance, take a piece of the root and put it in your hair. Then go and dance before the other men start. The woman will come and dance too. When you stop, she will stop too. The next day she will say to you: 'What have you been doing to me?' You must answer: 'Nothing.' She will say: 'Oh, I like you so much. Let us have intercourse.' So the two of you will go to the bush, and you will have intercourse with her, and by and by she will have a child, and then you two will be married.

Take a drinking coco-nut (*mayur*) and a dry coco-nut (*makas*). Scrape [824] the meat of both, and mix the scrapings together. This mixture is called *kariur*. Take the leaf-buds of *nik* (the betel-pepper) and wrap them up in leaves. Make the bundle hot. Go to the beach, dip the hot bundle in the sea, and rub it over your body. Chew some of the *nik* leaves. Climb a tree, and fix a package of *kariur* to the branches. As the wind rustles in the tree the woman will desire you.

When you go to a dance, first get some of the roots of the tree *wapindi* [824] and chew them. Light a torch (made of coco-nut palm leaves) and spit the chewed roots on to it. Lay another piece of root on top of the burning torch and let the two burn together. [372] When you see the woman you want, throw the torch towards her. If she takes it and warms herself

> 832 with it, she will warm towards you, and will go and wait for you in the bush, you will go after her and have intercourse with her.

Some of these 'medicines' are directed towards the very practical end of making the person attractive. They frequently take the form of a package wrapped up in a leaf, containing a mixture of bits of dried leaves, sticks, bark, &c., to be soaked in coco-nut oil before use, and intended to be rubbed on the skin before meeting with the object of one's affections. Some of them may be used by either sex to attract the other, but one, a sample of which was brought to me in great secrecy, was accompanied by the information that it was taboo for women to see this preparation. Another form of magic which may be used by both sexes, is to wrap up the leaves of any one of certain plants, most of which possess aromatic properties, in the form of a cigar, which is given to the coveted partner; as it is smoked, desire is engendered. [435] One man told me he paid 10*s*. (in our money) to the mountain people for a mixture to make a woman want to marry him. He did not know what was in it, but was told to chew it before he went to the woman.

789 The use of *sisiwa* 'to spite a woman who refuses her favours' has already been mentioned. Another method of taking revenge is as follows:

> [824] If the woman you want goes to another man, chew the root of *sisiŋ* (a species of croton) with the betel-mixture, spit some of the mixture on to your toe, and kick the woman. Then spit some more on to a *sisiŋ* leaf and strike the woman with it, then bury it under a fire. The effect of this will be to make the woman menstruate all the time, so that your rival cannot enjoy her.

832 A curious way of taking revenge upon a woman for the misdeeds of her brother, the only 'prescription' of its kind in my collection, is directed against a man who has seduced the sister of the individual who uses it. It comes from Petats.

> [824] Go to the bush and break off a joint of the stem of the plant *ŋgalaŋgala* (Petats dialect), at the same time calling the name of the woman, and saying:
>
> '*Tor i mulo takots nan.*' ('May your belly be no good.')
>
> Call your own name also. Then take the bit of stem and fasten it over your bed, where the wind will catch it and make it rustle. This will cause a rumbling in the woman's belly. At night you must get up and clap your hands, turning towards this piece of stem. At that moment the woman will wake up and feel ill, and will think of you. In the morning

you must not go near her. She will be unhappy because of you, and 832
will not be able to eat. Next day she will climb a tree and call out to all
the men to find you and fight you, because you have scorned her. She
will say: 'Why does he run away from me, I want him.' Then she will
want you so much that she will go to your hut. (This is a grave breach [576]
of etiquette.) Her brother will be very angry, and will come to you and
ask why you have done this to his sister. Then you will tell him it is
because he seduced your sister.

This magic must be taught to no one except the possessor's sister's son.

I could never learn of any medicine to be used by a woman for taking revenge on a man who had abandoned her. It was noteworthy that, although some of the magic connected with love-making was known to and used by women, the great majority of my informants on this subject were men, the women seeming neither to know nor to care so much about this means of attracting a partner as the men did. Perhaps they feel more sure of the efficacy of their own personal charms. However that may be, it is certain that lovers are not lacking to any woman who wants them.

A woman desiring sexual intercourse with a man who does not 832
make advances to her will, when opportunity arises, lie down in 834
his presence with her legs apart, a position otherwise regarded as
indecent. The word *payan* means to adopt it deliberately for this
purpose. If a women exposes her genitals, even unwittingly, as in
sleep, the situation is liable to be taken advantage of by any man [839]
whose passions may thereby be aroused. Both types of incident [538]
figure frequently in my collection of tales, as well as in village
gossip. The proper behaviour for a woman is to sit or lie with her 516
legs stretched out in front of her, keeping them close together.
This is still the rule, although every adult now wears a loin-cloth.
A young man once brought his little son, aged about three, to play
on my verandah. The child sat down with his legs straight out,
and another man immediately began to laugh. When I asked what
the joke was, he said that the baby was sitting down like a girl.

## SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

The people say there was a time when they had no knowledge 833
of the sexual act, but men copulated with women at their armpits, 773
and it was thought that the female genitalia were intended to provide them with lime in which to dip their areca-nut. The proper way to do it was taught first to the people of Tsiraun (Nissan), by

833 a man named in different versions Uskawu and Manatchire, who
773 came from a long distance on a raft. One version of the story
continues as follows:

833 The people of Tsiraun took him and made him sit down on the front
773 verandah of their chief's house. They gave him betel-pepper, and
skinned an areca-nut for him. Then they brought a woman, and made
539 her lie down, and told her to open her legs, so that he could dip his
areca-nut into her lime-pot. But Uskawu said to them: 'You give her
to me presently, by and by I will chew betel at night.' He was ashamed
because of the woman's genitals. Then Uskawu took some real lime,
and chewed, and spat out, and the men of Tsiraun thought he was
throwing up blood.

Night came, and Uskawu copulated with the woman. The men of Tsiraun cried out: 'Oh look, the man has broken our carved lime-pot.' Then the woman became pregnant, and the child grew large inside her. The woman felt it, and cried. The men of Tsiraun wanted to get a knife and cut her belly. But Uskawu held her fast, and said: 'Leave her alone, I will look after her.' The woman felt the child. Then Uskawu took a piece of wood, a short thick piece, and the woman sat down on it. Then he held the woman, and she gave birth to the child.

The child cried, and all the people said: 'What are we to do now?' Uskawu said: 'You leave us alone. The child is mine. By and by his mother will give him milk.' They asked him about the child's food. He went to get some food and prepared it for the woman to make her strong. She ate some and gave some to the child.

That is how men learned to copulate at the pudenda, before this they only did it at the armpit.

833 The story of the man who thought his wife's genitalia to be
773 a sore, and had to be taught how to copulate, which is the origin-
myth current in New Ireland (Powdermaker, p. 242), is known in
North Bougainville, but is told of an individual.

833 Coitus usually takes place in one of two positions. In the hut,
the woman lies on the plank bed on her back, with the man over
her. The women say that men sometimes lie so heavily on them
[845] that they cry out. If she is known to be pregnant, he tries to keep
his weight off her; failure to do so is supposed to result in the birth
of twins (see p. 164). It is difficult for a couple to secure privacy
[362] for their embraces, because there are nearly always several other
people occupying the hut, which is not provided with partitions.
[839] They will wait till everybody else is asleep, but it is a favourite
trick to pretend to be asleep and watch them. Or they will go to

the bush. Here it is not always convenient to lie down, so a stand- 833
ing position is adopted, the man behind the woman who bends her
body forward. I have two drawings, both done by young men, [831
showing couples in this position, and on one occasion when I 532]
observed children playing at copulation it was done thus.

The bush is the favourite place for love-making. The taro 833
garden is frequently chosen by husband and wife; clandestine 195
lovers prefer the uncleared bush. This preference is the basis of
some of the stock insults current among these people. A person 578
of either sex who is angry with a woman will say to her: '*Wanits i ratsu.*' 'You copulate in the bush', or '*Giug i ratsu.*' 'You conceive in the bush.' (These are indicatives, not imperatives.)[1]

As far as I know, there are no periods of special licence, nor is 837
there any occasion on which extra-marital intercourse is either 786
enjoined or sanctioned with ritual significance, unless we include the punishment of a woman in this manner for breaking taboos connected with the boys' puberty rites (see Chap. VI).

Sexual abstinence is imposed upon certain individuals under 834
special circumstances, but I do not know of any time when the
prohibition is general. A woman must refrain from intercourse [846]
for some time after the birth of a child. The young men who act
as sponsors (*amro*) to the adolescent boys wearing the *upi* must [881]
remain continent during certain stages of the puberty rites. Absti-
nence during the previous night is essential if a man wishes to [226]
succeed in bonito fishing, but there are 'medicines' whereby the
result of breaking this taboo may be circumvented.

## PROSTITUTION

I learned of nothing that could be described as prostitution 548
occurring among these people, as is perhaps to be expected in a 431
community where a partner can be obtained without difficulty.
Presents of tobacco, betel, &c., will sometimes pass between lovers, 437
but these are signs of preference, not payment for services rendered. In most villages there are some women who are known to be liberal with their favours, usually these are young wives whose husbands are away working as indentured labourers.

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[1] Other stock insults are concerned with incestuous relationships and with faeces, just as in other parts of Melanesia. Typical examples are '*No en sas a tin a tʃinamen!*' 'Go eat your mother's faeces!' '*Tetop tʃinan!*' 'Copulate with your mother!'

### HOMOSEXUALITY

838 Homosexual practices figure in some of the stories, in each case [538] on the part of males. From discussions arising out of these it would appear that homosexuality is actually found among these people, but is rare, and is regarded with intense disfavour. At the end of one such story, told by a young woman, the names of two men, one dead, one living in another village, were mentioned, and also that of the father of a Kurtatchi boy who had been forced to yield to the former, when he was an old man too feeble to resist. The natives said that such people were *pipiu*, a word which from [732] its use in other connexions appears to mean 'mad', though it was also applied to a boy who was deaf and dumb. In one story homo- [762] sexual behaviour started after recovery from an illness, and the man finally committed suicide by jumping from a cliff. It was related as a fact, with the statement that it happened not long ago.

It is known that homosexual practices occur on the plantations, where indentured men may spend three years in 'quarters' without women. Some of the older people told me they did not like their young men to sign on for this reason. It would seem probable that the segregation of the boys wearing the *upi* might have similar consequences, especially considering the very intimate contact in which they live with the older men acting as their *amro* (see pp. 198–9) [839] during their period of seclusion in the bush. But my informants asserted emphatically that this was not the case, although masturbation was freely admitted. It is at least safe to say that homosexual [831] practices do not form part of the puberty ritual, nor do they enter, so far as I could ascertain, into any other ceremonial observances among these people.

The conventional attitude towards homosexuality in this community is definitely one of condemnation. I do not know how far the assertion that manifestations of it occur but rarely may have been due to this, but the impression I received from the reactions of the natives during discussions on the subject was that the disapproval was more than the expression of the orthodox point of view.

[585 Imitations of the sexual act are carried out between women at 861] a certain stage in the marriage ceremonies (see p. 91) and in those marking the first menstruation of a girl who is *tsunaun*. These are purely ritual acts, and in no respect to be connected with female homosexuality, for which I have no evidence. 838

## CONNEXION WITH ANIMALS

Again arising out of the telling of stories, it appears that intercourse with animals, usually dogs, is known, on the part of both sexes. The talk which followed the story elicited the fact that it does actually occur, but I can form no idea of its frequency. When it formed the subject of a story it was regarded as a joke by the teller—in one case the tale was especially described as a good one—and was received with much laughter by the audience, but there were signs of shame and disgust when we discussed its actual occurrence. This happened in two villages; the reactions of the natives were the same in both. 839 538 [522]

## CONNEXION WITH PLANTS

The legend of origin, according to which the people are said to have sprung from an old woman who was impregnated by means of a banana, has been given in Chapter II. Other instances in which pregnancy is supposed to occur in this manner are given in Chapter III. There are several stories in my collection in which plants, sometimes those possessing aromatic properties, figure in the same role. I give one of these, which is typical of its kind, in case students of sex psychology may see in it some significance.

A woman went to the taro garden, she saw a bush banana, the kind whose stalk is black. She liked it so much that she cut it, and took it to her house, and slept with it. (The phrase here used implies sexual intercourse; it is not clear from my manuscript whether the whole plant or only the fruit is intended.) Then she looked at it, and the skin had come off part of it. Then she thought her man was dead, and she cried over it, and took it up and got red paint and put on it, and got some beads and dressed it up (as is done to the dead). Then she took it and put it in the sea, but it would not sink. So she took it back, and buried it in the bush. Then she set fire to the house where the banana had died (as used to be done to the hut in which a person had died). Then she went and slept in another house. 839 539

Another day she went to the bush, and saw a young bush-banana plant coming up, and she said: 'Yes, I think you are the brother of the man I married before, aren't you?' Then she said: 'You stay there just now, by and by you will be big.' Then she went and said to her father: 'Come on, make me another house.' Her father said: 'Why should I

839 539 hurry up and make a new house? Who is it you want to sleep with?' She said: 'What are you talking about? I haven't got a husband.' 'I think some man is having intercourse with you in the bush.' 'No, that is not so.' Then she went to look at the banana to see whether it had grown big yet, and she said: 'Why have you not grown big?' Then she went back to the village, and stayed there for awhile.

Another day she went to the bush again, and a little girl went behind her, and heard her talking to the bush banana. The little girl thought she was talking to a man. Then she saw it was only a banana. So she went back to the village, and told the father of the woman: 'Your daughter is having an affair with a banana, that's all.' Then her father broke up the house, and cut the thatch of the roof into pieces, and broke up the walls. He was angry with his daughter because she was in love with a banana.

839 I once saw a woman take the flower of a banana palm and hold it to her breast, pretending to give it suck. She said: 'This is my child.' She had been divorced, had not remarried, and was childless.

## CLOTHING AND SHAME

291 Before the advent of the whites, men wore no clothing of any kind, not even a pubic leaf. Women wore a waist string of thin fibre, from which a bunch of leaves depended in front, scarcely covering their genitals, and providing but scanty concealment except from a direct frontal view. These conditions still obtain in the mountain districts of central Bougainville.

291 177 At the present time, the Government expects all the natives under control to wear a loin-cloth. This is further stressed by the missionaries, who require that even the smallest infants shall be thus attired if brought to religious services. Otherwise, little children of both sexes generally go naked, though it is becoming increasingly common to dress them in loin-cloths also. The garment, known by the pidgin-English term *laplap*, consists of a length of cloth passed once round the waist, with the ends folded over and tucked in. Great care is taken to adjust it correctly and to keep it in position. It usually falls to the knees, but may be longer or shorter. The older men and women often discard their loin-cloths when working hard or when they are ill. The women, however, are seldom seen entirely naked, but retain a bit of rag depending in front, or the old-time bunch of leaves. The younger people are never without their laplaps, even bathing in the sea thus clad. The garment is retained at night.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

When I showed my friends at Kurtatchi the photographs I had taken during a visit to the Kunua mountain natives, the first thing they noticed was the absence of loin-cloths. The women asked particularly if I had seen the Kunua women's pubic hair. On being answered in the affirmative, they seemed quite horrified, and both men and women hastened to explain that the Kunua people were only 'bush Kanakas' who did not know any better. Yet scarcely more than a few years ago they were following exactly the same fashion themselves. 834

Since the upper portion of their bodies is not covered, there is no such feeling connected with the breasts. Remarks will be passed on their shape, &c., entirely devoid of sexual implication, just as we might criticize a person's nose or eyes. The breasts do not figure in the tales, and, so far as I can learn, do not bulk largely in native love-making, though firm upstanding breasts are, as has been previously stated, considered a beauty. 826

In attempting to investigate the reactions of these people towards matters connected with sex, and to obtain information regarding sexual practices, I never encountered any hesitation or reticence, on the part of either men or women, whether by themselves or in mixed company. Many were quite willing to give their own personal experiences, and the details are, besides, often common knowledge throughout the village. The marital histories I have cited for illustration, when not based on personal observation or on information arising out of the collection of genealogies, were either given by the individuals concerned, or by other people in the village. All the persons mentioned were well known to me personally, unless otherwise stated. 831 124

But while willing enough to talk, they have great difficulty in putting their ideas into words, even in their own language, as soon as one tries to go beyond mere concrete description. In such inarticulateness they are, of course, by no means unique. I found it more pronounced in the women than in the men, and it was, far more than shyness or opposition, my chief difficulty throughout the whole investigation. 521 124

# IV

# PREGNANCY AND CHILD-BIRTH

## KNOWLEDGE OF PATERNITY

842 IT will be evident from what has been said in the preceding chapter concerning the attitude of these natives to extra-marital intercourse when it results in pregnancy, that they are aware of the connexion between copulation and conception. They say, of the man, *wataputs bai'i*, which may be translated 'he makes the child come up', *wataputs* being also used in the sense of 'to go and fetch', and *taputs* without the causative prefix *wa-* meaning 'to come at a person's call'. Of the woman, it is said *mon to giug non*, 'the woman is pregnant'. The same terms are applied to animals. There is abundant evidence of their knowledge in their conversations and in their tales. One of these, for example, deals with a
842 woman whose husband was impotent. She begs him to let her go,
837 so that she can marry a man by whom she can have a child. He refuses, and she takes a lover in the bush, by whom she becomes
848 pregnant. Her husband says: 'Who has made you pregnant? I
586 know the child is not mine, because I cannot have coitus with you.' When the child is born the husband kills it, and the woman divorces him and marries her lover.

842 Their knowledge, however, does not seem to go beyond the necessity for copulation. The child is thought to be formed out of the woman's blood. This idea may possibly have been suggested by the cessation of the menses during pregnancy since this causal relationship is recognized by them. On the part of the man, pene-
[831] tration is thought to be the essential factor. The seminal fluid is looked upon as water, and there is complete ignorance as to the function of the testicles. Village gossip has it that there was a man—now dead—in a neighbouring village whose penis was destroyed by a sore. He made an artificial one of wood, by means of which he copulated with his wife, who produced offspring. The name of one of his sons still living was adduced as proof of the truth of the story, the obvious explanation apparently not being applied to this case. There are other indications of the

presence of this idea. My attention was first drawn to it by watch-
ing a man castrate a young European pig he had just purchased 842
from a trader. Knowing that European pigs are greatly prized,
I asked him why he did not leave the pig alone so that he could 842
mate it with his sow. (Pigs of mixed origin are counted as European 232
pigs.) His reply was that what he was doing would not interfere [435]
with that at all, he would get European pigs from his sow just the
same, because he only cut away the testicles (*orn*) and not the penis
(*utʃin*). To emphasize his point he reminded me that all the young
males among the village pigs were castrated, but that the sows
continued to produce young. There are plenty of wild pigs in the
bush who have free access to the domestic sows, but this explana-
tion was not accepted when I offered it.[1] The belief in the sufficiency
of penetration was then stated, and further conversation elicited
the fact that it was considered to apply also in the case of human
beings.

Given this idea, it is not such a very far cry to the further belief 842
that conception can take place without the co-operation of the
male, and there is no doubt that this also is held. The legend, 824
widespread over this area, which traces the origin of all the people
from the two sons of an old woman who impregnated herself by
means of a banana, is literally believed. It is admitted that this
story belongs to times long past, but in a discussion arising out of
its narration the opinion was expressed among the audience that
it was still possible for a woman to conceive by means of a banana,
and the same thing was asserted by an altogether different in-
formant on another occasion, when we were discussing ceremonies
and taboos associated with birth. The connexion between bananas [881]
and child-bearing appears again in the ceremony for a girl's first
menstruation, when the girl climbs a banana palm of a species
whose fruit may never be eaten by children, or by boys wearing [262]
the *upi* (see p. 254). In discussing certain prohibitions connected
with the planting and eating of bananas in the south-eastern
Solomons, Ivens suggests that this plant may in the past have 842
possessed a sacred character, and supports his suggestion by citing 824
parallels from other peoples. He need not have gone as far afield 171

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[1] Malinowski records a similar experience (1929, p. 162). The reason given to me, on more than one occasion, for the practice of castrating the domestic pigs, is that it prevents them from becoming wild and running away into the bush, and that if they should do so, it enables the hunters who might catch them in their nets to recognize them as somebody's property and let them go.

842 824 171 as the Baganda of Africa for an instance of the belief 'that bananas have power to effect fertility in women and of themselves cause pregnancy' (1927, p. 272).

842 824 789 Belief in the possibility of conception without intercourse is explicitly stated in the following 'prescription', which was given to me, with a specimen of the plant named *kɔ̄* (this has not been identified), in the course of an investigation into the uses of plants as 'medicines', entirely apart from any discussion on child-bearing, a circumstance which, in my opinion, increases its value as evidence.

> If you have a grudge against a woman for refusing you her favours, take the bud at the top of a sprig of *kɔ̄*, and put it below the door at the [845] *babots* (women's entrance) of her hut. When she has passed over it she will bear twins, even if she does not have intercourse with a man.

842 171 There seems to be sufficient evidence to justify the statement that, on the north coast of Bougainville, belief in the possibility of impregnation without intercourse occurs among a people who are acquainted with physiological paternity. The words used by F. E. Williams in describing a somewhat similar state of affairs among the natives of the Morehead River, Papua, so exactly express my own view, that I cannot refrain from quoting them: 'I think we cannot escape the conclusion that these two theories . . . exist together, and that the second is generally accepted and overlies the first; but that the native, despite the inconsistency of the two theories, can at different times express a sincere belief in each of them' (1933, No. 128).

### CONTRACEPTIVES

842 Recognition of physical paternity is clearly implied in the widespread use of 'medicines' to prevent conception. This knowledge is common to both sexes, and the practice is freely discussed. The 'medicines' are employed chiefly to avoid complications in the course of clandestine amours. Their use by married couples is rare, children being much desired. But one man told me that he had given one of them to his wife after the birth of their sixth child, saying that their family was now large enough.

842 824 A number of different plants are used for this purpose. One of the most widely known, judging from the fact that it was given me by three independent informants, from the three villages of Kurtatchi, Tabut, and Baniu, is the fern called in the Kurtatchi dialect *asam* (*Lygodium dichotomum* Sw.). The Petats people call

it *aisam*, and do not, so far as I know, use it as a contraceptive, but 842 regard it as of virtue in fishing magic (see p. 350). It has a very 824 tough stem, the outer skin of which is used throughout the whole [283] area as a fastening, particularly in the making of canoes. For use as a contraceptive, the procedure is as follows:

The woman takes a piece of the root of *asam* and chews it with the betel-mixture. Some of the mixture must be swallowed. Some of it she spits out into the palm of her hand, and with it massages her abdomen thoroughly. The piece of root which remains over must be hung up in the rafters of the hut, where the smoke from the fire will reach it, and left there. As the smoke hardens the root, the woman's belly 'becomes fast', so that she cannot conceive. If it is desired that the sterility be permanent, after the *asam* root has been thoroughly smoked, it is taken down from the rafters and buried. She will then never be able to have any more children. But if it is desired to have a child later, the root is left up in the rafters until such a time as the woman wishes to conceive; it is then taken down and thrown away into swiftly running water, or into the sea. As the current carries it away, 'her belly opens again' so that she can conceive.

One of the three informants—incidentally, all three were men—from whom I obtained this 'prescription' was not aware of any means by which the effect could be counteracted, otherwise the three accounts were similar. Another added that it was sometimes given to a woman by her husband prior to his departure for a long period, and that on his return he would throw away the *asam* that he had left in the rafters, thus removing the bar to conception. A man who gives this medicine to a woman must not go fishing [226] for *makō* (a small fish, something like a mullet, caught on the open reef) for one or two days afterwards, or the medicine will not work.

Three other plants credited by the people of North Bougainville with contraceptive properties are used in similar fashion:

*Paparau* (*Vitex Lagundi*).

Scrape the roots and chew the scrapings with the betel-mixture. The solid part of the mixture must be swallowed, the saliva is spat out on to the hand and rubbed over the abdomen. The rest of the root is then put up in the rafters to harden in the smoke. As the smoke hardens the root, 'the woman's belly dries up', so that she cannot conceive.

*Rōwis* (a tree, unidentified).

The leaves of this tree must be rubbed well between the hands, water is poured over them and mixed with the sap thus squeezed out. The

842 woman drinks this water and sap, she then chews bits of the root with
824 the betel-mixture, spits it out, and rubs it over her abdomen. None is swallowed.

*Win* (*Licuala*, a small fan palm).

Take a piece of the root of this tree, and split it in two lengthwise. Give half to the woman and keep the other half for yourself. Both must chew and swallow the outer part, or 'skin' of the root. Take the inside part of both halves back home with you and put it up in the rafters of the hut where it will be hardened by the smoke. If, later on, it is desired that the woman should conceive, take down these pieces of root from the rafters and throw them into the sea. If they are burnt, she will never be able to have children afterwards.

The man who gave me the last of these 'prescriptions' added that he himself always used it when he wanted to 'steal' a woman in the bush.

The Petats people make use of the root of a small tree called in their dialect *hahōlon*, which the authorities at Kew Gardens identified from my sample as a species of *Mallotus*.[1] Scrapings from the root are chewed with the betel-mixture, and must be swallowed. The root from which the scrapings were taken is kept in the woman's hut. If at a later time children are desired, it is taken out and put in a place where there is running water. If it be burnt, the woman cannot conceive again. My informant added that if an unmarried girl (there were a few at Petats) wishes to cohabit she uses this medicine.

The following account of contraceptive procedure as practised on the neighbouring island of Pororan was given to me by Mr. Gordon Thomas, to whom I am indebted for permission to publish it, and also for a sample of the leaves and roots of the tree concerned, which unfortunately could not be identified. It is not the same as the *hahōlon* tree used on Petats.

'When a woman is desirous of becoming permanently barren she is given the root of the *malaŋal* tree, from which she scrapes off the outside skin and eats it, throwing the inside root on to a fire, which must be at her back. This process is repeated after a pause of four or five days, such repetition to be made four times. The

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[1] The capsules of *Mallotus philippensis* furnish the red powder called in India *kamala*, and used there to produce a red dye. *Kamala* is also used as a vermifuge, especially for the expulsion of taenia. The powder may be obtained from other parts of the plant also. It can be crystallized in ether, its composition is $C_{22}H_{20}O_6$. See Maiden, 1889, pp. 192, 298.

time usually chosen for the administering of this root is shortly 842
after child-birth, before she has had intercourse with any man since
the birth. Sometimes the medicine is given to a young girl before 824
she has reached the age of puberty. When this is done she will always remain barren. There is no cessation of the menses when barrenness is brought about. Should a woman wish for only temporary barrenness, then after eating the outside skin of the root she will retain carefully the inside root, and at the time when she is desirous of bearing children again, she will place the root in a pool of water where there are tadpoles. These little creatures will fasten themselves to the root and feed from it. After a short while, she will become fertile. Should, however, fecundity not return after the tadpoles have sucked the inner root, then another medicine to bring on fertility is used.'

It will be noted that stress is laid, in most of these 'prescriptions', on the keeping of the root in the rafters where it is exposed to smoke—'as the smoke hardens the root, so the woman's belly becomes fast'—that is, it works by virtue of what we are accustomed to call 'sympathetic magic'. But sometimes the 'medicine', when chewed with the betel-mixture, is also swallowed, so it is not inconceivable that some of these 'medicines' may have the power of acting upon the body in some way which might diminish the chances of fertilization. Many plants used as medicines in Australia and India, some of which are irritant poisons, are known to be efficacious in restoring a scanty or absent menstrual flux. Whether there is any active principle in the Melanesian contraceptives could only be determined by analysis, and unfortunately the specimens I brought home were not of sufficient bulk to permit of this. Their effectiveness is firmly believed in by all. Their use was frequently cited in discussion, as an explanation of the recognized fact that clandestine unions do not lead to pregnancy as often as might be expected. Mention of childless marriages, when they came into the genealogies, was often followed by the volunteered remark that the woman had taken a contraceptive medicine. In some of the marriages personally known to me the woman herself accounted for her barrenness in this way. I may cite one of these as an example.

Matarẽ and his wife Marotẽ seem to be a very well-matched 842
couple. They live together amicably, and work together most of the time. They always seem to be on good terms. Both are more

842 intelligent, or at any rate more articulate, than the majority of people in the village. They had one child, who died in infancy. They very much want another. But while Matarɛ was away working as an indentured labourer, Marotɛ had an intrigue with a man from another village, during which she took contraceptive medicine. The affair was discovered by her husband's brother, who told 842 Matarɛ about it when he returned, and wanted him to divorce her. 837 But he did not do so, partly because he liked her, but also because she is Pinari's daughter, and he did not want to offend the *tsunaun*. As his brother and another man had given her a thrashing, he left it at that. He has never taken a second wife, and says he does not want one. Marotɛ has not conceived again, and believes that this is because she took the contraceptive medicine. She has tried various counteracting medicines, but without result. To my personal knowledge, her menstrual periods are normal and regular, and there seems no reason why, having already borne one child, she should not become pregnant again, as both she and her husband are young and, to all appearance, perfectly healthy and vigorous. Another woman, who took the contraceptive after the birth of her first child, has been married three times and has had no more children.

### ATTITUDE TO STERILITY

842 In these 'prescriptions' directions are given for rendering a woman permanently barren. According to my informants these are not seldom carried out. It is a curious anomaly that any one should desire permanent sterility in a community where children are generally welcomed. Such a step, believed to be irrevocable, would not be necessary to ensure to a woman freedom with her lover, the reason most frequently given for the use of these 'medicines'. It may be that the extraordinary carelessness with regard to time characteristic of these people may make a woman under such circumstances indifferent to the permanency of the result. Two women told me they did it in a passion of grief after losing [152] their first child. A tendency to impulsive action, with consequences out of all proportion to its cause, seems inherent in the Melanesian temperament, and this manifestation of it is perhaps comparable with the frenzy which leads men and women to commit suicide on some quite paltry provocation (see p. 485). The practice of using 'medicine' believed to make sterility permanent seems to be taken

for granted, so much so that most informants could give no explanation of it at all. 842 It is considered to be the individual's private concern, no strong public feeling being involved. Although most people will say it is a good thing to have children, it is apparently not anti-social to abstain from doing so. A woman who desires children in vain is pitied, and those who know of remedies for her condition will offer them, but no stigma rests upon a barren woman. It is noteworthy in this connexion that sterility is not included [586] among the causes of divorce (see p. 110). A man who wants children can take another wife, the woman is still useful to him if she works hard and looks after him well. A childless marriage seems to be regarded as unfortunate but not morally reprehensible, while intrigues are condoned unless they result in pregnancy. Religious motives for rearing a family are lacking, since the *urar* [769] (spirits of the dead) are not worshipped by their descendants. Attention is paid to them when it is desired to obtain their help or to ward off their anger, but this is not necessarily the concern of their direct descendants. There are thus no powerful sanctions, social, moral, or religious, to counter the urge, be it grief, expediency, or any other motive, leading a woman to take steps whereby she believes herself to be rendered permanently incapable of bearing children.

## MEDICINES FACILITATING CONCEPTION

When a woman who wants a child fails to become pregnant, she 842
may have recourse to several 'medicines' thought to facilitate con- 824
ception, among which are the following:

*Sip* (*Euphorbia hirta*).

Take a number of plants, pick off the tiny flowers (which grow in bunches close to the stalk), and push them into a hole made in a cooked taro. The woman must eat the taro, and will then be able to conceive, even if she has previously taken one of the contraceptive medicines.

*Euphorbia hirta*, the 'asthma herb', is used in Australia in certain pulmonary complaints (Maiden, 1889, p. 183), and there is an account in a Dutch medical work dated 1658 of its efficacy as an antidote to snake-bite, in which it is stated that 'a pinch of the dried powder, taken in some convenient menstruum, excites the heart and arouses the vital forces depressed by the poison'. Dr. Marsset of Paris, who made a study of the plant in 1885, says it seems to act directly on the respiratory and cardiac centres. (See Maiden, p. 183.) There would seem to be just a possibility, in view of this, that some tonic effect might be produced by eating the flowers, or even, considering the result of recent research on Vitamin E, that these 'medicines' might really tend to assist in producing conditions favourable to conception. But it is quite unnecessary to postulate any actual effect to account for the native belief in their efficacy.

A second remedy for barrenness makes use of another plant in similar fashion:

> Take the seeds of the plant called *totſapō* and boil them with some taro leaves for a long time; this mixture must then be eaten by the woman.

Another method of using the same plant was given me by a visitor to the village:

> Take the seed-vessels of the plant *wapotok* (this is its name in another dialect, the samples brought to me being identical), rub them between your hands till the seeds fall out, put these into water and give it to the woman to drink.

This plant is a variety of Cape Gooseberry (*Physalis angulata*). The seed-vessel inside the 'lantern', about the size of a large pea, contains enormous numbers of minute seeds. It seems in accordance with native methods of reasoning to suggest that it is the numbers of these seeds, and the numbers of tiny florets which are characteristic of *Euphorbia hirta*, which have caused these two plants to be associated with the production of fertility in women. This would apply also to a third 'prescription', where all possibility of any medicinal effect is ruled out:

> If a man wants a child and his wife does not become pregnant, he takes a quantity of the spores from the back of the fern called *kukuis*, and gives them to some of the other women of the village, who put them into his wife's pack as they go to work. When she comes back he cohabits with her, and she will become pregnant. This can be used for a woman who has taken contraceptive medicine, because it is stronger than the medicine which fastens her belly.

The fern *kukuis* could not be identified, but it is a variety which is very richly supplied with spores.

The plants used in two further methods for ensuring pregnancy are also unidentifiable: their use is as follows:

> Take the leaves of the small plant *tiwapowo*, rub them between the hands, mix with water, and let the woman drink. Can be used by a woman who has previously taken a contraceptive.

Take portions of the roots of the tree called *wagag* (a small palm 842
resembling an areca-palm, possibly another variety, but the nuts are not 824
normally used for chewing). Scrape bits off these roots, and let the woman chew them with the betel-mixture, taking care to swallow some of it.

It is understood that a woman may be sterile without having 842
taken a contraceptive. In the course of giving genealogies informants would sometimes remark, speaking of a childless marriage: 'This woman was not able to have children.' They clearly make a distinction, in talking about persons known to them, between this state of affairs and one in which 'the woman's belly was fast' because she had taken one of the medicines. There was no suggestion that the fault might lie with the male, provided that he was capable of performing the act of coitus.

In this connexion it may be added that I gathered from Govern- 164
ment officials and missionaries with some medical training that there is very little venereal disease in this area. Such information as I received from the natives corroborates this.

### PREGNANCY

Pregnancy is suspected after the omission of one menstrual 843
period, unless the woman has been taking one of the numerous
medicines (described on p. 269) which are supposed to control or
inhibit the flow, in which case she will wait awhile before accepting
the fact of pregnancy. They do not keep any tally of the time, and [805]
their only means of judging when to expect the birth is by the
appearance of the abdomen and breasts.

There is no ceremony such as takes place among the Trobrianders
(Malinowski, 1929, p. 184) or the people of New Ireland (Powdermaker, 1933, p. 60), when a woman first discovers that she is
pregnant. In the olden days she used to make a belt of a special
creeper called *inus*, and to wear hanging from the front of it leaves [292
of a particular plant (*nai'iar*). As every one now wears a loin-cloth, 824
this practice is falling into disuse, though some women wear the belt 177]
and the appropriate leaves on the top of the loin-cloth.

### CEREMONY FOR PREGNANT WOMAN

Towards the end of the pregnancy a ceremony is performed with the object of ensuring easy delivery. The only estimate of

843 the appropriate time which I could obtain was that it took place
'when the woman's belly has grown large'. The first part of it was
performed for Sacsac at Kurtatchi on March 13; her baby was
born on April 30. Her mother, with whom she was staying,
decided when it should be done.

843 A man is sent out into the bush to catch a young opossum. It
must be brought to the village alive. Then a woman takes hold of
825 the live opossum and rubs its back against the abdomen of the
842 expectant mother. No particular woman, relative or otherwise,
was specified as suitable for this duty, but in the case of Sacsac it
was performed by her mother. It must be done just before sunrise.
After rubbing the animal up and down several times against the
woman's abdomen, the operator lets it fall to the ground. This
represents the birth of the child. The people standing round ask:
'What sort of child is it?' If the opossum is a male, the woman
says: 'It is a boy', if a female, she says: 'It is a girl.' This is supposed
to be prognostic of the sex of the expected child, but my
informants admitted that it was not always correct! I was not able
to ascertain any views held by these natives as to the determination
of sex, apart from this performance, and as far as I could ascertain
the sex of the opossum was regarded only as an indication, not as
a cause, of the sex of the baby.

843 The opossum is then killed by having its head struck on the
825 ground. Its hair is singed off, and it is boiled in a pot with some
taro. Its flesh must be eaten only by women who have borne
[262] children without difficulty, otherwise the mother's delivery will
be a hard one. In the case of Sacsac, her mother, who has had
seven children, six of whom are living, ate most of it. The pregnant
woman herself must drink the water in which the opossum has
[302] been boiled. Then her hair is cut short all round her head just
above the ears, and is smeared all over with black paint. Up to
this time she has not been allowed to use paint on her head.

843 Then she goes to the sea and washes. She looks for a gap in the
reef where the water is pouring in towards the shore very rapidly.
782 Over this she must jump. The action is said to have the effect of
shaking up the child so that when it is born delivery will take place
quickly. Meanwhile, the women have been collecting all the débris
from the food that has been cooked in connexion with the ceremony
(the leaves and peelings of the taro, the bones of the opossum, &c.).
Some of them carry it down to the sea, accompanying the pregnant

woman when she goes to wash. As it is thrown into the sea and 843
carried away by the current, all the women call out: 782

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Som si mē* | *mon* | *ta bai'i* | *ta dum tsūn.* |
| Give | woman | child | good very |

No names are mentioned, but it is understood that it is the *urar* who are called upon. Then the woman puts on a girdle made of 843
the black outside layer of the trunk of the bush banana, and fixes
some leaves of the plant called *ɔts* into it in front, so that they hang 292
down over her genitals. This plant is one which is always planted 824
in the taro garden in order to ensure a good crop. She must continue to wear this belt until the second part of the pregnancy ceremony has been performed.

When her mother thinks that the time has come for this, which 843
she estimates by noticing the pregnant woman's bodily condition,
she takes a certain black stone, washes it carefully, and decorates 823
it with streaks of black and red paint. With the stone she makes passes round the woman's body, touching the skin, and then rubs it on her abdomen, pressing downwards. As she is being rubbed, the pregnant woman must say: 'I want a good child who will be born easily.' Then the child that is in the stone comes out and passes into the woman and helps the real child to be born. The stone is put back into the hut, carefully wrapped up in fibre, to be kept till it is wanted again for the same purpose. The woman takes off her girdle and has her hair cut short over the rest of her head, where it was not cut on the previous occasion. If she has come to her mother's village specially for this ceremony she may now go back to her husband's people. There is no feast at this part of the proceedings.

The black stones used for rubbing the pregnant woman's abdomen are much prized. With great difficulty I succeeded in obtaining one which had been used for the wife of the man who gave it to me; he said she would not have any more children so she would not want it again. It is of a volcanic nature, a species of diorite. It measures 4½×2 in., is oval in shape, and water-worn. It was probably obtained from the bed of one of the rivers which flow from the volcanic interior of the island, and must have come from some distance, because there is no stone of that nature anywhere near the village.

The young woman for whom I saw this ceremony performed 843
574

843 574 had come from a village about ten miles off, and remained with her mother until some weeks after the birth of her baby. This is very frequently done, if the two villages are not too far distant from each other. In the case of another birth which came under my notice, the woman's mother was dead, but in spite of this the expectant mother came back to her own village and was confined in her sister's hut. The sister was present and helped her through the delivery. Not infrequently, however, a woman will elect to remain in the hut her husband provided for her, in which case, if she is living in her husband's village, his mother will help her.

### DIARY OF A PREGNANT WOMAN

843 During her pregnancy a woman works as usual, except that a primipara will be allowed some relief from heavy work in the taro garden towards the end. [482] All women will carry loads of taro or firewood on their backs right up to the end of the pregnancy; they say this helps the child to be born easily. A pregnant woman must be careful that there are no men in sight while she is preparing her pack, and must wait till they have all gone away.

I kept a record of the activities of Manĕv, a girl of eighteen or thereabouts, for three weeks before the birth of her first child, which may be summarized as follows:

*Aug. 4.* A message was sent to me that the confinement might be expected at any time, so I went over to Tabut, where she lived, and arranged to stay there until after the baby was born. Manĕv was away at the taro garden, and worked there all day. When I asked how they knew the time was near, her husband said 'the rope has broken here', pointing to a place between her breasts.

*Aug. 5.* Manĕv went fishing for shell-fish on the reef, remaining there for several hours.

*Aug. 6.* She went to the bush to get bread-fruit, climbed several trees, and carried an enormous load of bread-fruit home. She danced vigorously at the *kōma* in the evening.

*Aug. 9.* She went with other women to trade with the Ruri people on the road about 3 miles from Tabut. She carried a load of bread-fruit on the outward journey and a load of sweet potatoes home.

*Aug. 10.* Stayed at home most of the day, but carried in a load of firewood in the afternoon.

*Aug. 11.* Was preparing to take a load of taro down to Mrs. Hadden's plantation (about three miles away), but Mrs. Hadden told her not to come, so she stayed about the village. Her husband said he thought the child would be born to-morrow. 843

*Aug. 12.* Went to work in the taro garden and brought in a load of taro in the evening.

*Aug. 13.* Sat around most of the day, but brought in a load of firewood she could barely carry. When I said she ought not to have brought so much she laughed. Her husband said it would help the child to be born quickly.

*Aug. 14.* Did little besides household duties and getting firewood.

*Aug. 15.* Walked about five miles to a neighbouring village and the same distance back.

*Aug. 16.* Household duties, sat around most of the day. Brought firewood as usual.

*Aug. 17.* Did little besides cook taro and bring in wood. There seemed to be a definite drop in her abdomen, but she said she had no pain.

*Aug. 18.* No record, as I was away all day.

*Aug. 19.* She went with another woman and myself into the bush to gather canarium almonds. We went to a spot at least four miles from the village, and hunted for nuts in the fallen leaves for a couple of hours or more. Manĕv carried a heavy load of them home, and added half a dozen coco-nut shells full of water half-way back. [222]

*Aug. 20.* She went to the bush to get bread-fruit. During the day she felt ill and lay on the ground. One of the men in the party told me later that he thought the child was going to be born then and there. He told Manĕv she ought not to go to the bush any more.

*Aug. 21.* Sat around talking to me. Slept part of the day. Did the usual cooking and getting of firewood. Said she felt the child's movements, but was not in pain.

*Aug. 22.* Sat around/ said the child's movements were making her uncomfortable. But she brought in firewood and did the cooking as usual. Towards evening she got some sand and spread it on the ground and lay down on it.

*Aug. 23.* Went with all the other villagers to the new taro garden for the ceremonial planting. Took over a load of taro stalks, and did some of the planting, which involved stooping continuously for hours at a time.

*Aug. 24.* Sat around. Did the usual cooking and getting wood.

*Aug. 25.* Sat around all day. At dusk went and lay on her side before the fire inside her hut, saying she had pains in her back. Her husband went and fetched his mother, and moved his own bed and a few personal belongings out of the hut into another close by. Labour pains continued all night, and were apparently severe. 844

*Aug. 26.* Child born at sunrise.

### BIRTH OF MANĔV'S CHILD

844 As but few descriptions of parturition under primitive conditions are on record, I give in some detail the procedure followed at the birth of this child, as witnessed by me at the village of Tabut, August 25–6, 1930.

Pains started about sunset on August 25. Manĕv complained that her back hurt, and lay down on a plank in the hut. She lay on her right side, with her back close to the fire. At first she retained her loin-cloth, but soon loosened it and then discarded it, remaining entirely naked until after the child was born.

Patchip, her husband, went to fetch his mother, and moved his own sleeping-plank out of the hut, which he had occupied with his wife up till that time, into a little hut near by, which also belonged to him. Had this not been available he would have gone to his relatives. His mother, whose name is Sanasi, came soon after, bringing some other women with her. Four of these stayed all night, as well as Sanasi. One had with her a baby a few months old, another had a child of a year or so, who also remained in the hut all night.

Sanasi's first instructions to Manĕv were to come and sit close to the central pole of the hut, and hang on to it. This she did, raising her arms as far as possible above her head, clasping the post, which was immediately behind her, and pulling on it, as Sanasi showed her. Presently a short log was brought, about 3 in. thick and about 2½ ft. long. She was told to leave the pole and sit on this log, in a posture with her knees bent and her legs separated. Sanasi knelt behind her on one knee, pressing the other knee into her back, and clasping both arms round her body just below the armpits, the clasped hands resting on the protuberant abdomen and pressing it downwards. Another woman sat in front and held her knees wide apart.

As the pains grew more severe, Manĕv shrieked and cried, and tried to get up. At one time there were four women holding her, one behind her, as described above, one holding each knee and pressing it outwards, and one standing behind with her hands pressing on Manĕv's shoulders, to keep her from springing up. At long intervals she was allowed a short respite, during which she lay on her side on the floor, but after a minute or two she was called back on to the log, and told that she must think of the child. Twice she vomited, but not violently.

The five women present took turn about at holding her. The 844 woman sitting behind her changed quite frequently. It must actually have been very tiring to maintain that position and keep up the pressure on her back. The other women sat or lay on the plank-beds in the hut, playing with the babies, or suckling them, chatting or dozing. This went on for five or six hours. Once in the course of this time there was an escape of fluid from the vagina, but very little in quantity.

Eventually the women became concerned that things were not progressing more quickly. There were whispers of 'a big child'. Then one of the women burrowed in the ground under the door (which was kept closed all the time and propped shut with a stick), and disinterred a coco-nut, still in its outer sheath. She took a knife and made several slashes in the coco-nut, without removing it from its sheath, and then threw it away into a corner of the hut. I could not make inquiries about this at the time, but Patchip 843 subsequently gave me the following information. He had climbed 824 a coco-nut tree while the pregnancy was still at an early stage, before the enlargement of the abdomen had become very noticeable, and had cut off two green coco-nuts. These he must not throw down on to the ground, as is done when coco-nuts are cut for ordinary drinking purposes, but he had to carry one in his hand and the other in his teeth as he climbed down. They were brought into the house, and their tops were cut off. Then he got some leaves of the tree called *wagag* (the same as that used in one of the prescriptions for barrenness), split off the midrib and broke it open. Taking out the pith from the split stem, he placed this pith in a fold of the leaf, making a kind of funnel. Some drinking-water was then poured through this funnel, passing through the pith as through a filter, into the coco-nuts, mixing with their own milk. The leaf of *wagag* must be thrown away into the sea immediately after being thus used, and the current must take it away. One of the coco-nuts was then heated in the fire, and the expectant mother drank the contents. The other was buried under the floor at the threshold of the hut in which she intended to be confined, and this was the one which was taken up and slashed during the course of her labour. This is done in order to hasten delivery. The object of burying it so carefully beforehand under 844 the threshold is to prevent any one from making 'bad medicine' against the expectant mother so that she would die in child-

844 birth. After the child is born the coco-nut is thrown away into the
bush.

A short time after the episode of the coco-nut, Bunamon, one of
844 the older women present, said they must give her some medicine.
824 One of the women went out, and presently returned with some
fresh leaves from the trees called *ramian* and *reyto*. These Bunamon
rolled in her hand, and squeezed the sap into half a coco-nut
shell, finally dropping the leaves in also. A little water was added,
and the coco-nut shell was given to Manĕv, who drank the liquid
[276] it contained. Bunamon then chewed portions of the roots of the
same plants with the betel-mixture, but using the leaves of the
betel-pepper, not the fruit, which is more commonly used for
chewing with areca-nut by these natives. She spat the resulting
red saliva on to her hand and rubbed Manĕv's abdomen with it,
with a circular motion, all round the edge of the tumid belly. Then
she rubbed some on her own big toe and applied the toe to Manev's
vulva. Finally, she spat the solid remnant of the chewed mixture
into the palm of her hand and put it into Manĕv's mouth, telling
her she must swallow it, which she did with evident effort.

Then another four or five hours passed, the women still holding
844 Manĕv as previously described. She appeared to be in great distress,
and called out repeatedly: '*Atsat pio, atsat tagala!*' ('Woe
is me', in the two dialects current in this village.) Once she called
for her husband. No notice was taken by the women of any of
her cries.

Once in a while the woman kneeling behind moved her clasping hands from the top of the protuberant abdomen to the bottom and shook it violently. This caused fresh cries and groans. Tears were streaming down Manĕv's face, she begged continually to be let alone and to be allowed to lie down. Once they let her lie on the ground for a minute or two, and once they helped her to her feet, and she stood for a few seconds, supported by two women. But most of the time she sat on the log, with knees drawn up and pressed wide apart.

Towards morning they all came and sat in front of her, anxiously watching for the first sight of the child. As soon as the first glimmer of daylight appeared through the chinks in the walls of the hut, they put out the hurricane lantern I had brought with me, which up till then had faintly illumined the scene, so that when the top of the child's head at last appeared it was distinguished with diffi-

culty in the dim light of dawn. It was an occipito-anterior presentation, 844
and apparently normal. Sighs of relief and smiles of pleasant anticipation came from all the women.

The child was expelled on to a piece of areca-palm sheath spread on the ground between the mother's knees. Immediately it was delivered, the woman kneeling behind Manĕv pressed heavily on her abdomen with her clasped hand, and pushed out the afterbirth, which was left attached to the child, the cord not being cut at this stage. The mother then stood up, and another woman tied a broad band of banana fibre tightly round her abdomen.

The child lay very still, giving no signs of life. The women looked at it and said: 'It is sick.' One said: 'It is dead.' Then one of them started to stamp with her foot on the piece of fibre on which the child lay, shaking it fairly violently. Another beat two sticks together, making as much noise as possible. I was given a stick and requested to rattle it on the floor. This was done, they told me, to frighten away the *urar* who was trying to kill the child. No one attempted to touch the infant. After a while its chest heaved a little. Immediately she saw this, its grandmother, Sanasi, warmed a finger and thumb at the fibre, and rubbed them along [825
the umbilical cord, calling for a *kapi*-shell knife (black-lip oyster,
used by women for peeling taro, &c., see Pl. 38, No. 3). This was 412]
produced and handed to Manĕv, who was told to cut the cord, which she did, holding it with one hand and cutting it with the knife held in the other hand, while Sanasi held it taut. About three inches was left attached to the child. The cord was not ligatured, and nothing was done to the cut ends, but they did not bleed much.

The grandmother then took up the child and began to shake it. Putting her finger as far as she could into its mouth, she exhorted it to cry. 'Cry loudly.' For a few moments it made no sound. She took it by the heels and swung it backwards and forwards, face downwards. Presently a very feeble little wail came from it, and then it continued to cry, but not vigorously enough to please the women, who kept on telling it to cry louder, and Sanasi kept on pushing her finger into its mouth. Some cold water was then poured over head, back, and chest out of a coco-nut. No attempt was made to cleanse the child properly. Sanasi wiped its eyes with her finger, but not very thoroughly. Its cry was now sounding more healthy.

Meanwhile, Manĕv, who seemed vigorous and active, had been

844 digging a hole near the inner side wall of the hut. Into this she threw the afterbirth. The piece of areca-palm fibre on which it had been thrown after the cord was cut was then washed, and the water allowed to drip into the hole. Manĕv then stood astride the hole, and water was poured over her, so that the blood from her genitals was washed into the hole. She then filled in the hole, and stood by watching what was being done to the child. After the water had been poured over it the grandmother handed the baby to its mother, who put it to her breast. It made an attempt to suck, but after a minute or two Sanasi took it away again, and renewed her attempts to make it cry, which it did still rather feebly.

844 Manĕv then took the log she had been sitting on during the
labour, and heated it in the fire without letting it burn. Then she
824 applied it to her vulva, which was still bleeding. Presently she was
given a handful of the large leaves of two plants, called *kō* and
*wapatsŭn*, which she held one by one in the smoke of the fire until
they were hot, and then pressed to her abdomen. This was done
to make the blood run out quickly and stop the pain. Then she lay
down on a plank-bed near the fire.

The grandmother moulded the child's head with the palm of her hand, either bare or holding a heated leaf flat against her palm, which she pressed against the child's head. The back and sides of the head were pressed gently upwards, and the same kind of pressure was then given to the forehead. The nose was pinched to give it a bridge, and the cheeks pushed in. Eventually the child was laid on a woman's hood on the plank-bed beside its mother. It was soon suckling freely. It was given wads of taro, chewed first by its mother, on the same day.

142 It was a male child, and quite large. Its skin was of a colour difficult to describe, like a sallow white person's with a tinge of purple. The hut was too dark to take a 'colour top' reading. The nipples were much darker than the surrounding area, and were nearly black, as were also its penis and scrotum. There was no 'blue spot'. The hair was fairly thick, but not so thick as that of other children I saw at birth, neither was it so black. Its ends had a tendency to curl.

846 Mother and child spent the rest of that day, and the next three days, inside the hut, lying most of the time on the plank-bed near the fire. Patchip, the child's father, was not allowed to see his son for the first three days. He was obliged to remain in seclusion in

the other hut, and was forbidden to do any work and especially strictly forbidden to handle a knife, axe, or other sharp instrument. If he did so, it is thought that the child would die. This prohibition applies to the mother also. Further, neither father nor mother might wash themselves, nor eat pig, fish, or opossum, which means that they were confined to a vegetarian diet. Patchip's mother cooked the food for them both. 846

On the morning of the fourth day (Aug. 29), Patchip took some leaves of the plant called *maŋiŋir*, a green leaf and a dry one, rubbed them in his hands, and squeezed them into a *kapi* shell. A little water was added, and taking the shell he went into the hut to make the acquaintance of his first-born, and to give him this 'medicine' to make him grow strong. He held the shell to the child's mouth. Afterwards, the leaves were carefully thrown away into the bush, but the shell which had been used to hold the mixture was carefully preserved in the hut. Medicine and other liquids will be given to the child in it during babyhood. 824 846

Patchip was anxious to perform on this day the ceremony removing the taboos under which he laboured, but the old women of the village said it was too soon, and persuaded him to defer it for a little while longer. He might now walk about the village, but no farther. 846

On the fifth day the child was washed in fresh water inside the hut. Its umbilical cord came off, and was preserved in a coco-nut shell containing lime for chewing with areca-nut, where it will remain until the child is grown up. The father and mother both went and washed in the sea. The child was not yet allowed to be taken outside the hut.

On the morning of the sixth day Patchip went into the hut carrying a large bush knife. With this he made several slashes at the child as it lay in its mother's arms, pretending to cut its head, limbs, and abdomen. This removed the taboo on holding a sharp instrument, and Patchip was then free to go to work, his period of couvade being over. Manĕv was also allowed to go to the taro garden, but did not do so that day.

After this mother and child took up the ordinary course of their lives. The child was thriving when I left five weeks later.

### A NATIVE WOMAN'S DESCRIPTION OF A BIRTH

The Kurtatchi women followed the course of Manĕv's pregnancy with great interest, asking eagerly for details of its progress when 844 124

844 124 I returned to my own house at intervals during my stay at Tabut. On one of these occasions, when we were discussing the subject, I got Matēv, herself the mother of six children, to give me an account of birth procedure, of which I give a literal translation. I did not interrupt Matēv with questions or comments in the course of this narrative, such explanations as were necessary being obtained afterwards. As it stands, it stresses the points which were uppermost in her mind, and were, therefore, presumably, considered of most importance, thus illustrating the native woman's point of view better than a more detailed and coherent statement obtained by less direct means would have done.

844 'The woman sits on a log. We tire ourselves out with working over the child. Now it hurts, its mother cries out, now we cut some leaves, we make her drink. Now the child is about to be born. Now she is afraid because the child hurts her. She cries out because of the child. Then I say: "You sit quietly, and your child will be born." We do like this (here Matēv went through motions indicating vigorous massage of the woman's abdomen). We shake the child. The child's head comes out first. All the women look. "Stay still, your child will be born easily. Don't break the child in your belly, if you do you will die."

'The woman is delivered of the child. The umbilical cord is fastened to the placenta. The placenta looks like liver. If the child's leg sticks in its mother's genitals, the mother holds her breath, then the child is ready to fall down. We get a coco-nut shell, we catch the blood, we carry it and throw it away in the bush.[1] We get water and pour it over the child, we wash the child. We take a shell-knife, we cut its umbilical cord, and put the afterbirth into a *kobu*. We bury it in the house. We make *poti* (a drink made [272] of the oil from scraped coco-nut meat squeezed through banana fibre and then boiled) and *kariur* (the same but with some of the coco-nut scrapings added to the liquid). We fetch a bamboo full of water, we rub the woman's belly, we cut a leaf (the leaves used are those of the plant called *kō*, which are large and smooth), we make it hot, we warm the woman's belly. We warm the child. We take a piece of banana fibre, a large piece, and put it round the mother like a belt, then it warms her blood (the idea being that the blood will then run out easily and recovery be hastened). We

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[[84]

[1] It was afterwards explained that some people did this, but others preferred to bury all the blood in the house (as was done at the births witnessed by me).

throw away the leaves into the sea, where the tide will carry them away. We get a green coco-nut, we make a drink for her. (The word used implies a cooked drink, perhaps 'soup' would be a fair translation.) 844 [272]

'The father of the child is forbidden to eat fish, pig, and opossum. He is forbidden intercourse with the mother of the child, they are forbidden to each other. The mother of the child is angry and strikes its father (if he tries to have intercourse with her). He goes to another woman (wife) in another house. 846

'Sometimes the child remains inside its mother's belly. Then we make *poti*. We say: "What is the matter with the child, that it stays inside, it does not fall down." Another woman is fetched, to help. Soup is made of green coco-nuts for the mother. She is afraid because the child remains inside her belly. 845

'Now another woman gives birth, and something goes wrong, and she dies. Or the child dies in the belly of its mother. The women ask: "What about this child?" The mother says: "I am still carrying this child." It is dead in its mother's belly. We put a hand into its mother's genitals and pull out the child, then the mother recovers, and the child alone dies.'

## COMPLICATIONS OF CHILD-BIRTH

While listening to this narrative I was struck with the emphasis which was laid on the pain suffered by the parturient, and the possibility of complications arising followed by death of mother or child or both. It has so often been supposed that child-birth in the case of primitive people is easy and relatively painless. It seems to me that this is by no means general. The woman whose first delivery has been described in this chapter certainly appeared to suffer as much as, if not more than, many primiparae among ourselves, and it is very clear both from the stress laid on pain and fear in the account given by Matĕv, and from remarks of other women, that among these people at any rate, child-birth is not such a simple affair as we have been led to believe. On another occasion a woman gave birth to a dead child after forty-eight hours of agony. The attendant women became very anxious after twenty-four hours had elapsed, but they could do nothing beyond massage and the administration of various concoctions of leaves and betel. I was told that there had been a woman at Kurtatchi, the grandmother of a boy still living there, who used to put her hand into 844 845

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845 the vagina during delivery and manipulate a mal-presentation—'suppose the leg came first', was the example spontaneously given to me. She used to chew some leaves with the betel-mixture and rub them on her hand before inserting it. My informant, a younger woman, did not know what these leaves were. She said that very few women knew how to do this; when it was done the child usually died but the mother got better, otherwise both child and mother died. Matĕv, whose statement apparently refers to cases where there was reason to suspect that the child was already dead *in utero*, told me subsequently, in answer to a question, that she had never helped to deliver in this manner a child that was born alive.

163 It is quite impossible to obtain from the natives data sufficiently accurate to admit of calculating the relative frequency of death in child-birth. Several instances occur in my genealogies, but the possibility of errors of omission in that type of material is so great that I do not feel justified in using it for statistical purposes in this connexion.

844 824 Excessive bleeding appears to be very common. The women dread it, and there are many prescriptions for its prevention and control. The only one involving plants which could be identified runs as follows:

> Take the root of *bariur* (*Crinum asiaticum*) and the bark of *karŭ* (*Barringtonia* sp.) and pound them together. Put the pulp into a pot and pour sea-water over it. Heat some stones and throw them into the pot. The woman must sit over the pot so that the steam reaches her genitals. She must also drink some of the water. Then her blood will dry up and she will be all right and will not be ill.

Of the others, some are used in similar fashion, in other cases the leaves are made hot and pressed on the lower part of the abdomen, or are chewed with the betel-mixture, some being swallowed, and the abdomen massaged with the remainder.

163 164 Miscarriages seem to be frequent, and still-births by no means rare. In discussing this question with Government medical officers it was suggested that the prevalence of malaria was probably at least in part responsible for this.

844 On the other side of the picture, there are, of course, many confinements where delivery is quick and easy. Another woman of Tabut, who had promised that I should be present at her labour, gave birth to her child before it was expected, and so quickly that no one in the village was called or knew anything about it till the

next morning. This was her third confinement, and in discussing it the women told me that she was a woman who 'knew how to have children'. 844

In the course of many talks on these matters, with both men and women, I obtained further information, supplementary to that which I was able to gather from personal observation, bearing on various aspects of pregnancy and child-birth. The following paragraphs summarize the data thus collected. In many cases the statements were made more than once, by different people, and often in different villages.

## PREPARATIONS FOR DELIVERY

Of all the medicines in my collection intended for use in connexion with child-birth, only one is given to the mother before labour actually begins. It is said to ensure easy delivery, but no explanation was forthcoming as to how this was achieved. 844 824

*Maniyar* (a sweet-scented plant of the *Cymbopogon* species, similar to that used in India for making citronella oil).

Take a dry leaf that has fallen to the ground. Powder it between the hands and put it into a coco-nut shell. Pour in a little water, and make the woman drink it when she feels that the time of birth is near. Put the coco-nut in the house. Next day add a little more water and make her drink again. Twice is enough.

No special preparations are made for confinement, except the provision of a log for the parturient to sit on, and a piece of banana fibre or an areca-palm sheath (*kōbū*) on to which the child is expelled at birth.

There are no professional midwives. There is usually at least one woman in a village who makes a point of being present at every birth that takes place there, but this appears to be of her own accord and not by invitation. Some women have a reputation of being more skilful in handling the situation than others, and these may be sent for if difficulties arise, but usually some relative of the expectant mother or of her husband takes the lead, assisted by any women who care to come in. Young women who have not yet borne a child ought not to witness a difficult labour, lest their own first pregnancy should thereby be rendered correspondingly difficult. 844

No men are permitted to enter the hut in which the woman is confined, from the time the pains begin. The husband may not

844 enter it for three days after the birth of the child, and other men only after he has done so. But the latter part of this prohibition is not always strictly observed.

844 There are a number of medicines which are used to hasten a delivery if the women who are watching think it is unduly pro-
824 tracted. The following is typical:

*Pupūna* (*Pteris tripartita* Sw.)

Take some of the leaves, heat them, and rub them on the woman's abdomen. Squeeze the sap into water and give it to her to drink.

The use of other plants for the same purpose has been described in the account of the birth of Manĕv's child. One more may be mentioned because it seems to be comparable with our use of an anodyne:

*Wanōnō* (*Erythrina*, 'the coral tree').

When the woman feels that the pains are very severe, rub the leaves between your hands, mix them with water, and give the water to her to drink; it will lessen the pain.

A number of other plants which may be given to facilitate delivery could not be identified from my specimens. They are used in similar fashion to those above described, or in some cases are chewed with the betel-mixture and rubbed on the woman's abdo-
[787] men. To the account of the use of one of these my informant
[845] added: 'If when the plant is pulled up it is found to have a forked root, the woman is carrying twins.'

### RESTRICTIONS ON SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

843 There is no taboo on sexual intercourse right up to the time of child-birth, but in practice it is discontinued towards the end of the pregnancy, though the husband may continue to occupy the same hut until the pains begin.

846 After the birth, intercourse with the mother is strictly interdicted. The duration of this period of abstinence was described to me in various ways: 'Until the child can run about.' 'Until the child begins to talk.' The criterion most frequently cited was: 'Until
[164] the child has yaws.' This tropical skin disease falls to the lot of every child, usually between one and two or three years of age. I estimate that, in general, intercourse is not resumed until the child is at least two years old. There is no taboo on the husband's

relations with other women, and since many men have more than one wife, and in any case opportunities for extra-marital intercourse 846 are not lacking, this custom, of such obvious benefit to the mother, does not impose continence upon the male. But the decline in polygamy now conduces to an increasing disregard of this rule.

Failing to observe the taboo is supposed to bring ill-health to the child. An obviously sickly baby will be taken as an indication [753] that its parents have been indulging in sexual intercourse during the prohibited period. Some do so in secret, and give the child a concoction of leaves to drink which is supposed to counteract the ill effects of the act. But in general, the women strongly resent any attempt on the part of their husbands to approach them during this prohibited period. A case occurred at Kurtatchi, some time before my arrival, of a man who divorced his wife for refusing him [586] access at a time she considered too soon after the birth of their child. The sentiment of the village was against him, and he never succeeded in obtaining another wife. The following story from my collection also illustrates this point. It was told me as typical of what used to happen in the olden days:

> There was a man whose wife had a child. The man asked his wife to go to the bush with him. The woman said: 'No, I don't want to.' The man said: 'Now come, you and I will have coitus in the bush.' The woman said: 'No, I don't want to, I am thinking of the child. I don't want the child to be hurt.' The man pressed her. He said: 'The child is not little, he is a big child now.' The woman said: 'No, I don't want people to laugh at me because my child is sickly.' The man was angry, he went alone to the bush, he climbed a *tſiniv* tree (tall slender tree from [824] the trunk of which dug-out canoes are made). He jumped down head-first, he fell to the ground, and his neck was broken and he died. The [762] woman went to look for her husband, she found him dead. She wailed, and said: 'Alas for my husband, he has killed himself. By and by I shall et another husband.'

It used to be looked upon as so impossible that the taboo on 846
exual intercourse should be broken, that if a woman became
regnant again during the prohibited period it was said that she 842
ad taken a banana and 'made the child come up' with it. 'Face-
aving' seems to be popular with the Melanesian, but the method
s interesting because of the belief, referred in an earlier part of
his chapter, that penetration by means of a banana can cause
regnancy.

### CUSTOMS CONCERNING FOOD

843 During pregnancy a woman may not eat the megapode (*iowa*)
nor the fish called *turō*. Her husband should also observe this rule.
262 No reason was given for this taboo. The woman must also abstain
from a sea-creature called *awaian*, which is described as like a little
snake, and living among the stones in the sea. This taboo would
appear to have arisen for a reason like that which forbids a pregnant
Trobriand woman to eat certain kinds of fish: 'Just as it is difficult
to haul these fish out of their hiding-places, so the baby would not
easily be brought forth.' (Malinowski, 1929, p. 193.) A pregnant
843 woman must on no account eat a certain frog called *toktok*, which
262 frequents banana palms. It has unusually long legs, and it is
825 thought that if she eats it her child will have legs of abnormal
length.[1] Another kind of frog, *kakṓ*, which lives in pools in the
bush, is specially recommended; if she eats it her child will be
large and the period of pregnancy pass easily.

844 While labour is in progress the husband must abstain from food
262 of any kind. The woman's mother, whether present at the confinement or not, must abstain from eating pig.

846 After the birth, for an indeterminate period ('while the baby is
very small'), the parents may not eat pig, fish, opossum, shell-fish,
262 or barringtonia fruit. Why the last-named should be included my
informants did not know. The effect of the other prohibitions is to
confine the parents to a vegetarian diet; this is thought to be of
276 advantage to the child. The mother is subjected to further restric-
824 tions. She must chew with her areca-nut only the leaf of the betel-pepper, not touching the catkin-like fruit, which is much preferred in the ordinary way. The reason given for this change is that the fruit is stronger than the leaf, and might harm the mother's milk. The nursing mother must also abstain from bananas and canarium almonds. While awaiting Manĕv's confinement I was frequently given presents of both these things, which I shared with the expectant mother, to her great enjoyment, but her friend, Ema, who was constantly with us, would never accept any, saying that she was forbidden to eat them because she had a suckling child.

The mother's first meal after her confinement is the occasion of peculiar care. It consists of soup (*siro*), i.e. the water in which the

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[1] Little girls are taught by their mothers to avoid this creature. Any unmarried person who eats it will not find favour with the opposite sex.

taro has been cooked, and taro which has been boiled, not roasted 846
in the embers. The taro for this meal, which must, in consequence 262
of the prohibitions above mentioned, be eaten without its usual relish of fish or flesh, is brought home wrapped up in leaves, so that it is never exposed to view in the open air. The reason given [825]
for this precaution is that if it were so exposed, Manu, the big brown eagle, might see it, in which case the child would die. It will be remembered that Manu is the most important totem among [614]
these people, but the precaution is taken irrespective of the clan to which the child belongs. Manu appears to be regarded in this connexion as a being of whom the people are afraid, and who has power to harm the new member of the community. The importance of this first meal is further emphasized by the fact that the baby's mother's father, if available, is considered the appropriate person to go and fetch the taro, a task which under ordinary circumstances is never performed by a man. It is brought into the hut by [342]
the front or men's entrance (*tagoan*), instead of, as would happen in the usual course of things, by the women's entrance (*babots*).

## COUVADE

As soon as the expectant mother feels the pains beginning, her 846
husband must stop working, and remain indoors, not in the hut where his wife is confined, but in that of another of his wives, or of a neighbour. He must spend his time in sitting idle or dozing, and must on no account carry, or even lift, anything heavy, or touch a knife, axe, or any sharp or pointed instrument. To do the former would injure the child, the latter would cause it to die. This continues for three days. On the fourth day he may go into the hut and see his child. After this he is allowed to walk about the village, but must not go outside it. He must still refrain from working. On the fifth day he goes, with his wife, and washes in the sea; these are his first ablutions since the child was born. Then he may take an axe or a knife and go into the hut and pretend to cut the child; this removes the taboo on his use of sharp instruments, and he may now resume his usual activities. In the case of the child whose birth is described in the previous pages, this cutting was not done till the morning of the sixth day, but in discussions on the subject the fifth day was always stated as the appropriate time. It would appear, therefore, that five days is the minimum for the observance of couvade.

846 The reason given for this practice was that as the father had 'made the child come up', he was responsible, as well as the mother, for its well-being during birth and for the first few days of its life, and that these precautions were taken to ensure this. The death of a two-days'-old child at Kurtatchi was attributed by all to the fact that the father, a young man of 'advanced' views, had refused to keep the couvade rules. The custom is a clear acknowledgement
[851] of responsibility for the child on the part of the father. There is
[848] no couvade for a child born as the result of extra-marital intercourse.

### TREATMENT OF NEW-BORN CHILD

844 The umbilical cord (*busō*) is never severed until the afterbirth
824 has been expelled. If the expulsion of the afterbirth is delayed over-long, the root of the plant *pupuna* is brought, and chewed with the betel-mixture, the resulting mass is spat out and rubbed on to the big toe of one of the assistant women. She then pushes with her toe on the abdomen of the parturient, at the level of her umbilicus. They say this loosens the placenta and causes it to be expelled.

844 The child is left lying, still attached to the placenta, on the piece of fibre on to which it was expelled, until it shows signs of life. All the women look on anxiously, but no one touches it as long as it remains motionless. It seems probable that this custom may sometimes lead to the death of a child who might have been saved had prompt measures been taken. As soon as the slightest movement is perceived the cord is cut. The mother herself, if she is able, is considered the proper person to do this. It should be measured to the child's knee, and cut at that level; they say that if it is cut closer to the child's body the umbilicus will swell up and be painful,
[732] and will afterwards project. (Very many children show signs of umbilical hernia.) The cut end is not treated in any way. It is left
846 attached to the child until it drops off naturally. In some cases which came under my observation, this seemed to occur much sooner than would be expected, for instance on the second day after birth. It is preserved in the lime-pot which contains the mother's supply of powdered lime for chewing with areca-nut. There it will remain till the child is grown up, unless the child dies, when it will be taken out and buried in the house. It is usually allowed to remain in the lime-pot, covered by the powder, indefinitely, unless some one finds it by accident, and asks: 'Aren't you going to throw away

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this cord now that the child is big?' If the grown child finds it 846 himself, he will ask his mother to throw it away. If it were thrown away while the child is still small, he would become ill. This is explained on the grounds that some evilly-disposed person might find it and make bad medicine with it against the child. I have often been shown such bits of shrivelled cord, covered with lime-powder, lying in the bottom of these receptacles, and been told to which child each had belonged. The mother will not sell or part with a lime-pot containing her child's cord, for fear it might fall into the hands of some one who would bring disaster on the child.

The placenta (*pem* or *piom*) is thrown on to a piece of areca-nut fibre and is shortly afterwards buried in the house, together with the membranes (*sɔ̃sɔ̃*). A fire is made over the filled-in hole. If the placenta were thrown away into the bush some one might get hold of it and 'make poison' to kill the mother. It is noteworthy that the evil effects of carelessness with regard to the umbilical cord are thought to react on the child, those due to carelessness in the treatment of the placenta, on its mother.

If the child is born dead, the cord is not severed, but the body, 766 with the placenta still attached, is buried in the house, near one of the side-walls. An early miscarriage, described as 'child not enough yet', is buried under the woman's bed.

Immediately the cord has been severed, the baby is tak[illegible] and [846] all means are used to make it cry lustily. As soon as its cry satisfies 856 the attendant women, it is put to the breast. When it has proved that it is able to suck, it is taken away again, and its head and face are moulded by one of the attendant women, by pressure exerted at the back, sides, and forehead. This procedure is called *totobin*. They like the back and sides of the head to rise perpendicularly, without bulging. In later life their method of trimming the hair [302] is also designed to emphasize this shape, which is also imitated in their ceremonial figures. The nose of the infant is pinched, so that it will not be too flat. Flat noses are much disliked, and if extreme become objects of ridicule. The mother continues this moulding and pinching at intervals, whenever she happens to think about it. As far as my personal observation goes, I do not think she does it often enough, or with enough persistent pressure, actually to cause [304] any alteration in the shape of the child's head such as might be described as artificial deformation. No extraneous aids, such as

856 bandages or a cradle-board, are employed to accentuate the effect.
[854] There are no cradles; if it is required to put the baby down it is laid
on a woman's hood on the ground, but this is not often done, and I do not think it lies on its back sufficiently to cause any occipital flattening.

846 The child receives only the most superficial cleansing for the first five days. Then it is thoroughly washed in fresh water. It may
854 then be taken outside the hut, but its mother is careful to keep it out of the sun. There is a tendency on the part of young mothers nowadays to shorten the period of seclusion in the hut, which they must share with the child, but the old women do not countenance
[565] this breach of rule if they can help it. If the child is *tsunaun*, i.e.
if its mother is a woman of rank, the period of seclusion must be extended to ten days.

## LACTATION

853 In the absence of any animal whose milk can be utilized, the infant is entirely dependent upon its mother for this essential of its diet. In cases of the mother's inability to feed the infant or inability on the part of the infant to suckle, it usually dies. I did not hear of any cases in which the infant of a living woman was suckled by some one else, but instances are known to me where the sister of a woman who had died was feeding the dead woman's baby, having lost her own.

Babies are not passed round and suckled by different women at various times, as has been reported from other regions. While the child is small the mother keeps it with her constantly, taking it with her when she goes to the taro garden or to search for shell-fish on the reef. When it is a little older it may be left at home in charge of a small girl or another woman, but the mother will return to feed it. There is no attempt at regularity of feeding; it is generally offered the breast if it cries much. Some women have very pendulous breasts, but I have not seen any long enough to be thrown over the shoulder to a child carried on the back. I have often seen a woman bend down with her hands on her knees so that a child standing beside her could suck.

757 Women whose children die during the lactation period frequently suffer considerable pain from the retention of the milk.
824 In the cases which came under my personal observation, nothing was done to relieve this, but in my collection of 'prescriptions'

there are two intended for this purpose. One is for use when the breasts are painful because the child has died: 757 824

*Karaminoa* (*Acanthaceae*).

Scrape the skin of the root and chew it with the betel-mixture. Spit the mash on to your hand and press it against the woman's breasts. Then scrape the skin off a branch of the same shrub and bury it under the bed on which the woman sleeps.

The other is used to mitigate pain in the breasts at the time of weaning:

*Bō* (a species of bracken, *Pteris*).

Rub the leaves between the hands, add lime, and massage the breasts.

There is no belief that suckling prevents conception, and this is 853
definitely not the case. Lactation has nothing to do with the period of abstinence from sexual intercourse prescribed after child-birth. The child continues to take the breast long after this has been resumed. Basil Thompson says that with Fijian women, in spite of a prolonged period of suckling, 'menstruation often recom- 841
mences at the 3rd or 4th month after parturition, and cohabitation, even at this early stage, often results in a second pregnancy' (1908, [171]
p. 177). So far as I am aware, the flux is not resumed so early in the women of Bougainville—at any rate some of the women I knew well, whose babies were a year or so old, told me that they had not yet begun to menstruate again since the birth. But the strict taboo enforcing abstinence from sexual intercourse for a period I estimate as at least two years after child-birth (see p. 156) ensures that a second pregnancy shall not follow very quickly.

Suckling is continued for four or five years—judging from the 853
size and condition of some children who were still at the breast. But if another pregnancy occurs, the first child is weaned. A 862
woman will never attempt to suckle both a baby and an elder child, as I have seen done by some American Indian women.

Weaning is, in the normal course of affairs, a gradual process, 862
other food, beginning with taro, which is given from birth, being gradually increased in quantity and variety. The child, according to the statements of the women, makes, of its own account, fewer and fewer demands upon its mother, who accedes to them till they cease. There would seem, accordingly, to be no shock to

862 the child at weaning. No instance of a child being forbidden the breast on account of a second pregnancy came under my personal observation, and I have no details as to its effect on the child, either physiologically or psychologically.

### TWINS

845 Twins (*pūna*) are much disliked. The only reason I could elicit for this was that the mother could not look after them both properly, and that she did not like to hear them cry. Where no cradle is used, and the baby is the constant companion of its mother no matter what her occupation, it is easy to understand that two babies are
[847] altogether beyond her power to cope with. No one would admit that such infants were actually killed or abandoned, but there was general agreement that the mother simply neglected to give one or both of them proper attention, with the result that both died, or the more vigorous of the two might survive and be cared for as usual. The fate of the twins rests entirely with the mother.

No twin birth occurred in any of the villages under my observation during my stay. One of the Kurtatchi women had borne twins, both female, some years before by a former husband now dead. Both children died during lactation, and rumour had it that she had deliberately neglected them. Of a pair of twins born to a couple in the neighbouring village of Ruri, one, a male, is now adult, the other, a female, died in early childhood from a septic sore.

Two explanations of the cause of twins were given to me, from different villages, both from reliable informants. One was that the woman had eaten some 'double' fruit, such as twin bananas or areca-nuts. The other alleged cause was that the woman's husband, in ignorance of the fact that she was pregnant, or simply out of carelessness, had, while cohabiting with her, pressed too heavily on her abdomen, thus causing the blood that was making the child to divide into two streams, one going to the right side and the other to the left, resulting in the formation of two children instead of one.

Mr. Gordon Thomas brought to my notice a case of twins born on the island of Pororan, which was explained by the fact that the husband had had intercourse with his wife after having attended a bush feast. Both babies died. He told me also that he knew of the following deformities: a double-headed child, one child with

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a single leg, and one with imperforate anus. In the last instance an attempt was made to correct the deficiency with a knife. All three children died. I have never seen a native with marked congenital deformity, and I imagine such children would have small chance of survival, but I did not elicit any information on this matter from the people of my own village.

# V

# CHILDHOOD

## PERIODS OF CHILD'S GROWTH

856 THE following terms are applied to children at various ages:

| *Petats dialect.* | *Kurtatchi dialect.* | *English equivalent.* |
|---|---|---|
| *kukúrik* | *kúso* | Infant in arms, applied from the day of birth. |
| *bálat* | | Infant getting a little bigger. |
| *gúmgúm* | | Baby who can sit up without help. |
| *sénsén* | *todras* | Baby who can crawl. |
| *tátá* | *pipit i kúnom* | Child who can walk a little with support. |
| *na la papáis* | *pipit a potʃ* | Child who can walk without help, toddler. |
| *pían atsón* | *bái'i ušiě* | Boy, general term (lit. male child). |
| *pían hihín* | *bái'i mon* | Girl, general term (lit. female child). |
| *kukuroé* | *hóvio* | Maiden. |

882 Of a girl arriving at the age of puberty, they say, in the Kurtatchi dialect, *mon tʃitʃi en nan ma*, or *mon tʃitʃi taputs nan ma*, both phrases meaning a female whose breasts are developing. Of a boy they say *no non datsu*, 'he goes to the bush', referring to the period of withdrawal prior to the first puberty ceremony. After he has been through this ceremony the term *upi* is applied to him, the same word as is used for the leaf hat which is put on at this time, and worn for some years afterwards.

## TREATMENT OF BABIES

854 Small babies are petted and played with a great deal, not only by their parents but by everybody in the village. The only show of endearment which is permitted in public is that between a small child and an adult. I have never seen a child kissed in our fashion, the corresponding caress is to put the open mouth to the cheek of the baby and pull it away again. A much more frequent form of fondling is patting or stroking. A crying baby will be taken up and dandled up and down in its mother's arms. She will sometimes say to it: '*Tui, tui, tui, tui,*' with a rapid trill of the lips which I
854 could not imitate. If it continues to cry, it is usually given the
533 breast. I have also heard the Melanesian equivalent of 'Father's gone a-hunting', which runs: '*Tõmus, tʃinamen to eb en i musin,*

*kui ni agiu, kama en ta tamū.*' 'Don't cry, your mother will go to the taro patch and pull up some taro and bring it for you.' 854

Babies are put to sleep by stroking and patting. Lullabies are 533 often sung, either by making a crooning noise, or by singing softly words made up by the mother as she goes along. A great feature of these is the repetition of the last syllable, as in this example, which is said to have no meaning: '*Pĕr per pos satſi mon a pirpalat a rakū-kū-kū-kū-kū.*' Some lullabies are not improvisations, but are traditional. One of these consists of several syllables each pronounced separately with great emphasis: '*Boa wu e su ma ri ri na to pi ma go lia.*' I could not get these words explained, but was told that all the *urar* (spirits of the dead) are called upon, they all come from the graveyard, and the mother pretends to count them with this song. Then she says: 'Now lie down and sleep, the spirits will get sand and put it on top of you and me.' There is a tiny [824] plant called *owa gurus bai'i* (*Biophytum cumingianum*) which is
plant sleep child
often hung round the child's neck to make it go to sleep. I could get no reason why this small plant was supposed to have such an effect, but its use in this connexion was very general. No special care is taken to see that a child gets its proper amount of sleep during the day.

Babies are washed by having water thrown over them from half 854 a coco-nut shell; they are then rubbed over by the hand of the person officiating. One family at Kurtatchi had a large wooden bowl, which they said came from Manus; they used to put their babies into it and give them a real bath, but this was exceptional. All small infants have their skins rubbed with the red substance [302] called *oin* (see p. 416) mixed with coco-nut oil. This is also put on their heads, in order to make their hair grow and to keep it free from lice.

Mothers sing to their babies, and play games with them, just as they do all the world over, and in much the same fashion. There is, for example, a game in which each of the child's fingers is touched or pinched in turn, beginning with the little finger, the mother saying: '*Kubuomu, kubugu, tſiukoir, kububian, awepan, kiri-giri-giri-giri,*' with the last word running her finger lightly up the baby's arm; this is always the signal for gurgles of glee. 'Peep-bo!' is played by the mother clapping her hands and saying '*Tar tar tſi, heŋ-keŋ si!*' ('Look, look, a rattle!'), putting her hand over the

854 baby's eyes and taking it away suddenly with '*Bidr-r-r-r-r!*' Another favourite game is for the mother to sit behind the child, and taking his head between her palms, to rock it gently backwards and forwards, singing: '*A gundra rĕ'ĕ, a gundra rĕ'ĕ, ku-ku-ku-ku tʃidr*,' with tremendous emphasis on the last syllable, at which she pulls the baby backwards on to her lap. These words are said to have no meaning, as is also the case with other phrases used in games (see also p. 182). It may be that some of these are survivals from some forgotten dialect, or, again, they may be just nonsense. After all, how many of us could give a meaning to 'Eenie, meenie, mynie, mo!' or explain 'Hey diddle, diddle, the cat and the fiddle'?

As soon as he is permitted by custom, i.e. after the child has been washed for the first time, the father begins to help the mother by doing small services for the child, and he will spend much time playing with it and fondling it. A man who had lost his youngest child, a boy about a year old, said to me, with tears in his eyes: 'Now I have nothing to hold.' One of the ways in which a woman punishes her husband when he has displeased her, is by going back to her own people and taking the baby. This happened several times to men of my acquaintance; the result was always the same, the man was so desolate without his youngster that he went and made his peace with its mother and persuaded her to come home again.

852 A little ceremony which is performed for all children, whether *tsunaun* or commoners, illustrates the relation which exists between father and child. When the child has recovered from yaws, the mother's people kill a pig and cook it, and then come and present it, together with ceremonial pudding, to the father, 'because he has tended the child while it was ill and washed its sores'. The phrase used in this connexion is *wataman bai'i*, which might be translated 'to father the child' (*wa*- causative prefix, *tama* = father). It will be remembered that the child does not belong to its father's clan. This presentation by its mother's people seems to be an acknowledgement of services which the father is under no obligation to perform.

### *Learning to talk.*

868 Parents encourage tiny children in their efforts at talking. They themselves talk to their children a great deal, the father as much as, if not more than, the mother. It is a common thing to see father

taking his small son or daughter for a walk through the village, pointing out various things seen on the way, and giving their 868 names. Adults do not, I think, purposely talk to children in the 'baby fashion' affected by many people among ourselves when addressing small children. But like ourselves, they are proud to repeat to one another what their babies can say, and they used to enjoy explaining to me what was meant by a childish attempt at some hard word.

I give a few examples of childish efforts at pronouncing some of the common words of the language: *ia* = *ien* (fish); *uwi* = *uir* (coco-nut); *dada* = *gag* (short for *ruin a gag*, water to drink); *uku* = *tamu* (taro); *u* = *gu* (pig); *kulil* = *kurir* (beads); *kuli* = *kuka* (crab); *pota* = *potan* (sun); *iwa* = *dʒiwau* (moon); *tua* = *tsura* (fire); *dodo* = *isu* (sit down); *titi* = *tʃitʃi* (milk, or breast, said when hungry); *kāki* = *pāki* (carry pick-a-back). These were used by children of my acquaintance who would be perhaps between two and three years old. The speech of a child of four or rather over was quite intelligible to me.

*Learning to walk.*

Great interest is taken in the child's first attempts to stand 868
upright, and it is helped in its efforts at walking by being held up 824
with a sling made of the fibrous tissue that grows round the stem
of the banana palm. The following 'medicine' is used to make 856
a child learn to walk quickly:

> When it first begins to crawl, take the roots of the tree *Toankinon* (belongs to *Rutaceae*), scrape off some of the small rootlets, chew them with the betel-mixture, spit on to your hand and pull on the child's legs, then rub the saliva over them.

At the point when our children are crawling, these babies seem 145
to go through a stage of 'running on all fours', with the knees
slightly bent and the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet 481
flat on the ground (see Pl. 12). They crawl as well, but as soon as their interest is aroused in something at a little distance from them, they adopt the other method which is quicker. Nomoin, the baby in the photograph (Pl. 12*b*), was my next-door neighbour and a great friend. He would be crawling about in the ordinary way, but as soon as he saw me would make for me on all fours as hard as he could. At this stage he had cut his central incisors in both jaws, and also one lower lateral, and there were signs of the eruption of the

145 481 left upper lateral, so presumably his age would be rather more than a year, assuming that teeth are cut approximately as in our own children. Since my return I have noticed some English children running on all fours in the same way, but I am sure it is less general 516 here than it seems to be among the Solomon Islanders. If a child sees anything on the ground that interests him, he will pick it up and sit back on his haunches, still keeping his soles flat on the 857 ground. A favourite amusement with one group of children was to set two babies of about this age a little distance away from them, and then attract their attention, so that they made for the other children, who watched to see which of them got there first. This was done so often that it appeared almost like an organized game, the babies enjoying it as much as the older children (Pl. 14*a*).

*Methods of carrying babies.*

854 There are no cradles, but sometimes a baby will be put to lie on a woman's hood spread on the ground. Most of its time, however, is spent in being either carried or nursed.

A very small infant is carried in the arms. Sometimes it will be supported also by having its legs put through a sling made of the broad fibre that grows round the stem of the banana palm, thus leaving one of the mother's hands free (Pl. 13*a*). At an early age it is set astride the hips, with the mother's hands clasped round it (Pl. 13*b*). A baby soon learns to stretch out its legs ready to be put in that position when it is lifted from the ground. If it is to be carried far, as on a journey, the child is frequently supported on the hip by a sling of banana fibre, or, nowadays, sometimes by means of an old loin-cloth, the other end of the sling being hung round its mother's neck. Men will also carry infants in this fashion. The native word for this method of carrying a child is *gi*. The [857] ordinary pick-a-back (*pāki*) is also used by both sexes, and this, more often than the hip position, is in favour with little girls, who often carry around a baby not much smaller than themselves. They clearly take a pride in so doing, and often used to bring their charges to let me see what a big baby they could carry. Often the child can run about quite well by itself and rather resents the indignity. To carry a child supported on the palm of the hand, in a standing position, is *di*, to perch the child on one's shoulder is *matak*. When the child is old enough to hang on securely, it is put to sit on the top of the load of wood or taro its mother is carry-

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 12

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CHILDREN RUNNING ON ALL FOURS

[facing p. 170]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 13

854
291

[276]

a b

METHODS OF CARRYING BABIES: *a* SLING, *b* ON HIP

[Facing p.171]

ing (Pl. 18*b*). Before a child who is *tsunaun* can do this, a cere- 854
mony must be performed (this is described on pp. 189–93), but
nothing of the sort is needed in the case of a commoner.

The women do all sorts of hard work with their babies on their backs. I have seen them chopping wood with a child of apparently less than a year clinging pick-a-back fashion without being held. A mother who takes a very young child out on to the reef in the heat of the day, will generally keep its head carefully covered by her hood.

### CHILDREN'S DIET

A child will be given taro, which has first been chewed to a pulp, 853
on the very day of its birth. The quantity is soon increased. A
woman will place a row of little heaps of this chewed pulp all along 262
her thigh, as she sits on the ground, each of these forming a mouth-
ful for the baby on her lap. Food thus prepared is called *mimi*,
a word with which the baby soon becomes familiar, and one of the
first he learns to say. Coco-nut, chewed in the same way, is added
at an early age, but a child is not allowed to munch taro or coco-nut
for itself until it can run about.

Until the child is about a year old he must not eat bananas, lest [753]
he should be afflicted with a disease of the chest called *bira*. A
child that has yaws must not be given pig or fish, and must not take its food in any house except that of its parents. It must on no account eat in the presence of a woman who is pregnant, and it must not be given taro from a house in which a man and a woman have recently indulged in sexual intercourse. Since yaws is very contagious, some of these prohibitions have a practical bearing, but in the minds of the natives the harm that would follow the breaking of them is supposed to fall upon the child and not on the persons it must avoid.

Babies of a few months old are given the husks of areca-nuts to [276]
suck. Children of five or six chew the nut itself freely, and also
smoke both cigarettes and pipes.

As soon as the household gets going in the morning, the children 262
are given lumps of taro cooked the night before; these they usually 272
eat cold. They chew coco-nuts at all times of the day, and drink 264
the contents of the green nut when they are thirsty. They share
the main meal of the day, usually taken at sundown, with the other
members of the family.

### DISCIPLINE

854 While they are very small, the children are subjected to little or nothing that we should describe as discipline. If a baby gets hold of something he ought not to have, his mother may take it away from him, but if he howls she usually gives it back. I have heard a woman shout to her baby not to lick up water from the ground, but immediately afterwards he ate a leaf which he had picked up, without comment from her. I once incurred the wrath of the mother of a child of about two, because I took away from him a long bush knife with which he seemed in imminent danger of doing himself an injury. He screamed, and his mother came running, and scolding me roundly for having made him cry, gave the knife back to him. The babies seem to learn at an early age how to handle sharp instruments, for cuts are rare. But they sometimes pay dearly for the experience which takes the place of precept. Burns are distressingly frequent. Fires are lit on the ground, or on the floor of a hut, and there is nothing to prevent a baby from crawling or rolling into them. Not only do no precautions seem to be taken against such disasters, but one of the first things a toddler is asked to do by a lazy parent is to go and fetch a piece of smouldering ember or burning stick with which to rekindle his pipe. Obedience to this—or any other—order is never insisted upon, however. Scenes like this are enacted in every village every day. Father is sitting on the verandah or on a log somewhere about the village, his pipe has gone out. He says to his small daughter, aged perhaps five, '*Di ma ta tsura.*' 'Fetch me some fire.' '*Tsuga.*' 'I don't want to,' says she, without moving. Father takes no notice at all, but goes on with what he happens to be doing without his pipe, and presently gets up and fetches his fire for himself. I have never seen a child made to do an errand if it did not want to.

[566] A child who is *tsunaun* has only to cry, for all the people within reach to rush up to him, and, if possible, give him what he is crying for. Several men once spent the greater part of a day in making ceremonial pudding for Wanias merely because he cried for some. Other children are given what they cry for if it does not involve too much trouble, or, if too big to be soothed by being offered the breast, they are left to cry themselves quiet.

152
855 Some children indulge in tempestuous fits of howling. This sometimes takes the form of a series of disconnected yells which

sound as though they are deliberate, rather than the spontaneous reaction to pain or trouble. One small boy, perhaps four or five years old, used to sit on the ground and howl; after awhile, if taken no notice of, he would put his head on the ground between his feet and howl still more loudly, kicking first with one foot and then with the other. No one would pay any attention to him, unless after ten minutes or so an older child went to him and picked him up and carried him off. Gaua, a girl of five or six, used to have a howling fit of this sort every time her father went off on some expedition, because she wanted to go too. She was always left to howl till she stopped of her own accord. Gaua rarely cried for any other reason, except occasionally when she wanted a piece of taro. Another little girl, about the same age, used to be constantly having fits of what seemed like hysterical sobbing, in which she almost choked herself. I could never find out any cause for such behaviour, and her mother said she did not know why the child did it. A typical incident proceeded thus: She lay on the ground with her head down, howling loudly enough to be heard all over the village. For a long time no one took any notice of her, then another child went up and spoke to her. This had no effect whatever. Her mother went to her. She stopped just long enough to cough, and then continued to howl. Her mother pulled her on to her feet and towards the house; she kicked and struggled all the time, but the woman was very gentle with her, making no attempt to slap her. Presently her mother picked her up; she was quiet for a few minutes, but soon started yelling again, whereupon her mother put her on the ground again and went indoors. She lay there howling for some time. 152 855

Children are sometimes scolded, but only very rarely have I seen any one lift a hand to a child, much less a stick or other weapon, though they sometimes threaten to do so. Once, for example, a small boy came up crying to his mother, who was sweeping in front of the hut. She lifted her broom as if to hit him, but did not do so. He lay on the ground screaming for some time, she took no more notice of him, but went on with her sweeping. Sometimes a threat of this kind is made in fun, and is so understood by the child. A small boy held out a coco-nut to a woman, pretending to offer it to her, but when she put out a hand to take it he snatched it back. She had just come in from a canoe trip, and had a paddle in her hand. She pretended to hit him with it, and they both 861

861 laughed. But I have seen children really frightened by the jokes of their elders, as ours are by threats of 'the bogy man'. Pasab told his little daughter Beawon that something she had eaten by the road had poison in it. She cried, and all the people standing round laughed at her.

863 As a rule but little notice is taken of the habits of children as regards natural functions. They follow the example of their elders. But if a child is seen to be about to relieve himself in front of the
854 row of huts, he will be scolded and sent round to the back. Mothers clean their babies with bundles of leaves, which are then thrown away casually into the bush. But the excreta of a baby who is
[565] *tsunaun* must, while he is very small, be collected carefully and thrown into a special enclosure on the beach because he is specially liable to danger from 'poison'.

## CHILDREN'S PLAY

857 Although it is true that these children take up a life not very different from that of their elders, at a much earlier age than do our own children, yet I think they have, on the whole, a happy childhood. There is plenty of scope for the development of character, and some children seem to possess individuality to a marked degree. Life is never so serious that there is not time for play and laughter, even for adults, and the children certainly have their fill of both.

While they are little, children of both sexes play together, but as soon as the boy reaches the age when he puts on the *upi*, which may sometimes be as young as seven or eight (approximately), but usually, apparently, about nine or ten, he is forbidden to play or have any close converse with the girls and women, so these boys form a 'gang' of their own both for games and also for work, in so far as they do not join with the older men in fishing and hunting expeditions, &c. The little girls very early take up their share in the routine work of the village, fetching water, collecting shell-fish on the reef, going to the taro garden, or looking after the babies, and there does not seem to be any tendency for the girls of the village to form a gang. They are more often to be seen going about in twos or threes, or with the older women. Even before the age of segregation, the little boys seemed more often to be playing by themselves than with the little girls, perhaps because the girls were more likely to be engaged in the daily round. No duties seem

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 14

857
481
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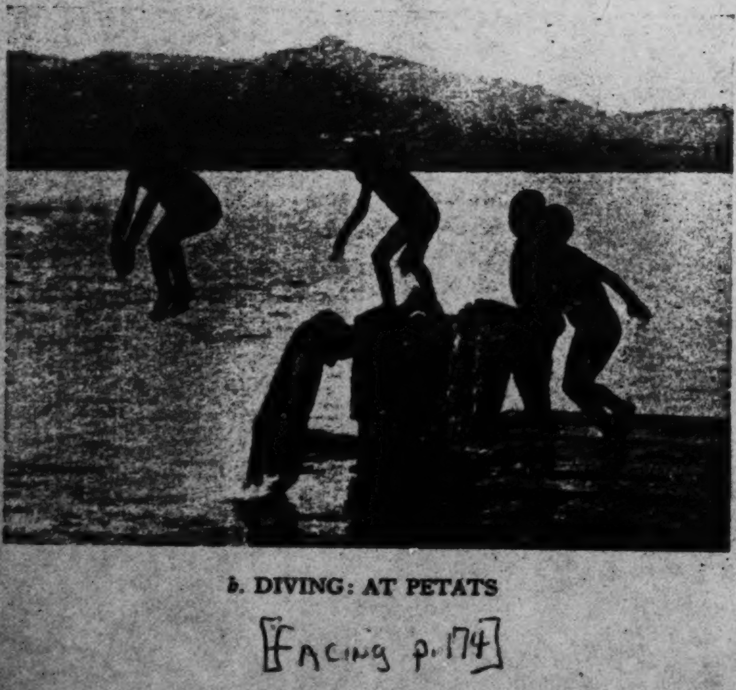
*a.* CHILDREN PLAYING: KURTATCHI



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*b.* DIVING: AT PETATS

[Facing p. 174]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 15

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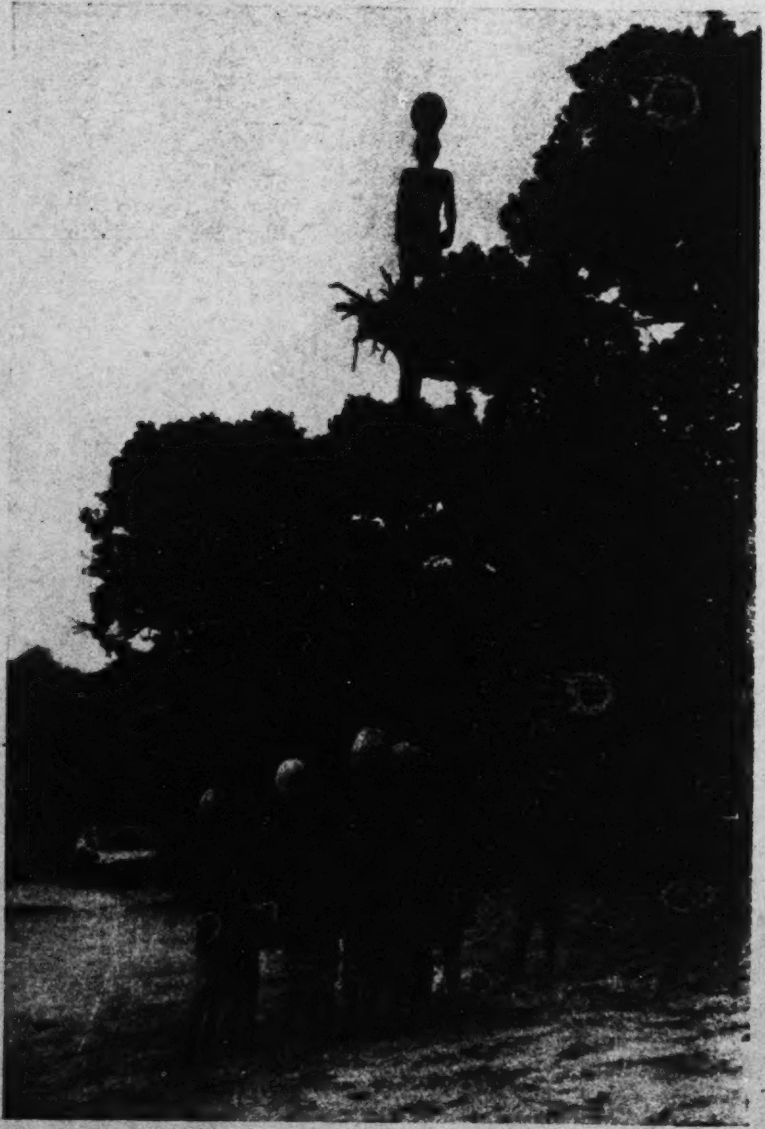

BALANCING GAME

[Facing p. 175]

to be exacted of the small boys until they are old enough to go fishing seriously. 857

Most of the active games seem to be played in rather desultory fashion, nothing in the form of sports or contests being organized. A good deal of running after one another goes on, of course, but I never saw children racing, or playing anything which could be compared to our 'Tag'. A form of 'Hide-and-seek' is played mostly by adults. The children like to tear about the village waving flaming-sticks or torches made of coco-nut palm leaves, and though the risk of fire must be considerable, nobody ever says: 'Don't.' 857 526

The children of Petats, where there is a good sandy beach, and, usually, a smooth sea, at least on the 'lagoon' side of the island, were always in and out of the water. Even the four- or five-year-olds were good at diving, going in either head or feet first, or in a kind of squatting posture, clasping their knees, but from no great height (Pl. 14*b*). They get a very good elastic swing to a standing dive. They swim under water for some distance, with a movement of the hands close to the body, palms facing backwards, and do not seem to mind the sharks, which I have sometimes seen quite close to them. It may be that these sharks are harmless, but man-eating sharks are sometimes heard of, and accidents are known to occur. The children's light-coloured palms and soles show up very strikingly beside their dark bodies through the transparent water. The village of Kurtatchi, standing as it does on the top of a steep cliff with a rocky beach and the breakers of the open sea below, offers little inducement to indulgence in water games. The small children there did not go into the sea, except for walking through pools in the reef at low tide. The older boys and men occasionally bathed in the surf, some used surf-boards to ride the rollers, the boys wearing the *upi* looking very odd as their head-gear bobbed up and down. The native word for surf-riding is *tſitſir*, and descriptions of it occur in some of their stories of times past, including one involving the famous 'two brothers'. 481 526 857 [136] [538]

Both boys and girls are excellent tree-climbers, but this is done chiefly to get coco-nuts, areca-nuts, or opossum, not merely as a sport. They climb with the aid of a band of fibre round both feet. There is, however, a game in which the boys set up a dead tree in the earth, or, more often, in the sand of the beach, swarm up its trunk, and try to balance themselves on the highest branch that will bear them, egging each other on to go up higher on to a smaller 481 857 526

526 branch. I have also seen them play with a tree inverted, so that its
857 spreading roots were uppermost; the game was to climb to the top
481 of the root and stand upright, quite a feat of balancing, since the
trunk was far from steady (Pl. 15).

857 As usual, there are many games based on imitation of their
elders. A favourite amusement among the small boys is to truss
524 up one of their number and carry him about on a pole, as their
fathers carry pigs. Usually they do not get very far before the struggles of the victim throw the whole lot of them over, amid shrieks of laughter, and sometimes howls.

Sometimes rough attempts are made to construct tiny huts for the purpose of playing at house, but those I saw were very unskilfully put together, and speedily fell to pieces. But once, up in the mountains, I saw what was clearly a children's playhouse, constructed by adults, a small edition of the usual native hut, complete with little plank-beds, beside which lay pipes and materials for chewing the betel-mixture! I was told that sometimes a group of little girls will go off by themselves and build leaf huts in the bush or on the shore, and live there for several days, catching crabs and small fish on the reef, and lizards or other small creatures in the bush, bringing some of these back to the village to exchange for taro, which they take away with them to cook for themselves. This was not done while I was there, but I have sometimes seen a couple of little girls take a bit of broken pot and boil small pieces of taro in it, carefully wrapped up in leaves in imitation of the procedure adopted by their mothers. Great was the joy of one little lady to whom I gave an empty soup tin for the purpose. Both boys and
girls like to catch small crabs and roast them over a fire, or hold
[262] them in the flame of coco-nut palm leaf torches. Grasshoppers are
also caught and roasted in the same manner.

### *Acting.*

Many children are excellent mimics, an accomplishment which is much appreciated by their audience, both children and adults. After the annual visit of inspection of the Governor, the Petats children enacted the whole occasion in most amusing fashion. A row of small ones was drawn up, to represent the parade of villagers which is always a feature of the day. One carried a bit of rag on a pole for a flag. The older child impersonating the Governor had a large umbrella very cleverly made out of leaves spiked through

a cane. He and two others came to the end of the landing-stage 857
with slow formal steps, then stopped to take the salute, then he
went round saying a few words to one or other of the children in 524
the line, and finally threw among them bits of stick and pigs' teeth
for which they scrambled, it being the custom of the Governor to
provide tobacco and sweets to be scrambled for at the conclusion
of his visit. It was all done very solemnly, till the final scramble, [177
which ended in shrieks of laughter. After that there were races, 526]
in the fashion taught them by the Mission.

At Kurtatchi the children used to play a game in which one of their number imitated the actions of a person who is *iburar* (made mad by the spirits, as described on pp. 516–21) and the others pretended to be frightened and ran away from him, till some of them seized him and held him down.

One night two Petats children gave a dancing display, with a 857
circle of admiring adults round them. They did a number of steps
which do not occur in the very stereotyped ceremonial dances 535
which are the only ones practised in this area, and seemed to be inventing their movements, which caused much amusement and approbation. But I think this was exceptional, and as a rule, the children were content to show off to one another, or to me. One little girl would go through a series of acrobatic feats, twisting herself about, or lifting another child and holding her horizontally, looking all the while to see whether I was watching. Other children will act for their own amusement, when alone. A little boy who lived near me at Petats used to carry on conversations with himself, in two voices, so different that I frequently looked over to see whether another child had come up. He did not know that I was observing him.

*Toys.*

Such toys as these children have are made, usually at the time 524
when they are wanted, of the products of the bush. They are few in number, and very crude in construction, but they serve their turn.

Babies have rattles made of shells, with the tongue either of a 524
smaller shell or of a dog's tooth. They may consist of a single shell
on the end of a short string of shell-disks, or of several such strings 534
tied together (Pl. 16). They are used also by adults at dances and other ceremonial occasions. I have sometimes seen women string

824 I have sometimes seen women string
524 together the ball-like fruit of the carophyllum tree to make a rattle
534 for their babies.

524 Carophyllum balls are used also as playthings by the women,
who take two of them in their hands, hold a shell in one hand,
throw a ball into the air and knock the other against the shell before
the first falls and is caught. But apart from this kind of catching
game, there seems to be very little idea of playing with a ball. This
seems curious, in view of all the round fruits and nuts, &c., to be
found in the bush, but perhaps the explanation is that most of
526 these will not bounce. When I gave a ball to a small boy he did
not know what to do with it, but the new plaything soon caught
177 their interest and my balls became very popular. Young men
returned from working on plantations have brought back foot-
balls, and this game is now played in most of the villages, in a
rough and tumble style, chiefly, if not exclusively, by the older boys
and men.

524 Whenever a pig is killed there is great competition among the children for the bladder to blow up into a balloon, the orifice being fastened with a piece of fibre string. If a pregnant sow is killed the embryos are also seized for playthings; the children who are lucky enough to get them run about the village with them all day, showing them to everybody. They carry them about until they tire of them and throw them away.

526 The boys have miniature bows with which they use arrows made out of the mid-rib of the sago-palm leaf. With these they shoot fish, small birds, bats, and occasionally opossum, and they also play at shooting at a mark, such as the top of a tall tree. Even the very small boys were, many of them, quite good at this.

They have mock fights, using sticks instead of spears. These are sometimes quite elaborate affairs, with a number of boys on each side, when they go through the pretence of killing some of the other side, carrying them off, and cutting them up preparatory to making a meal of them, the other side retaliating by doing the same to its own prisoners. Finally, the leader of one side makes peace by sending a message to the leader of the other side to come and chew the betel-mixture with him, the areca-nut which it is customary to send as a symbol being represented by a stone. The affair ends with a friendly meal, in which stones take the place of taro and sand is used for ceremonial pudding.

524 Top-spinning is supposed to be a seasonal game, which should

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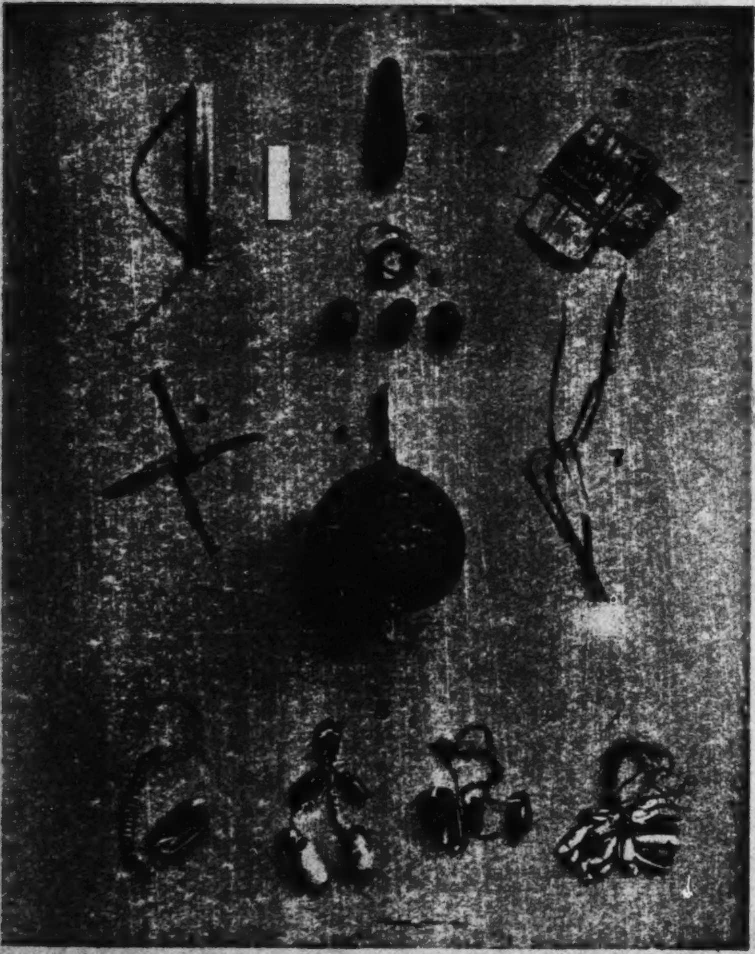
PLATE 16

524



CHILDREN'S TOYS

1. Buzzer. 2. Stone doll. 3, 5, 7. Leaf puzzles. 4. Tops made of canarium almonds. 6. Humming-top made of a coco-nut shell. 8. Rattles.

[facing p. 178]

524 be played only after the ceremony for the first almonds has been performed, and continued during the time the almonds are ripe, but I have seen it done in December when they are over. The tops are made of the upper end of a coco-nut shell, and are spun either by hand or with fibre string. The ground in the village, being trodden hard, serves well. Young men play as much as boys, but women and girls are not expected to do so—'they don't know how'. They play either singly or in groups. In one game two lines are formed, one line spins and the others throw their tops at the spinning ones to try to knock them over. Up in the hills, I found tops [184] made of the shells of the canarium almond, with one end cut off neatly and the cut edges painted with red. These were also spun with string (Pl. 16, No. 4). From the village of Kurtatchi I obtained a form of humming-top, made of a whole coco-nut shell with a spike put through it, on which it revolved, and a hole in one side which caused it to make a noise not unlike that of our own humming-tops (Pl. 16, No. 6). Children also fix spikes through the little green balls of the carophyllum tree and spin them by twisting them between their palms.

The girls have objects which serve as dolls, using for them the word *bai'i*, 'child'. One which I brought home with me consists of a long narrow stone, of the kind picked up in river-beds and often used for various magical purposes (Pl. 16, No. 2). One end, representing its head, is decorated with red and black paint in alternate stripes just as a child's head is decorated for special occasions. [824] They also make dolls out of the stalk of the shore lily (*Crinum asiaticum*), putting paint on it and cutting marks in it representing cicatrices, with the appropriate patterns for male and female. They put grass at the top of it to represent the cocks' feathers used for head ornaments at feasts, and flowers for a nose-piece, and another flower for a loin-cloth. A doll's house is sometimes made for it out of the leaf sheaths of young plants.

They make several kinds of puzzle patterns by twisting together the fronds of the coco-nut palm leaf or strips of pandanus (Pl. 16, Nos. 3, 5, 7 are examples of these). No. 1 is a 'buzzer' for imitating the noise made by a black insect called *raŋ*; the toy is swung round by the bit of fibre string of which a small portion is seen below it in the photograph. I have seen a woman make a toy fishing-rod for her child with the mid-rib of a coco-nut and a bit of banana fibre, tying a shred of areca-nut skin on to it for bait. Windmills

524 (*bilin*) are made out of leaves, very much like the paper ones we buy in the street.

Perhaps the favourite 'sitting-down game' for children of both sexes is string figures—'cat's-cradles', *waruru*—at which they are very adept. They use a thin twisted fibre torn from the dried sheath of a banana plant, or a bit of native string. Some of the patterns are very elaborate, generally they are made by one person only, but a few require two pairs of hands, between which the string is interchanged to the accompaniment of a dialogue usually referring to the counting of pigs. I collected over fifty, most of which I have not seen recorded elsewhere. In this part of the world this pastime is not indulged in only by women and children, for though the children are its most frequent performers, men also do not disdain to amuse themselves in this manner. There is no special season for cat's-cradles, they are made every day in every village all the year round.

### ATTITUDE TOWARDS ANIMALS

231 825 The children are very friendly with the domestic pigs, which rank as household pets. It is really funny to see a black baby sitting in a black puddle cuddling a large black pig. Unfortunately I never succeeded in getting a good photograph of this characteristic scene. They do not often take liberties with the dogs, which, being kept on short rations, are apt to be bad-tempered.

524 825 As regards wild animals the story is very different. Much has been written about the natural cruelty of children. These of Bougainville are certainly completely indifferent to the amount of suffering they inflict on the beasts, birds, and insects they torture for their amusement, whether wantonly or from thoughtlessness I do not know. They tie all kinds of creatures to a string, and, like Nelly Bly, 'let them go a little way and pull them back again'. I have seen them treat in this manner iguanas, bats, opossum, birds, and also various kinds of insects, including stag-beetles, which they knock off the trees with poles, and whirl round on the end of a string to make them buzz. When the child tires of this game he usually kills the creature by dashing it against the ground. They like to get hold of a mother with its young, perhaps a flying fox or an opossum, and tease both by letting the young one grip its mother and then pulling it away, this game usually finishes by both animals being cooked and eaten. Some children, both boys

and girls, like to tie live butterflies to their fuzzy mops with a long string, and watch them flutter round their heads. Instances could be multiplied indefinitely. But they rarely tease or bully their companions, as our own children so frequently do. 524 825

## GROUP GAMES

There is a kind of game, played generally by the little girls, the general plan of which is that the children sit down in a line or a ring and make certain movements accompanied by a chant or a conversation, or both. A typical one is as follows: The children sit in two rows, facing one another, with their legs stretched out so that the toes of the children in one row are touching the toes of those in the other. They rub their hands along their thighs, singing: '*Ko ro soa, ro ro soa, wabiu wakoko-koko kurē, wakurē, wakurē, wakurē.*' *Soa* means to paddle a canoe, the two rows of children are intended to represent the sides of a *mon* (plank canoe, used for long journeys). Presently one child asks her opposite neighbour: '*En no nom ini?*' ('Where are you going?') The other child replies: '*Io to no no i Timputs*' ('I am going to Timputs'), mentioning the name of some village known to the children. As she says it she tucks up one leg under her body. Then the next child asks the question of her opposite number, and is similarly answered, with the name of another village, and so on, till all the players have one leg tucked up under them. Then the whole performance is repeated, tucking up the other leg. When all have both legs tucked up under them, they say, all together: '*Nog ma tsura, a kūrū awara*' ('Make a fire, here is a snake'). Then they all get up and run away. 524 857

Another game, also based on a journey in a canoe, is called *gigiri mo mon*—'to paddle a canoe very hard'. The girls—whenever I saw this played it was always girls only who took part in it—sit on the ground close together, one behind the other, each with her legs stretched out one on either side of the girl in front of her, holding her thus round the hips. Then they wriggle along the ground swaying from side to side as if paddling first on one side of a canoe and then on the other, going through the motions of paddling with their hands, singing all together: '*O ro ro soa, wa bi'awa ko ko kwe.*'

*Pelay bot* I have seen played by little boys. One child sits on the ground with his feet outstretched. Another sits on his feet, which are kept close together. The first child puts his arms one on either side of the second and they clasp hands, then they jerk themselves

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524 857 along the ground. More children then join in, each sitting on the feet of the one behind. There seem to be no words to this game, and the name of it has no meaning.

The native version of 'Ring-a-ring o' roses' is played to the formula '*a goro pio ma ĕtʃĕ ia si gin, ia si gin*', which is also meaningless.

524 857 177 Another game is said to belong properly to the island of Nissan. When I saw it, on the beach at Tabut, the children made a little mound of sand and sat round it in a circle, holding in their hands bits of stick ornamented with flowers and leaves tied on to them. Chanting, slowly and somewhat mournfully, the syllables '*Sororōwi, sororōwi, rōwi, rōwi*'—which they could not explain—they passed the sticks from hand to hand. A man standing by told me that at Nissan it is played by older people, and that the man 'makes magic' over the stick before handing it to the girl of his choice; this makes her desire him and afterwards they go off and have sexual connexion together. As I saw it, it appeared to be merely a game, and the children were quite little.

### SEXUAL PLAY AND SEX KNOWLEDGE OF CHILDREN

864 On the whole, it seemed to me that there was comparatively little sexual interest in their games and behaviour to each other. The segregation of the boys wearing the upi may perhaps have some bearing on this. I have seen imitations of the act of coitus performed by children; they were done quite openly, but amounted to no more than taking up the appropriate position. On one occasion this was done by two boys, aged perhaps about ten, both wearing the *upi*. They laughed heartily all the while, and volunteered to me the explanation of what they were doing. The point of it, to them, seemed to lie in mimicking their elders. Some younger children once told me, in the course of general chatter, that they had been copulating in the bush; these included both boys and girls, but as all were obviously much below the age of puberty such sexual play as may have taken place between them must have been purely imitative, and possibly they were only romancing.

Small children who finger their own genitals or those of their companions are always promptly reproved by an older child or an adult. Sometimes a boy will pretend to cut off a smaller boy's penis with a knife or a sharp shell.

Children, as often as adults, of both sexes, told myths and stories

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in which sexual incidents took a prominent place. The telling of 864
even the most outspoken of these by small boys or girls gave rise to no comments from the audience, nor was it ever made the subject of a jest.

I do not think that any set and definite teaching on sexual matters is given to these children. It certainly is not part of the ritual attaching to the seclusion prior to puberty rites either of boys or girls. This was clearly stated by all with whom I discussed the subject, and it is obvious that long before the children reach the age to undergo these ceremonies they have already acquired a very considerable amount of knowledge, indeed it would be difficult for them to remain in ignorance, since sex forms such a commonplace of everyday life that the most intimate details can be learned in the natural course of things by listening to conversations, observing people's behaviour, watching animals, &c. There is no lack of directness in answering any questions a child may happen to put on the subject, and no suggestion that such matters should not be thought of or talked about. They recognize that sexual practices are hedged about with taboos that should not be, but often are, broken, but so likewise is almost every other activity with which they are familiar—such, for example, as eating or conversing, and, so far as my observations enable me to judge, all these aspects of life are taken for granted in much the same way.

### MEDICINE AND MAGIC PERTAINING TO CHILDREN

Small children will frequently be seen wearing round their 789
necks, waists, or arms, strings of leaves, usually of some plant
having aromatic properties. Certain plants are known as *nibnib pi* 856
*bai'i*, flowers for children. These are liked partly because they 824
smell nice, but most of them are also thought to assist the child's
growth. The bones of a freshwater fish (*kakau*) caught by hand 825
by men in streams in the bush are hung round the child's neck for
the same reason, and hanging from a bit of fibre round its waist
will often be seen a hollow tube which appears to be the dried nest
of some bush insect. It is called *titi ù rē* and was described to me
as 'the house of a little snake'.

There are a number of prescriptions in my collection intended 789
to be used for children who do not thrive. Most of them consist of
the leaves or stems of various plants rubbed or pulped and mixed 824
with water, which is then given to the child to drink. Rather more 856

789 elaborate than most of them is the following, especially intended
856 to strengthen a child whose mother has died when it is very small:

824 Take the stem of the creeper *asam* near the root (*asam* is *Lygodium
dichotomum*, the root of which is used as a contraceptive; the essential quality in both uses is apparently the toughness and hardness of the plant). Take the leaves of the following plants: *worato*, *bakbak* (*Eleusine indica*), *takop*, *tom-tom* (these are both varieties of cordyline), *waras* (a grass, *Digitaria pruriens*), and a small plant with a blue flower of which my informant did not know the name.

Pound these leaves and the stem of *asam* all together into a pulp, by means of a stone. Mix with this pulp a little *owan* (red powder used for many magical purposes, consisting of impure iron oxide). Wrap up the mixture in a dried banana leaf. Pour a little water inside the bundle, leave it for a little while so that the water will take up the 'smell' of the leaves. Then squeeze the water out into a coco-nut shell and give it to the child to drink.

Then unfasten the bundle, take out the leaves, and rub the child's body with them, pulling out all its extremities, legs, toes, arms, fingers, each separately. Then put the leaves back into a bundle, tie it up very strongly with the outside skin of the stem of *asam* (the strongest fastening these people have, used also to tie together the planks of a canoe), and put the bundle carefully away in a safe place in the hut. Here it must remain till the child is grown up. If a rat eats it, another bundle must be prepared in the same way.

Medicines to make the child grow strong and big are chosen according to the size of the child. Most of the plants thus used have not been identified.

789 All of the foregoing may be used for any child, be it tsunaun or
commoner. The infancy of a child who is tsunaun is further safe-
565 guarded by a series of ceremonies which are either omitted, or
852 performed with far less elaborate detail for a commoner. The fear
856 of 'poison' and harmful magic is never absent from the thoughts of
the near relatives of a child of rank, and every step of its way is surrounded by infinite precautions.

### CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THE INFANCY OF A CHILD

### *TSUNAUN*

852 As the children who were born during my residence were all
commoners, my knowledge of most of these ceremonies is
565 limited to what I could learn from various informants. Some
of the later ones I was fortunately able to witness. They are

852
here described as nearly as I could ascertain in the order in which 565
they would be performed.

1. *At birth.*

While a woman *tsunaun* is in labour, every one in the village 565
abstains from food. As soon as the child is born, the slit-gong is 844
beaten, and a feast is held, with food provided by the child's rela- 852
tives. Any one connected with the child, both on its mother's and 574
its father's side, will contribute food, and the more food provided
the greater is the prestige. The food is distributed among the 262
people of the village, and there is a *kōma* that night. For the birth
of a commoner there is no general fasting, no slit-gong, no feast,
and no *kōma*.

2. *At first washing.*

All the people of the village, both men and women, must abstain 852
from eating pig and fish till the child is washed on the fifth day. 565
Then a pig is killed, and cooked in a pot, not roasted as is the 262
general method of cooking pigs for feasts. All the women prepare 252
large quantities of taro. A fire is made, small pieces of taro, pig, 782
and fish are placed in the fire, and the *urar* of all the important
people of the child's clan, not only those who died long since, but
also those who have not long been dead, are called upon by name,
with the adjuration:

'*Komu tsura, nom en a tamū, a ta gū, a ta ien, sa*
Here is fire, you eat taro, pig, fish, so that
*naban en sas ta ta ien to babēn ner, a ta gū mē.*'
the people (may) eat again fish forbidden, pig also.

The *urar* hear this; they come and eat what has been burned. This lifts the taboo on eating flesh foods for the people of the village and for the child's relatives, except its parents.

3. *In the early days.*

'While it is still a new baby', there is a ceremony involving those 852
of its relatives who stand to the child in the relationship called 565
*matʃitʃio*, in particular its mother's mother's brother's daughters. 602
The men of the village go out on to the reef and catch a number 574
of the tiny fish called *karios*. These are about the size of a large 226
minnow, and are usually regarded as not worth catching, except
by small children for fun. They are brought to the child's hut,

852 where they are carefully wrapped up in leaves, one *karios* in each
565 package. The women cook some taro and cut it into very small
pieces. Little baskets made of plaited coco-nut leaves are prepared,
602 and are filled with these small pieces of taro. On the top of each
574 basket is put a package containing *karios*, the relish. Each of the
women who are *watʃitʃio* to the child then receives one of these
baskets, and must eat the contents sitting on the *tagoan*, the front
or men's verandah, if the child is a boy, on the *babots*, the back or
women's verandah, if it is a girl. They may, if they wish, send
some of the food to other women, who do not, however, partake
of it in their company. But all the small children of the village,
who come crowding round, are given some *karios* and taro. Then
[417] a small enclosure is prepared, on the women's side of the huts, in
any convenient vacant spot. It is made of small logs. They explained
that it was the same sort of enclosure as they make to keep
wild pigs caught in preparation for a feast, which is made of logs
piled up one on top of another. Into this enclosed space must be
thrown all the taro peelings and other remains of the little feast,
and the baskets in which taro and *karios* had been placed, which
must first be torn to pieces. After this time the child's excreta
[854] must be thrown into this enclosure, until it can walk. It is too
dangerous to throw them away into the bush as is done with those
of a commoner, since some ill-disposed person might find them
and use them to the child's harm.

4. *For first coming outside hut.*

852 As was previously stated, in the case of persons who are *tsunaun*,
mother and child must remain inside the hut for ten days after
565 birth instead of the five prescribed for a commoner. On the ninth
[417] day a palisade is erected round the hut, making a little enclosure.
Next day the child is brought out, coming first into this enclosure.
Then all the women of the village sit down with their legs touching
(*asaran paror a gutan*, legs are fixed together), in the same position
as is used in the marriage ceremony. The line of women stretches
between the hut in which the child was born and the shore. Then
a man, who may be one of the child's grandfathers, of either clan,
or may be no relation, takes up the child and walks with it over the
outstretched legs of the women to the beach. If there are not
enough women in the village to reach so far, those at the back get
up and go and sit down again in front of the line when the child

has passed over them. The child is not taken into the water, but 852
held at the brink, while all the men and women of the village enter
the sea and play together, the women seizing the men and letting 565
go again, throwing sand and water at one another's heads. 'They
play because the child is *tsunaun*.' Then the child is carried back
to the hut and all the people return to the village.

After that, the child and also its mother and grandmother are 852
decorated with aromatic and flowering plants, and the mother
carries her baby round the village, calling at various houses, to 565
show them the child. Mother and child then return to their own 574
hut, and all the women gather at the *babots*, where they are all
given taro and fish, but no pig.

5. *For first touching the ground.*

During the early part of its life a child who is *tsunaun* must 852
never be allowed to touch the ground, but must always be carried 565
or nursed. 'A long time' after the ceremony just described, a [454]
further ceremony is carried out, to remove this taboo.

When the time has been settled, all the huts in the village are 852
told about it, and all the women make ceremonial pudding (usually
the work of men), and roll it up into very small balls, and cook it 565
in one of the special-shaped pots called *kepa* (Pl. 61*a*, No. 3). They 252
make a basket out of three fronds of the coco-nut palm leaf, and 424
fill the basket with the little balls of pudding. Then they go into the bush and search for certain small plants, *katſin* and *sekwit*, aromatic plants with very small leaves. They rub the leaves in their hands, to bring out the aromatic qualities, and tie some on to the wrists of the child, and of one of the women who stand to the child in the relationship of *watſitſio*. The child has more leaves fastened to his ankles, and some are hung round his neck. These ornaments must be worn for the rest of that day.

The next day all the women of the village collect clean sand, 852
and spread it on the ground in front of the hut where the child
lives, i.e. at the *tagoan*. First of all they spread a layer of coco-nut 565
palm leaves on the ground, on the top of these they lay a woman's 574
hood, and then spread the sand on the top of the hood. Fresh
*sekwit* leaves are then fastened to the child's wrist, and he is put down to sit on the sand, and plays with it. Then everybody eats some of the small balls of ceremonial pudding. The basket in which it was passed round must not be thrown away. A woman

852 commoner picks it up and stores it away carefully in the rafters of
565 her hut, where it remains indefinitely. The women all play with
574 the remaining balls of ceremonial pudding, throwing them at each
other; when they are tired of this they eat up the remains of the taro.

After this the child may be put down to sit or play on the ground at any time. He continues to wear the *sekwit* leaves for a few days.
852 When the child's parents think it is time to take off the *sekwit*
leaves, they make more ceremonial pudding, and invite the women
565 of the village again. A fire is made, and some of the pudding is
782 burnt on it, while the *urar* are called upon to come and eat; but
not this time individually by name.

| *'Urar,* | *komu* | *tsura,* | *nom en* | *a tamū,* | *mom* | *sek* | *rik nom* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Spirits, | here is | fire | you eat | taro, | we (exclusive form) | want | loosen |

| *u sekwit* | *kurin* | *a baiʼi,* | *baiʼi* | *to tsuga non* | *ia.'* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| the plant (from) | hand of child, | | child | dislikes | it. |

Then powdered lime is spread round the fire in a circle, the women dab some on their ears, then they take the *sekwit* leaves off the child and throw them away into the enclosure made on the occasion of a previous ceremony.

6. *On returning from the first journey.*

852 This I saw done at Petats; it happens also in the Bougainville
villages, so I have included it in the series. In the Petats dialect it
565 is called *lolōas*, in the Kurtatchi dialect *wakōkoa*. It is also performed for adults after a particularly difficult trip, and for important visitors who come from a distance, but for children only on this one occasion.

On the evening of the day when Tiusai had taken her baby son, Kaup, with her to fish on the reef for the first time, she sat on her verandah with Kari, her husband's mother's sister (*haihis*), and Bohin, her husband's mother's sister's son's wife (*munihan*.) Her
415 own people live on another island. Some of the younger women
of the village brought large bush-taro leaves and twisted them up into bags which would hold water. Then they went into the sea and filled them with sea-water, and running at full speed through the village, poured the water over the legs of the three women. None was poured over the legs of the child. This they did twice. The leaves were then hung up on the sides of the hut, where they

remained till after the evening meal, then they were taken down 852
and thrown away. 565

7. *For sitting on his mother's pack.*

Commoner children are put, while still fairly small, to ride on 482
the top of their mother's pack—the burden of taro or firewood 852
which is always carried rucksack fashion, by means of straps round 854
the shoulders—without any introductory ritual. But before a child 565
of rank can do this a special ceremony must be held. I saw it done at Kurtatchi, for Wanias, son of Pinari's sister's daughter, *tsunaun* in the direct line of succession. He was then somewhere about four years old.

The proceedings started at sundown, by a number of women 482
walking round in a wheel-like formation, the role usually played 852
by men in an ordinary *kōma*, giving the while the monotonous four 854
notes which always accompanies their dance (Pl. 17). Pesĕ, who 565
stands to Wanias in the relationship of *ẉatʃütʃio*, carried a new pack, 535
consisting of a new sling of banana palm fibre, smeared with red paint, and ornamented with shell rattles and pearl buttons obtained from a store, tied round a large new *kōbū*, rolled up empty. The pack thus prepared is called *tin*, and is like that usually carried to the taro gardens to bring back the load. Pesĕ walked in the centre of the group. Presently a little girl (a commoner a little older than Wanias, not related to him) was placed on the top of the pack, sitting just as Wanias will sit in future. The women continued to parade round and round. One woman carried a bow and arrows, another an axe, another a canoe paddle. They might also have had a fishing-net. These are all objects symbolic of a man's activities. If the ceremony had been for a girl they would have had packs instead of the bow and arrows and the axe, but the canoe paddle would have figured just the same, as women are also expert paddlers. They walked round going through the motions of using these things. Other women jumped about, gesticulating wildly. I was told that the two women who knew this dance the best were both ill, so it was not being done as well as it might have been. Presently Takok, who is not related to Wanias, took the pack and carried Pesĕ on it for some time. Pesĕ is a big woman, so it must have been quite a task for Takok, who is by no means young.

This continued for a couple of hours or so, with the slit-gong beating at short intervals, the signal for renewed efforts both of

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565

854 voice and leg, whenever it sounded. Wanias was not present, it
[777] would have been considered very unlucky if he had accidentally
put in an appearance. Apparently this performance is somewhat
852 535 in the nature of a rehearsal.

All the next day the whole of the male population of the village
852 was employed in making ceremonial pudding (see Pl. 33). Some
565 of the men varied their labours by making Pan-pipes, and the
women were making baskets of plaited coco-nut palm leaves to
hold the pudding. These they made smaller than usual, because
they were for a child. When the pudding-making was finished the
slit-gong was sounded.

Just before sundown two specially large taro tubers, with leaves
and stalk still attached, were laid on the front verandah (*tagoan*) of
Wanias's maternal grandmother's hut, where he and his mother
[292] live (his father is dead). On these was laid a very elaborately
worked woman's hood, covered with an embroidered pattern made
of strips of fibre and dried leaves, dyed red and brown, the kind
of hood women wear on special occasions. On top of this was
placed a sucking pig, held down by one of the older men of the
village. Pinari, Wanias's mother's mother's brother, whom he calls
*tsubunĕ* (my grandfather), took some lengths of shell currency
(*beroan*) and rubbed the pig's sides with it, beginning at the tail.
[386] Then he took a large pinna shell full of red paint (*oin*) mixed with
coco-nut oil, and rubbed the pig in the same way with that, then
with the specially prepared pack, and then with a red loin-cloth.
When all these things, which were to come in contact with Wanias
in the course of the ceremony, had been passed from head to tail
of the pig, it was allowed to run away. Then a number of the
women, of both clans, came up in turn, and each sat on the hood
for a minute. Two of the women who were *watʃitʃio* to Wanias
came first, but others followed who bore no relationship to him.
852 A little girl, younger than Wanias, not related, but of the same clan,
565 was held down on the hood while her hair was carefully trimmed
by Koawu, one of the older men (it does not seem to matter who
302 undertakes this duty). He trimmed it all round, particularly just
over the temples and behind the ears, making a clean line. The
way having been thus prepared, Rus, Wanias's mother, brought
the little boy out of the hut and sat down on the hood with him on
her lap. Koawu began to trim his hair in the same way. He was
not at all pleased with the process, and wriggled so much that it

became impossible to continue cutting. He was taken off the hood 852
round to the women's side of the hut, and the hair-dressing opera-
tions were finished by two young men, to the accompaniment of 565
his screams. The cutting was done with a razor, of which there 302
are a few in the village. In the olden days they would have used a black-lip oyster shell. When the trimming had been completed to the barbers' satisfaction, Rus took Wanias back to the front verandah and sat down again on the hood, while she covered his head with red paint, except for two dabs of black one on each side just above his ears, he very restless the while. A dab of brighter red was put on his ears, and a streak from the external angle of his eyes sloping down towards the ears.

All this time there were great hair-dressing operations going on all over the village. All the young children, of both sexes, and some of the older girls had their hair trimmed and covered with
red paint mixed with coco-nut oil. (The older boys, who wore the [882]
*upi*, had no share in this part of the proceedings.) A number of women from neighbouring villages arrived, and were also painted.

Then there was an interval, during which some taro was eaten. 852
Then the women began to congregate in the open space in the 565
centre of the village. Counting visitors, there were perhaps some
fifty or more women present. All wore their hoods, except the 535
smallest of the girls, and one or two women who had renounced [292]
the custom and did not possess hoods—these wore white loin-cloths over their heads. They started marching round in wheel formation as they had done the previous evening, one carrying the new pack, others bows and arrows, axes, and paddles, as before. After some time there was another interval, at the end of which all the men and boys came up and took over the wheel formation, blowing their Pan-pipes and playing *mabu*, of which there were two. The women returned to their usual role of dancing outside the circle in twos and threes, up to the men and away again, singing and making a hissing noise. They all wore aromatic plants tucked into their loin-cloths and into their hair. They gave me some to put in my belt, and begged me to join in the dancing, which I did, following the example of the other women. Some of the men were springing about in imitation of the movements made by a band of armed warriors attacking a village by stealth. This was apparently symbolical, as it is not a regular feature of their dances. They did not go on very late on this occasion.

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852 565 The next day was entirely uneventful. Wanias played about as usual, and there was no dancing or any other ritual.

On the following day there was great activity in preparation for the evening's events. Four pigs were killed in the early morning, and cooked in the usual manner. One had been killed some days before, and partly smoked, and another was cooked at a house [435] some distance from the village, making six in all, each worth, to the natives, the equivalent of anything from £5 to £10 in our money, this indicating that the occasion was one of considerable importance.

852 565 436 Just before sundown Wanias was arrayed in several lengths of shell currency, which were wound round and round his waist. The ornamented hood was again laid over the two large taro plants, which now had black and red stripes painted on them. Behind, hanging from the roof of the hut, were two lengths of the most highly prized kind of ceremonial currency (*imun*), one made of the [523] teeth of the flying fox, the other of porpoise teeth. This latter string was an heirloom of great value. To it was fastened a tooth of Pinari's (Wanias's mother's mother's brother) which had recently fallen out; a toe from the foot of Kakari (Wanias's mother's brother) which fell off a short time before as the result of a bad septic sore; and the little finger of a famous enemy.[1] Wanias was [302] seated on the hood with these relics behind him. His hair was newly painted, red all over except for two dabs of black, one over each ear. All the other small children of the village were painted in the same manner.

852 565 602 The women began walking round as before, with the usual yells (*waki*). Presently Pesĕ hoisted Wanias on to the ceremonial pack which she carried, and went round with him seated on it. This is noteworthy, because, since she stands to him in the relation of *watʃitʃio*, in the ordinary way no physical contact is permitted between them. All his maternal relatives then started a ceremonial wailing, as for the dead. Matĕv, his maternal grandmother, and her

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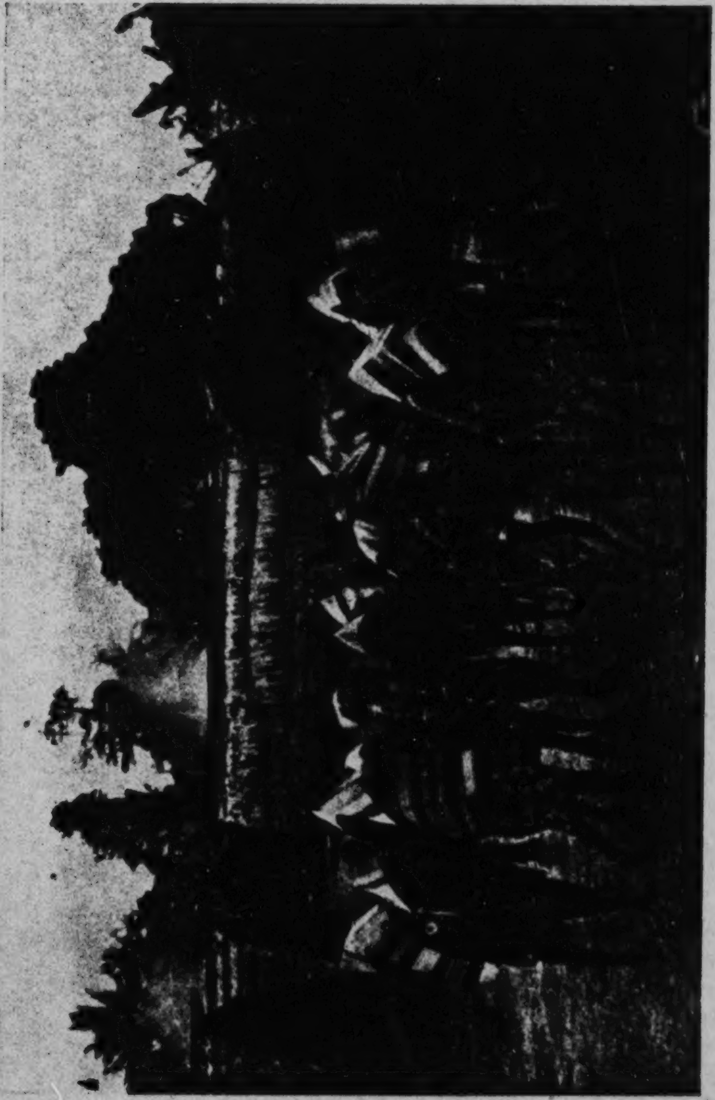
[726 727] 266 [1] The story of this little finger is as follows: Sepia, a warrior of the Hahon people who live in the hills, killed Bururuk, a *tsunaun* of the coast, cut off his finger and his mouth and took them back to the hills with him. The coast people killed Sepia in the bush. Mawon, a relative of Sepia, avenged him by killing some of the coast people. Ten men from coastal villages went and lay in wait for Mawon, who was eventually killed by Na'uston, Pinari's *tsoa* (mother's brother). Mawon was eaten, but Na'uston kept his little finger, in revenge for the similar insult to Bururuk, Na'uston's *kiav* ('brother'), and this is the relic that now hangs on the string of ceremonial currency.

PLATE 17



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WOMEN'S DANCE FOR WANIAS

[facing p. 192]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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PLATE 18

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482
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*a.* WANIAS AND HIS GRANDMOTHER MATÊV

*b.* CHILD BEING CARRIED ON PACK

[facing p. 193]

brother and sister, wailed loudest and most earnestly. Subsequent 852
inquiry elicited the explanation that they were wailing because 565
they were sorry for Wanias, who, being a *tsunaun*, and as such an
object of envy, will probably fall a victim to 'poison' prepared by 602
some one who is jealous of him.

The women walked round for some time, Pesē still carrying 852
Wanias on the pack. Some were wailing the death wail, some were
howling, and some yelling, as for a dance, with the slit-gong adding 565
to the general din. Wanias was frightened, as well he might be, 574
and began to cry. After a time his mother took him away to the women's side of the village and quieted him at the breast. Then all the women received baskets containing pig and ceremonial pudding, which they carried off with them to their own huts. The visitors from other villages departed laden with food and areca-nuts. Later there was a *kōma* which went on till well after sunrise.

The next day Wanias was taken to the taro garden sitting on his 852
mother's pack in the usual manner of children. He continued to
wear the strings of *beroan* round his waist for some time. 565

This brings the little *tsunaun* to the point where he ceases to be a baby. His further fortunes will be followed in the next chapter.

## VI

# ADOLESCENT BOYS

292 ON approaching any village on the north coast of Bougainville, a stranger will at once be struck by the curious head-gear worn by all the boys, except those who are still mere infants (Pl. 19). This head-gear is called in the Kurtatchi dialect *upi* (Ruri and Munlus dialect *buri*; Sēlō dialect *wasobu*; Hahon (mountain) dialect *wasampo*). Its appearance is more easily appreciated from photographs than from any verbal description. To the unaccustomed onlooker, watching it bob up and down as its wearer goes about his work or play, it seems almost incredible that this ungainly object should be worn except for a joke, yet it is probably the most serious and important thing in the whole culture of the area, being associated with an elaborate series of rules and taboos, which profoundly influence the daily life of the people.

824
294 The *upi* is made of the leaves of a small fan-palm (*Licuala*) which is common in the bush, and is called in the Kurtatchi dialect *win*. The manufacture is carried out in the *tobar* and is kept secret from the women. The dried and bleached leaves are stretched over a frame made of thin bamboo, the bottom of which is composed of two circles of stiffer cane, not found in the coastal districts but
[283] obtained from the mountain people. The leaves are very neatly stitched together with native fibre-string of exceptional fineness. At the present time this is done with needles from the traders' stores, but in the olden days holes through which to thread the string were made with fine thorns or bits of shell rubbed down to a point on the rough surface of a lump of coral. The bottom of the hat is closely bound round with thicker string. The finished *upi*, though clumsy, is much lighter than it appears to be, but considerable practice is necessary before its wearer acquires sufficient skill to keep it in position as he goes about his various occupations.

### ORIGIN OF THE *UPI*

292 The legend of origin, current over the whole area, runs as follows:

773
539 A woman was walking in the bush when she saw an *urar* wearing an *upi*. The woman looked at the *upi* and liked it very much. She said to

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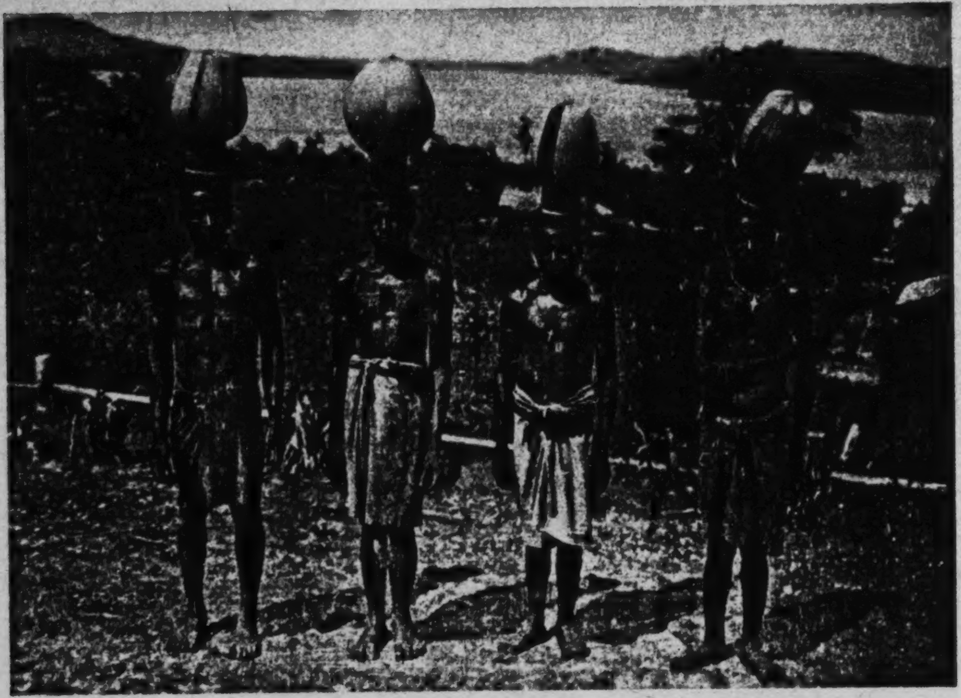
PLATE 19



*UPI* BOYS AT BUKA PASSAGE

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[facing p.194]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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PLATE 20

*b*. ONE OF THE OLDEST

*a*. ONE OF THE YOUNGEST BOYS WEARING THE *UPI*

[Facing p. 195]

the *urar*: 'Oh, I like you, you are my man, you are a fine fellow.' Then 292
the *urar* took his long breasts and gave them to the woman, and took 773
hers, which were very small, for himself. Before that, the men had big
breasts and the women small ones, afterwards, it was as it is now. The 539
woman said: 'I don't want these big breasts, I want your *upi*. If you will give it to me I will not give it to any one.' The *urar* said: 'I don't want to suckle a child. If you have a child you must put him to your own breasts and give him milk.' Then he gave her the *upi*. She hid it in the bush. But one day a man caught her with it, and took it away from her. He said: 'You must not tell any of the other women about this.' The woman said: 'It belongs to me and to all the women.' The man said: 'No, I will not have that, it belongs to me now.' Then the man killed the woman. He said: 'It will be a bad thing if she stays here and talks about this to all the other women. I shall take this thing and put it in the bush, it won't do for any more women to know about it.' So he took the *upi*, and ever since then it has belonged to the men, and no longer belongs to the women.

### CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THE *UPI*

Three important ceremonies are connected with the wearing 292
of the *upi*, each of which must be gone through by every boy, 881
be he *tsunaun* or commoner. The first is called *wapi* (= *wa-upi*, to make *upi*), and celebrates the putting on of the hat. The second, held after a period of years, is the *watawutʃ*, which removes some of the restrictions placed upon the boys wearing the *upi*; of the three it is considered by far the most important. The third, held at some convenient time after the *watawutʃ*, is called *wasipsip* (*wa-* verbal prefix, *sipsip* = comb); at it the *upi* is finally removed. I was fortunate enough to have two opportunities of seeing the *wapi* ceremony, which I can therefore describe from personal observation, but of the other two I can give only an account compiled from notes of numerous discussions.

The first two ceremonies are held for the boys from a group of 621
villages together, the third may be held for two or three, or even for
a single individual, should he for some special reason wish to dis- 881
card his *upi* at a given time. A boy must return to the group with which he went through the *wapi* ceremony when the time comes for the *watawutʃ*, even though his family may in the meantime have moved to a village belonging to another group. Thus there was a boy at Tabut, who did not share the ceremonies with the other boys of this village, but attended those of the Ruri group.

621 because his father was living at Ruri when the *wapi* ceremony was held there.

881 With the village of Kurtatchi are associated those of Bebekes, Tabut, Tensoa, Wantoa, Munlus, Baniata, Bonona, Musang, Soringar, and Togaragar. These are all situated on the strip of coast between Kurtatchi and Buka Passage, covering a length of perhaps six or seven miles of it. The six hamlets comprising the village of Ruri, next to Kurtatchi on the eastern side, about three to four miles away, form a group of their own, and the string of villages still farther east, between Ruri and the island of Tiop at the north-eastern corner of Bougainville, are also a group by themselves. Another consists of the villages on the foot-hills to the south of Soraken Bay, but not including those of the Kunua district still farther to the south, which again form a separate group. I had no opportunity of ascertaining how far this custom continues beyond the Kunua district on the western side of Bougainville. On the eastern side it extends beyond the north-eastern corner for a few miles only, I believe.

291 881 184 The hats are not worn on Buka or on any of its adjacent islands, but a ceremony having some features similar to the *wapi* ceremony takes place at intervals. It has been witnessed and described by Mr. Gordon Thomas (1931, p. 226 ff.). I could obtain no more than the most meagre scraps of information about it from the people of Petats. At Lontis, on the north-west coast of Buka, I was told that the boys put on the hat for one month, and stay in the bush while wearing it; the day after the month is finished they come back to the village and the hats are burnt at night, in secret. The following account was obtained at Kurtatchi, and applies to all the groups described in the previous paragraph.

## PREPARATIONS FOR THE *WAPI* CEREMONY

881 As both the *wapi* ceremonies held during my residence took place at a distance, I was not able to witness the preparations that were made for them. Everything connected with the *wapi* ceremony is kept very secret from the women, but men and boys were willing enough to tell me about these matters when there were no women within earshot. The listeners were quick to criticize or prompt the narrator, and as accounts received in different villages tally in essentials, I think the details are reliable, though there may be omissions, either inadvertent or intentional.

It was always made clear that the taboo on knowing about these 881] things did not apply to me, as a white woman, but only to the women of their own people, so I have no reason to think that anything was purposely concealed.

A boy usually goes through the *wapi* ceremony at the age of about eight or nine, judging from the size of the younger of those wearing it (Pl. 20 *a*). But if there is a shortage of food and no ceremony is being held, or if his family are unable to take their share in providing the necessary payments, both in ceremonial currency and in food, his participation may be delayed until he is a good deal older. Some children undergo it still younger, but if, on being sent to the bush for the seclusion preceding the ceremony, they cry for their mothers, they are sent back to wait for a subsequent occasion. One small boy at Kurtatchi who had been thus sent home was only about seven at the time of my visit, though the *wapi* had been held some time back. The *upi* which had been prepared for him was hidden in the bush, where it still remained when the account was given to me. As a rule, every boy from those about nine up to those almost arrived at young manhood (Pl. 20 *b*) will be found wearing the hat. The decision as to whether a boy shall put on the hat at a forthcoming *wapi* ceremony rests with the boy's father, and depends partly upon whether he possesses the [436] necessary length of ceremonial currency (*imun*) which he must pay to one of the old men of *tsunaun* rank to make the boy an *upi*. This man must not be a member of the boy's lineage.

The *wapi* ceremony is preceded by a period of seclusion in the depths of the bush. The day upon which the boys must go to the [565] bush is fixed at the discretion of the *tsunaun tʃan*, that is, the leading man of rank in the group of villages concerned, who will arrange it when a suitable number of candidates is available. The 881 time spent in seclusion is called *wawilbē*. It used to last for a year, 648 as far as I could ascertain, but of late has been cut down to about 651 three months, owing, they say, to the fact that the District Officer does not like the boys to be absent when he comes round to inspect the village, to line the people up for payment of head-tax, and so on. One of the District Officers told me that he was sometimes asked to give permission for the boys to be absent from such a roll-call for three months, and to ask any other officers who might be visiting the village not to require their presence; this he was willing to do.

881 [515] Before he goes into the bush, each novice is put under the care of an older man who is called his *amro*. The *amro* are all appointed by the *tsunaun*. Any adult man is eligible for this office. He is supposed to belong to a clan different from that of the novice, but this rule is not strictly adhered to, for in the list I obtained of novices and their *amro* belonging to the village of Kurtatchi, several pairs were of the same clan. One informant said that a boy might have his brother for his *amro*, in which case the rule obviously could not apply. Under such circumstances no payment [465] is made to the *amro*, but if he be not a brother, the novice's parents must provide his *amro* with a string of *imun* and his food during the period of seclusion. If there are only a few novices, each has an *amro* to himself, but if there are a great many, one man may be *amro* to two, three, or four boys.

The *amro* looks after the boy during his seclusion in the bush, remaining constantly with him, seeing that he keeps the rules, that he has food, &c. He also puts paint on the boy's hair and oils his skin. His duties are not confined to the period of seclusion. As long as the boy wears the *upi*, it is the business of the *amro* to put paint on his hair for a dance, and to keep an eye on him generally. Any one who is acting as *amro* must not go away for any length of time from the village where the novice lives. Pirier, one of the young men at Kurtatchi, who stood in that position in regard to two of the boys, went off to work on a plantation, but Pinari, the *tsunaun*, sent for him back. After the *watawutʃ* has taken place this rule is less strictly adhered to.

A man who has acted as *amro* but whose charge has finished all the ceremonies and taken off the *upi* is called *kwigin*, and to these men also special duties are assigned while the novices are in the bush; in particular, they act as messengers between the place of seclusion and the village, bringing food to the boys and their *amro*, who may not come into the village.

The novices are called *matʃian*. At first they do not sleep in the bush, but spend the day there, going off at dawn, and returning to the village after dark. They cannot, however, go back to their mother's hut; they must sleep in the *tobar* belonging to their respective clans. While they are in the *tobar*, they must not talk above a whisper; it would be a very bad thing for the women to hear their voices. This time is called *pinpin*. It lasts for several days.

When the *pinpin* period is over, the boys remain in the bush

altogether. The men of the village set up two posts in front of 881
the *tobar*, and fix poles horizontally between them. Food, chiefly
consisting of coco-nuts, is then hung over these bars. The novices
come up with their amro, and walk round the poles as at a *kōma*.
This is done in the afternoon. The mothers of the boys then look
at their sons for the last time before they put on the *upi* and are
removed from home care. There is much display of grief, which is
probably not only ritual but real, for the putting on of the *upi*
makes a break in the family circle. After a few turns round the
poles the boys go into the *tobar*. The one who is second in order
of importance goes first, and the highest in rank second. The one [565]
of most importance is the novice belonging to the *tsunaun* lineage
who stands nearest to the succession to the headship. At Kurtatchi
it was Wakuis, Pinari's sister's son, a younger brother of the heir,
Kakari. The second was Sankuro, whose descent is given on
p. 77. The line of novices and *amro* pass straight through the
*tobar*, and come out at the door on its other side. The *amro* take
their charges down to a special place on the beach, where the boys
are made to drink a mouthful of sea-water. This part of the beach [784]
is reserved for them to bathe from, and the women must keep
away from it.

After this they remain all the time in the bush, no longer return- 881
ing to the village at night. Their going away is called *watagi'upi*
(*watagio* = get out of the way). They make a little house at a 784
special place set apart for them, and there they must sleep for the 342
whole of their period of seclusion. This place and the shelter
built on it is called *nōnō*, and is strictly taboo to all but the novices
and their *amro*, who sleep with them on the same plank bed. The
shelter is a very rough construction, and is allowed to fall to pieces
when they have finished with it.

*Rules for the novices.*

No instruction on tribal lore or on sexual matters appears to be 881
given to the novices during their seclusion, but the *amro* tell them
how they are expected to behave in regard to the wearing of the
*upi*, that they must never be seen without it by a woman, that they
must fasten it tightly on their heads when they play roughly, that
they must make a new cover for it out of *win* leaves when it gets
dirty, and so on.

All the time the novices stop in the *nōnō* before the *wapi*

881 ceremony they must not play, but must sit about doing nothing, and when they go out, must walk slowly. They must not cry. This is the time when the smaller boys sometimes give way to tears of home-sickness and are sent back to await a later *wapi*. No disgrace appears to be attached to this, but only a very little boy would do it, because it means that he must wait perhaps for several years before he has another chance of putting on the hat, with all its attendant importance, and meanwhile his friends will be going through the ceremonies without him, and he would not be asked to join in their games and hunting, but would be expected to remain with the women.

Various other rules must be observed by the novices while [302] they are in the bush. No clothing, ornaments, or decorations can be worn, but the hair and skin must be painted and rubbed with oil. They must not kindle fire; if any one does so, his *amro* must throw him on to the ground and cover his head with branches of trees, 'to make him ashamed'. They may not hold a knife or other sharp-edged tool; if they fail to observe this taboo their hair will not grow long, which would be very disastrous, since the main purpose of the seclusion appears to be to give their hair a chance to grow long enough to support the *upi*.

### *Rules concerning food.*

There are quite severe restrictions in the matter of diet. Some of the boys told me that they had been hungry all the time. They are forbidden pig altogether. If their *amro* think well, they are given a little fish, but are allowed nothing but the heads. Taro is cooked for them by their mothers or other female relatives, but they are not allowed to go into the village for it, neither may their female relatives bring it to them in the bush. The women may not see even the *amro* while the novices are in seclusion. So when they have cooked the taro for their sons or nephews, they give it to the *kwigin*, who continue to live in the village. The *kwigin* take the food to the bush and give it to the *amro*, who meet them half-way. When the *amro* go to get the food from the *kwigin* they must not speak loudly, but only whisper. If one of them raises his voice, the *kwigin* reproves him, saying: 'Sh-sh-sh, you must speak softly, the boys have not eaten yet.' The *amro* must not come too near to the village; they meet the *kwigin* in the bush and return with the food to the *nōnō*. While they are on their way the women

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must keep out of sight. In the olden days, if a woman were to meet one of the *amro* carrying food to the novices, she would instantly have been speared. Now that killing is forbidden, the punishment is that all the *amro* and all the *kwigin* have sexual intercourse with her in the bush. Sometimes she dies under this treatment. In any case her husband has no right to be angry or to retaliate. An occurrence such as this is the only occasion when the *amro* are allowed sexual intercourse while the novices are in the bush. Continence is necessary for them because they have to put paint on the hair of the novices, and oil on their skins. It would be harmful to the boys if any one who had had contact with a woman were to touch them. The *kwigin*, who sleep in the village, must never touch the skin of the novices. The *kwigin* are not denied intercourse, but it must take place in the hut, not at the taro garden (a very usual practice at ordinary times). Should one of them break this rule, the taro belonging to the woman who owns the garden must be thrown away, and she is forbidden to cook any more food for the novices. 881 [688] 881 834

Before giving the food to the novices, the *amro* must scrape off the outside of each taro, where the women's hands have touched it. This they keep for themselves, giving the boys the centre part. Only a small quantity of food is allowed. The *tsunaun* novices must eat first, commoners are not permitted to take so much as a bite till they have finished. If this rule is broken the *amro* must tell the *kwigin*, and the *kwigin* tell the women not to cook any taro for the boys next day, and for the whole day they must go hungry. The taro belonging to the *tsunaun* is kept in a separate basket hung from the roof of the hut, and if this should fall down by accident, the boys must go without their next meal. 881 565

Deprivation of food is also the penalty for fighting among the novices. For this offence all the boys must fast for two or three days, the time apparently varying according to the severity of the fight. The *amro* and the *kwigin* may not eat either, nor may those of the women who have sons among the novices. The people of the village must abstain from fighting or quarrelling among themselves; if this rule is broken the offenders must kill a pig and make a feast for the rest of the people. 881 [688]

Sometimes a woman will give some extra food to the *kwigin* and say: 'You go and give this piece of taro to my son.' If this becomes known, the *tsunaun* of the village will send word to some one who 881 688 754

881

688 knows how to 'make poison', and he will exercise his skill against
754 the woman, so that she will shortly die.

881 The boys must have their only meal of the day early in the morning,
881 before dawn. It is essential that they should have finished their
514 meal before the women go out to relieve themselves, which they do as soon as dawn has broken; the fact that the boys are living a long way from the village is immaterial.

881 A woman who is menstruating may not cook taro for the novices,
841 nor may any one else cook it in her hut. If this rule is broken the
753 novices will become very ill, and will waste away till they are reduced to skin and bone. The taro must always be cooked while the children of the house are asleep. If a child cries while the taro is cooking, it must not be sent to the novices, or it would make them ill. While cooking for the boys a woman must stay in the hut all the time and watch the taro, she may not leave it even for a few moments for any reason whatever.

### THE *WAPI* CEREMONY

881 When the time for the *wapi* ceremony approaches, word is sent
574 round to a large number of villages within walking distance, inviting the men to attend. Enormous quantities of food must be provided for the visitors, for if the amount available is insufficient, serious trouble will ensue.

If there are a number of boys ready, and a sufficiency of food, a *wapi* ceremony may be held even if there are, in the villages constituting the group, boys waiting for the *watawutʃ*. But no *wapi* can take place for a long time after the final ceremony (*wasipsip*) at which the hair is cut off. Boys who are of an age to put on the *upi* during such a period must wait.

The first of the two opportunities I had of witnessing the *wapi* ceremony occurred only a few days after I had taken up my residence at the village of Kurtatchi. Owing to some quarrel, the details of which I could not understand, no one from this village attended the ceremony, though they were apparently invited, as I was asked by several people why they had not come. It was held for the boys of the Hahon villages in the mountains between Soraken and Kunua. I received news of it from Mrs. Hadden, whose plantation hands had asked permission to attend.

After crossing the bay, we started inland from the coast near Soraken Plantation, being joined at intervals by crowds from other

places, carrying spears, bows and arrows, knives, and trade axes, 881
which they call tomahawks. Those who were not fortunate enough 574
to possess these treasures carried sticks cut from the bush, with
leaves still attached to them. Their faces were painted in various [302
patterns, a striking effect being obtained by a bright red (carmine)
obtained from the Chinese stores, covering both ears. Nearly 439]
every one had a spot of red (*oin*) on both temples; this is a protection against the dangers of the road.

We went on till we came to a village called Kinopawpaw. On
its outskirts we found a platform made of boughs, on which were 881
placed a large number of coco-nut-leaf baskets. These were full 574
of roast pig, cooked taro, and ceremonial pudding. Others con- 262
tained the eggs of the bush fowl (megapode), done up in leaves. Huge bunches of areca-nut, yellow and green, hung from the posts of the platform, together with bundles of betel-pepper leaves. All along the edge of the platform there were coco-nuts. The whole effect was one of lavish abundance, as was intended. This food was provided by the group holding the ceremony, for the benefit of those who came from long distances to attend it.

Our crowd approached the platform with much shouting and
brandishing of weapons. They were met by a band who had arrived 881
before us, and a sham fight took place. Then we all sat down and 574
food was distributed. Presently a fresh crowd arrived, every one jumped up and rushed out to meet them, and another sham fight took place. This happened whenever a new contingent came up.

We remained there till darkness had fallen; fresh contingents 881
arrived at frequent intervals, each necessitating the staging of
another fight. Finally we started off down a narrow track, in single 574
file, our way lighted by torches made of the dried leaves of the 372
coco-nut palm, and the hurricane lanterns carried by our own 487
party, a less picturesque but more dependable form of illumination. The track was level for a while, then it began to go up and down, with creeks in the valleys, some bridged by logs, some to be forded. Progress was at the rate of about two miles an hour, or less, with frequent halts. Presently we came to an avenue of areca-nut palms. These trees the men in the forefront of the procession proceeded to cut down and strew over the road, though some of them were bearing. It seemed a piece of wanton destruction, but as the owners of the trees were among the destroyers, it was clearly part of the business. They did not gather the areca-nuts from the

881 trees they felled, nor pick up those that lay scattered thickly on the
574 ground. Leaving behind us a desolate scene of wreckage, we went
372 on farther and skirted the village of Tchinopai. From now onwards
487 we climbed steeply, dropping into deep valleys between
ridges. As we stood, during one of the many pauses, on a downward
gradient, we could see the lights of the men in front of us
going down into the depths, and those of the head of the procession
climbing skywards in the far distance. There must have been
between two and three hundred in single file, with torches at
intervals, their flicker making the forest into a mysterious place
full of weird shadows. It is not difficult to understand the general
dread of the forest after nightfall.

881 When we had almost made up our minds that we were to walk
all night, we came to the village of Nimbarossi. On the verandah
574 of a house by the road was laid out another store of provisions,
which were promptly distributed. The crowd then disposed itself
for what remained of the night, some inside the house, some on the
verandah, and a great many on the ground outside.

881 Every one was up at dawn next morning, and the long line continued
to wind up hill and down dale, crossing rivers—fortunately
574 plentifully supplied with boulders—at intervals. The line was
487 constantly broken by men dashing into the bush to get some sweet-smelling
301 or bright-coloured plant, which they stuck into their hair
and armbands, or their belts, if they were lucky enough to possess
that much-coveted article.

881 Presently the whole line halted and collected in a clearing,
spreading wild banana leaves to sit upon. A native never sits on the
574 bare ground if he can help it. The boys who were wearing *upi*
516 made elaborate covers for them with leaves, because it would not
824 do for the novices to see them before they had received their own.
292 The older men rubbed lime over their faces. One man produced
302 a tin of talcum powder, which was passed round, its contents being
daubed on foreheads and cheeks. Another was the envied possessor
of a pot of brilliantine, which he daubed under his armpits with
evident pleasure. They hung a wreath of aromatic plants round
my neck, which I appreciated as evidence that they did not resent
881 my presence. Presently the sound of a bull-roarer was heard in
534 the distance. I was told that this was the voice of the *urar*, and
574 that we should presently see them. Before moving on, each man
754 carefully whipped with the large leaves of the wild banana the

place where he had been sitting, and hid the leaves in the bush. 881
This was done to guard against the possibility of any one making 574
bad magic against them at that place. 754

Very soon we came to a broad track newly cleared, or rather 881
hacked out, for fallen trees, banana bushes, and creepers still
covered it, making progress difficult. This destruction is supposed 574
to be the work of the *war*, and is intended to impress the women,
who will presently pass that way, with their tremendous power. 487
This proved also to be the explanation of the destruction of the areca-palms the night before. We climbed over or pushed our way through the tangle for a short distance, and then came to a broader clearing, where some large trees had been cut down. There we found a third platform laden with food. Before it was divided a sham fight took place, with much shouting and stamping and clashing of weapons.

From this place onwards the trail had not been cut, so some of 881
the men went in front to clear it. They certainly did a thorough
job, strewing trees and bush-tangle over a track about ten feet 574
wide. The young men in front carried a long piece of rattan. 487
When they came to a tree, they tied one end round the trunk, put
considerable man-power on the other end, and tugged at the rattan 313
line until the tree fell. If it offered too much resistance, they hacked at its trunk with axes, but most of the trees were soft-timbered, so it was not such a laborious undertaking as it looked. As each tree fell, its branches were lopped sufficiently to allow the crowd coming behind to scramble over it, then the vanguard went on to the next tree, slashing down all the bush tangle in their way. The result was certainly calculated to impress the uninitiated with the power of the *war* supposed to be responsible for all this destruction.

Presently we came to a large clearing, also freshly cut. Here a 881
man standing on a fallen tree trunk was swinging a bull-roarer. He 574
had another in his left hand, slightly smaller; this he used alter- 487
nately with the first. [534]

As we went on we were shown stones lodged high up in the forks of trees, said to be thrown there by the *war*, and, in two places, big holes in the ground about six feet apart, his footprints. These were to be duly pointed out to the women when they passed that way at a later stage in the proceedings.

Finally, we crossed a river for the third time. On the bank a halt was called while the long piece of rattan that had been used

881 in pulling down the trees was cut up into small bits and thrown
574 into the stream. The men were particularly careful not to let any
487 of the pieces get lodged behind boulders, but pushed them all out
so that they were carried downstream, in order to obliterate all
signs of human agency in the destruction along the way.

881 After crossing the river we went up a steep hill to a large clearing
574 near the top. This place was called Kuruwiowan, and had been
cleared especially for this ceremony. When another group wishes
to hold a similar ceremony, another site must be selected and
cleared. The place was well chosen. The ground still sloped upward slightly, and also fell away on one side, leading to a steep hill going down to a narrow valley through which a small stream was running, with another steep rise on the further side. A few trees were left standing in the main clearing, and a trail was cut down one of the hill-sides. Round the edge of the main clearing were smaller ones with rough shelters of poles and banana leaves; inside some of these there were men munching taro.

The crowd that came with us rushed up the hill shouting and brandishing their weapons; turned and rushed down again; divided into two halves which charged each other. Some men appeared carrying joints of roast pig, baskets of taro, and coconuts. They took the food up the hill and put it into a shed at the top, where a crowd of visitors promptly fell upon it. Presently there was more shouting and wild charging. A band of men from Kunua had arrived and were being welcomed in the prescribed manner. Another band, from Raua, came behind them, only to find that the first comers had eaten all the food. For a
moment it looked as though the mock fight was going to become a
881 real one. This is not uncommon. I learned from Pinari later that
574 in the olden days, if the amount of food provided was insuffi-
579 cient, the guests retaliated by killing the hosts, including the
women and children, burning their houses, cutting down their
177 coco-nut trees, and spearing their pigs. Nowadays, since the
fear of the District Officer is upon them, they mostly content
themselves with growling and cutting down coco-nut trees. Up
in the hills, however, they are less amenable to discipline than
on the coast, and if the mob now assembled had really got
881 angry there might have been trouble. But being promised that
574 more food should be forthcoming, the new-comers joined the
others in the sham combats that took place at short intervals, as

soon as the participants had recovered their breath after the last 881
effort. Sometimes two sides charged each other, sometimes one 574
or other party marched round a big tree in the centre of the
ground, stamping and gesticulating wildly. Their rushes were
very dramatic. Some had feather head-dresses, or bunches of [292]
bright-coloured parrot feathers in their hair, which, with the paint
on their faces and the green leaves covering the upi, added to the
effect. Many of the boys did not succeed in keeping their *upi* on
their heads, but as there were no women present, they were not
much concerned. It was the first time I had had an opportunity
of seeing any boys without their head-gear. The hair of many of [302]
them fell below their waists, that of others, who had not worn the
*upi* for so long, reached only to the shoulders.

After three or four such rushes in quick succession, there was 881
a long wait, everybody in excited suspense. Then a man standing 778
near me said: 'The *urar* are coming now.' Up the hill came a
crowd of men, accompanied by two huge figures resembling the giant figures at carnivals. Each was carried by a man walking underneath it, the upper part of his body being inside the body of the figure. One wore a very large *upi* with an elaborate pattern in red and white. The face was roughly carved of wood, blackened and highly polished. The eyes were large and round, made, apparently, of a pair of trade spectacles. The mouths of both were wide open, that of the second had a large tongue showing. They represented a married couple, the one without the *upi* being the woman; her mouth was open because she was crying over her children, as the women cry when their boys are taken from them to go into the bush for the period of isolation prior to this ceremony. The bodies of both figures were covered with long strands of human hair, cut from the heads of previous *upi* wearers at the *wasipsip* ceremony. In the centre of the body was a slit through which the man carrying the figure could see where he was going. The figures finished off in a straight line just below the waist of the men carrying them, whose legs were not concealed at all. The female figure had no breasts represented,[1] and was indistinguishable from the male except for the absence of the *upi*. The hands were of wood, raised on each side, with the arms, which

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[1] This is noteworthy, as physical details are usually portrayed with great realism on the representations of the human form made by these people. It may have reference to the legend of origin of the *upi* given on p. 194. [532]

881
778

were very long, bent up at a sharp angle. The thumb was nearly as long as the fingers, and the workmanship as a whole was very crude.

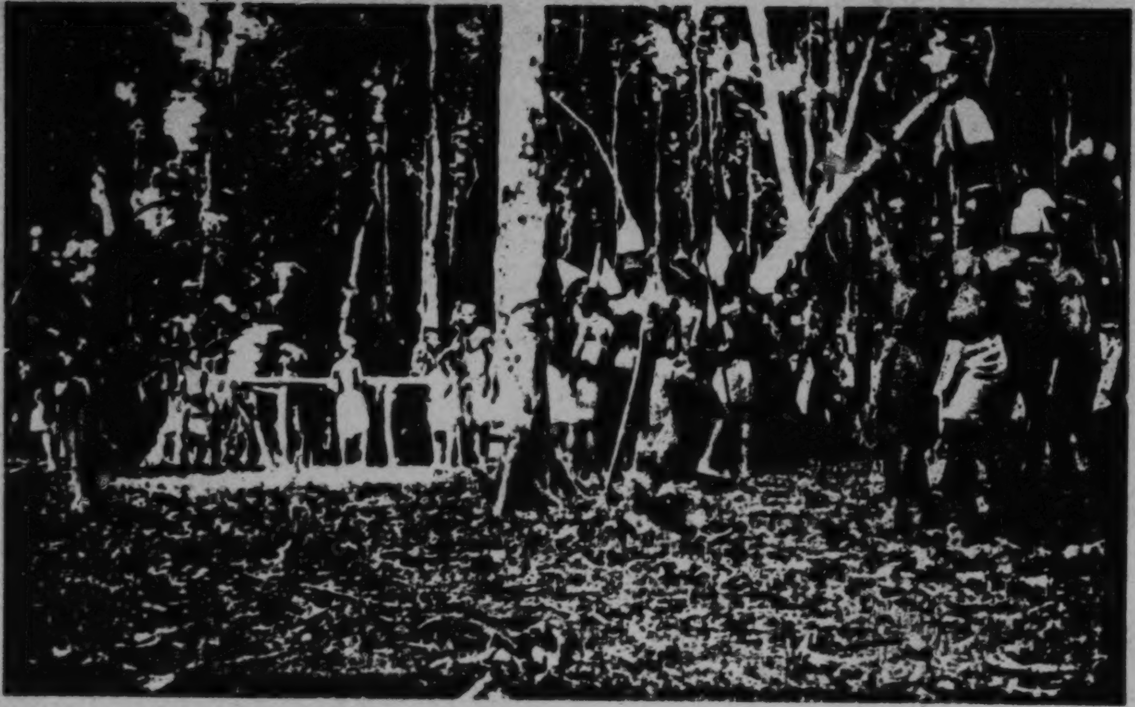
Presently a third figure appeared, also with an *upi*. The three were carried up the slope to the top of the cleared space, and down again, with all boys wearing the *upi* waving coco-nut palm leaves in front of them. This was done twice. One man acted as master of ceremonies, motioning with a stick when they were to go forward and when back. He was not dressed for the part, having only the usual dabs of paint on his face. As they turned to go back up the hill after the second downward rush, a fourth huge figure joined them, coming from the lower slope. This one had an *upi* also, and its face resembled those of the others, but its body was covered with moss instead of hair. This represented the *urar* of the bush. The men who carried them made them gesticulate with their heads and bend over, pretending to grab various people, who laughed and dodged them. They swayed from side to side and backwards and forwards, exactly as the carnival figures do. After a short time spent in this gesticulating, they were carried to the top of the slope and propped up against a tree beside a shed in which were the new *upi* ready for the novices. Men brought more baskets of food and put them in the shed. Then for a long time nothing further happened.

After a while the head of one of the *urar* was taken off (it fitted into a hole between the shoulders by means of a piece of wood extended from the neck), and head and body were carried off down the hill by two men. It was to be shown to the women from a distance; they were taught that it was actually the spirit appearing to them. One of the men took me down by another path which brought us out half-way down the broad track supposed to have been cleared by the *urar*. What followed was a most effective piece of stage-managing. Far below, across a narrow valley, on the slopes of the farther hill, stood a crowd of women and children, looking up past the wreckage to the top of the hill at a group of warriors, painted, armed, yelling, and blowing conch-shells. Suddenly the men made a rush half-way down the hill, past the place where I and my guide were standing, then, at a signal from the master of ceremonies, they dashed back, then forward again, this time bringing with them the *urar* figure, carefully keeping it in the background so that only its upper part was seen. The man who

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 21

[Facing p. 208]



*WAPI* CEREMONY: (i) FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE INITIATES

188

PLATE 22

*WAPI* CEREMONY: (ii) THE *URAR* MEET THE INITIATES

[Facing p.209]

881 778 824 propped up against the shed. One man went into the shed, carrying two axes. Another stood just outside, holding half a coco-nut shell full of some red-coloured liquid, which I afterwards ascertained to be the sap of a certain plant (called in the Kurtatchi dialect *mumtĕ*) intended to represent blood. Two men went to the group of novices and seized a boy, carrying him face downwards, one holding his shoulders and the other his feet. They took him, still in this position, up to the shed. Here they held him with his head hidden behind the leaves of which it was composed (Pl. 23). The old man inside clanged his two axes together. This represented, I was told, the killing of the boy, and as he was carried out, the man outside dipped his fingers into the coco-nut shell, took up some of the liquid it contained, and made a dab on each side of the back of the boy's head. This represented the blood of the novice, whom the *urar* was supposed to have killed. Then he was carried back to the group, and laid face downwards on the ground, on which a long row of wild banana leaves had meanwhile been spread. More banana leaves were spread over him, completely covering him up, including his head. He was told to lie still and keep his head down. Another boy was then seized, and the performance was repeated till all the novices lay upon the ground covered with leaves. One man carried the smaller boys and two the bigger ones. As each was brought up another man took the hat from his head and laid it aside. These hats were to be burned after the ceremony.

Most of the boys lay very still, but here and there a head would be raised now and then, to be promptly pushed back under the leaves by the men in attendance. After a short wait two old men walked on each side of the line, one up, the other down, howling and crying out repeatedly: '*O! O! hŏ'wa pĕnĕ to mat e na*' ('Oh! Oh! my child is dead') (Pl. 24). When each man had reached his end of the line, another man pulled the leaves off the prostrate boys, and at a signal from him they all stood up, still keeping in line. An old man came round with a banana shoot in his hand and made the motion of touching the mouth of each one. This part of the ceremony is called *ran-gan-ga*, the making alive again. The banana shoot belongs to the *urar*, who gives it to one of the tsunaun so that he may bring the boys back to life again; it is very strong medicine.

Then one big fellow at the head of the line, whose hair reached carried it made it bend from side to side, and forwards, as if to threaten the frightened crowd of women far below, who shrieked and wept, not a few of them running away into the bush. Above the shouting, yelling, and clashing of weapons, sounded the always mysterious and terrible boom of bull-roarers somewhere in the background. To the women, this sound is the voice of the *urar* saying that he is about to eat their sons and brothers. After one rush, the *urar* figure was taken back to the shed. 881 778

Meanwhile, some old men were cutting branches and wild banana leaves, and making a rough shelter near the top of the cleared space. Then the novices, who until now had been kept in hiding in the bush, and had taken no part in the proceedings, were led up the slope from the other side, near the bottom of the cleared space. There were about forty of them, the smallest I thought not older than five, the largest somewhere in his later teens. The small boys wore tiny conical hats made of dried leaves, in shape exactly like the dunce's cap of old-time country schools. The bigger boys had hats shaped like *upi* except that the top was pointed instead of flat. They came up in single file, and were marshalled into a group in the centre of the cleared space (Pl. 21). All of them looked scared, or at least very solemn. They had been kept in ignorance of what was about to befall them. 881 [292]

Some older men made a ring round the group of novices. Then all the boys already wearing *upi* and most of the other men present made a rush at the novices and pretended to attack them, with spears levelled, arrows fixed at bowstrings, axes brandished, shouting or blowing conch-shells. They retreated, and then came back again, retreated again, advanced a third time, this time with the *urar* figures in the rear. Once more they retreated and advanced, bringing the *urar* figures close to the group of novices. The men carrying the figures manipulated them very cleverly, so that they seemed to bend over the boys, pretending to seize them by the shoulder (Pl. 22). Some of the smaller boys set up howls of terror, which were lost in the general din. The effect was well calculated to impress and terrify the youngsters. 881 778

After several minutes of this performance, the *urar* figures were taken up to the newly constructed shelter near the top of the hill, and hidden behind the leaves of which it was built, the head and shoulders of one of them showing over the top. The men who had been carrying them came out from under them, leaving them

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

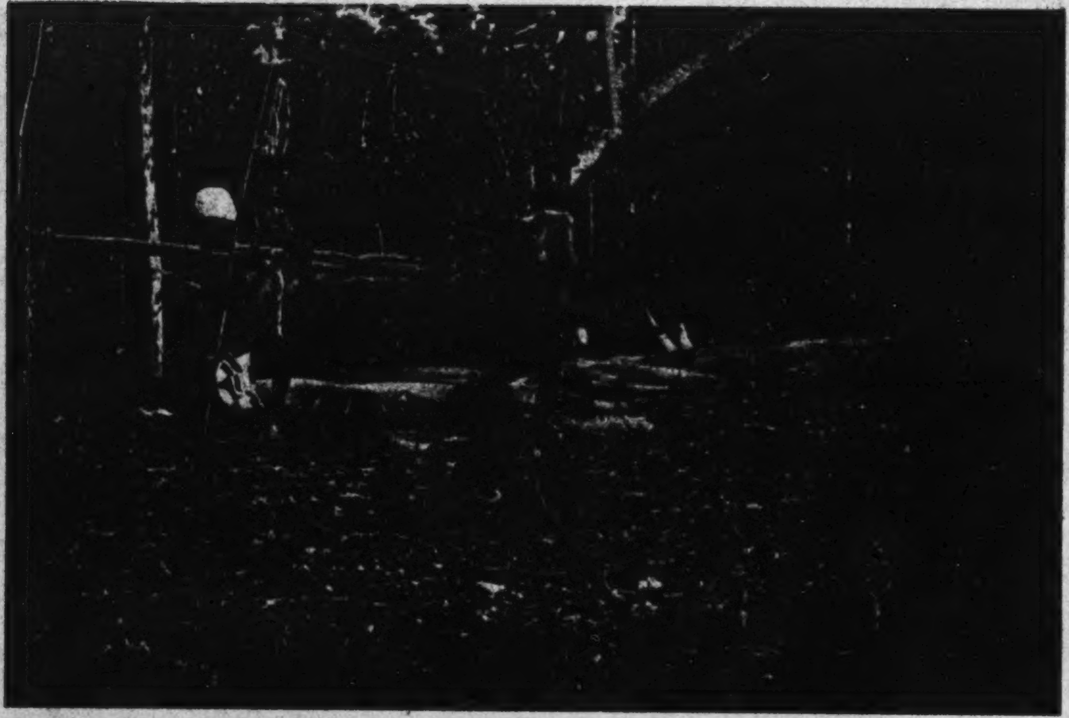
PLATE 23

*WAPI* CEREMONY: (iii) 'KILLING' THE INITIATES

[facing p.210]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 24



*WAPI* CEREMONY: (iv) MOURNING OVER THE 'DEAD' BOYS

[Facing p. 211]

to his waist, was pulled out and escorted down the hill where the *urar* had appeared to the women. He was to be shown to them as 881
a sign that their sons, whom they believed to be eaten by the *urar*, were alive and well. He was away a long time; meanwhile the novices remained in line, standing as still as they could. Finally he came back laughing, and stood for a while chatting with a group of men beside the line, afterwards taking his place again at the head of it.

Then a procession of older men, some of them quite elderly, 881
came up the slope. Each of them had an *upi* on his head. These were the fathers or brothers of the novices, wearing the new 292
*upi* especially prepared for the boys. They managed their unaccustomed head-gear awkwardly, and looked self-conscious. One let his *upi* fall to the ground; this was greeted with laughter [522]
and shouting, and was evidently regarded as a great joke. They stood together in close formation, stamping their feet in rhythm and shouting. Then they walked several times round the line of novices. Two of them carried *upi* of enormous size, with very elaborate patterns on them, coloured red and white. These [778]
were laid for a second on the head of each novice in turn, one man going up the line and one down, so that each boy had both *upi* put on his head. I learned subsequently that these were the *upi* worn by the *urar* figures. They are the sign of the *wagi'upi*, [565]
i.e. the novices of *tsunaun* lineage. But they are put on to the heads of all the boys in turn because all—*tsunaun* and commoners—are going through the *wapi* ceremony together.

After this the boys' own *upi* were put on. Everybody crowded round to help to fasten them. Some had to be fixed with the aid of sticks and bits of rag, as the hair was not long enough to keep them in place. When all were fitted, the line broke up in confusion. The ceremonial *upi* were carried up the hill to the shed where the *urar* figures were. The newly invested novices, henceforward themselves known as *upi*, strutted about, evidently feeling very important, and, judging by their furtive lifting of hands to steady the clumsy head-gear, more than a little uncomfortable.

By this time the sun was getting low, and as most of the visitors had a long way to walk home, the gathering soon dispersed. The initiates went back to the bush, where they were to remain till they had learned how to keep the *upi* in place, after which, on the performance of another ceremony (to be subsequently described), they would return to their own villages.

### A SECOND *WAPI* CEREMONY

881 Towards the end of my residence at Kurtatchi I had another
574 opportunity of seeing the *wapi* ceremony, performed by the group
of villages in the mountains behind the north-eastern corner of
621 the island. The people of Kurtatchi were invited as guests, and
Pinari made no objection to my accompanying them. Our party
consisted of eight men, five of the bigger *upi* boys, and myself.
The journey was considered too long for the smaller boys. We
spent the night at Baniu. Next day we were joined by parties of
men and boys from several coast villages and one from the hills.
[578] The hill-men were regarded with great suspicion by the coast
people, who took care to keep well behind them. We walked to
the accompaniment of much shouting and yelling and blowing
[411] of conch-shells. All were armed, with bows and arrows, knives,
axes or spears; those who had no weapons cut themselves lengths
of bamboo to serve as spears. Pinari cut one for me, saying that he
was afraid the people of the mountains would be angry with him for
having brought a woman, so I had better be a man for the occasion.
He enjoined me to keep close to him and to do exactly as he did. Some
time after passing through Raua Plantation we turned inland.

We were quite a large party when, after scrambling up a steep and slippery hill-side, we finally reached the appointed spot, a cleared place in the heart of the forest. We arrived in the prescribed manner, in a rush, brandishing our weapons, sounding conch-shells, and yelling at the tops of our voices, and were met by a similar party of those who had arrived before us, with the usual mock combat. There were a few moments of great excitement, the crowd now numbering several hundred.

181 The mountain people, as they appeared at this ceremony,
certainly were a wild-looking lot. They have not adopted the
177 fashion of wearing a loin-cloth, now almost universal along the
291 coast, and many of them had not even the usual belt of string
or leaves. Nearly all, old and young, had their faces painted in
weird patterns of red and white; some had a smear of colour all
184 round their eyes, some a series of white lines drawn obliquely
302 across their cheeks, some had patterns carried out in dots. Several
wore head-dresses made of feathers. The adolescent boys belong-
291 ing to this group had been through the *watawutʃ* ceremony, and
so were permitted to remove their *upi*, and most of them had done

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 25

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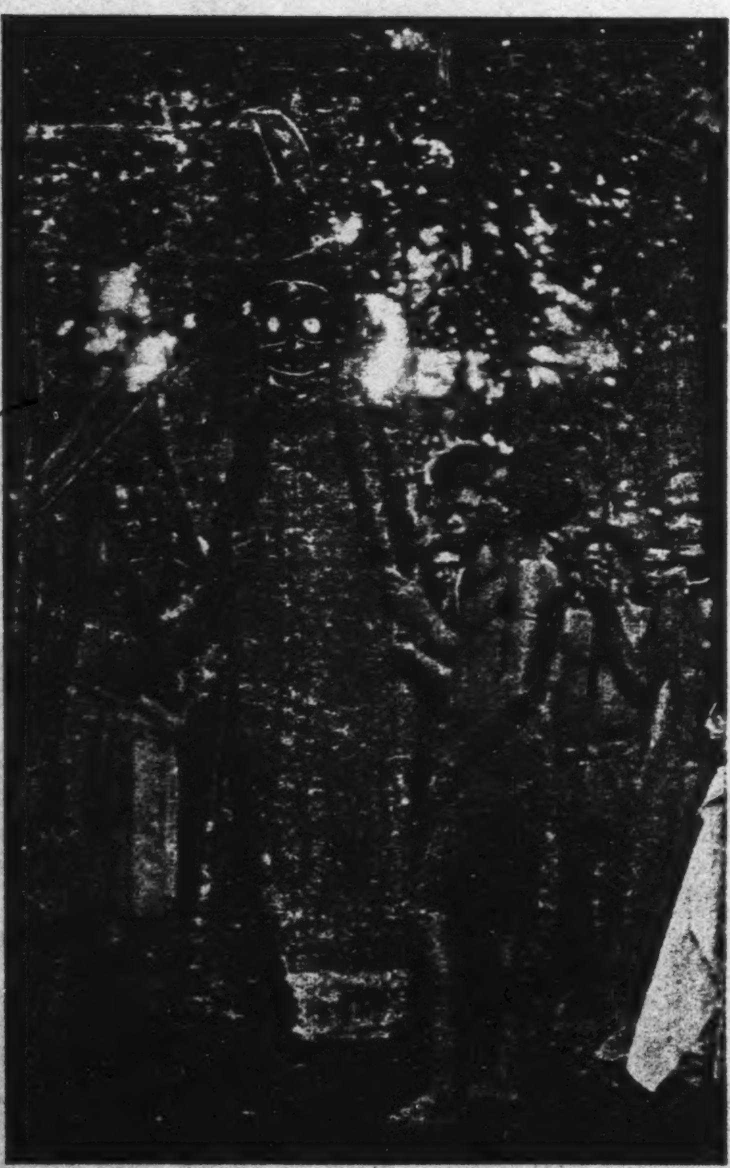

MALE *URAR* FIGURE AT *WAPI* CEREMONY

[facing p. 212]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 26

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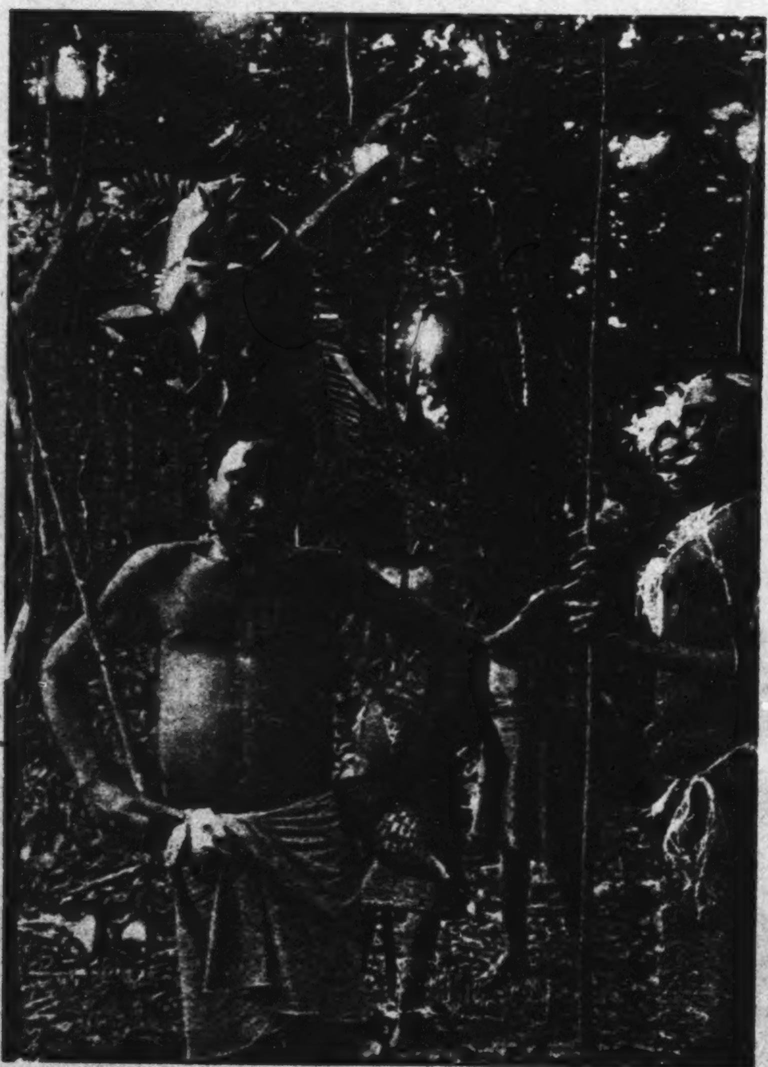

FEMALE *URAR* FIGURE AT *WAPI* CEREMONY

[facing p. 213]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

so. Their hair fell about their shoulders in long matted strands, 184
reaching, in many cases, below their waists. Some had fixed a piece 302
of wood, about three feet long, across their locks at the level of their 291
shoulders, and fastened their hair to it in spread-eagle fashion,
twisting all sorts of leaves and creepers into it.

After a great deal of rushing about and shouting, the *urar* figures 881
were brought out, mounted, as on the previous occasion, on men's
shoulders. First came a male figure, wearing a giant *upi* (Pl. 25), 778
then a woman's figure, representing his wife, both covered with 184
hair cut from previous *upi*-wearers. In contrast to the female 532
figure at the ceremony previously described, this one was furnished
with female breasts (Pl. 26). There were four other *urar* figures,
with slightly differing heads. One of these was taken away to
show to the women from a distance, to the accompaniment of the
whirr of two bull-roarers. Then the novices were brought out;
only fifteen of them this time. Their heads were bare; there were 184
none of the conical hats such as had been worn by the novices
at the other performance. They were grouped together with
their *amro* round them, and the *urar* figures were made to bend
over them, gesticulating wildly, and going through the motions
of killing them, two axes being knocked together to imitate the
noise of the blows. This was done once and for all, to all the 184
novices *en bloc*; there was no dramatic presentation of the boys one
by one as on the former occasion. They were then laid out on the
ground for dead, and covered with leaves. Then the female *urar*
came and gesticulated over them, bringing them to life again. By
this time the light was failing, and as there was much crowding
and pushing on the part of the spectators, it was difficult to see
clearly just what was done. I was told later that the female *urar*
was supposed to give the boys her urine to drink, by pouring it
over them, but that it was not really urine, only water. All the
boys got up and stood in a group. There had been a great deal of
muddle and delay in the earlier part of the day, and now darkness
was upon us before the ceremony was finished. It was therefore
decided to defer the putting on of the new *upi* till the next day,
when it would be done at dawn, without further ritual, they told
me. Nothing would have induced my party to stay in the mountains
all night, so I was reluctantly obliged to return with them,
without seeing this.

This performance of the *wapi* ceremony was not nearly so 881

881 spectacular as the other, though there were many more people present. They had not prepared the ground so well, and it was too flat to give the same opportunity for dramatic effect as was provided by the steep slopes of the other site. The whole thing was much less effectively stage-managed, and I was very disappointed at not seeing the end of it. But it gave me an opportunity of learning new details, and I have reported it thus fully as an example of the kind of variation that may be expected in traditional ritual as performed by different local groups.

## THE *URAR* FIGURES

778 532 The figures used in the *wapi* ceremony to represent the *urar*, or spirits of the dead, are made by the older men in the bush, under conditions of the greatest secrecy. They remain hidden in the bush till wanted. They are made of wood, their faces are painted, and their bodies are covered with the hair cut from former initiates at the *wasipsip* ceremony, or, in some cases, with moss. After the ceremony the hair is carefully removed and stored again in the *tobar* for future use. The figure is burnt, together with its *upi*, if it has worn one. I have no details about the manufacture of these figures, except this small point. The man who makes them chews [824] the root of the plant *nin* and spits inside the figure, to ensure that it shall not be heavy when carried on the shoulders.

Each figure represents an individual *urar*, whose name it bears, for example Buwō, Bupsuip, Kowō (a female), and Upitomet. The last name was borne by a small boy of Kurtatchi, who had received it at the re-naming ceremony described on p. 219. The more figures there are, the more successful the ceremony. Two are not enough. On our return from a *wapi* ceremony, the question most eagerly asked by those who had not been present was: 'How many *urar* were there?'

The drawing reproduced in Fig. 7 is a young man's representation of one of the *urar* figures being carried on the shoulders of a man at the *wapi* ceremony. He had been mysteriously busy with pencil and paper for some time in the farthest corner of my verandah, and when he finally produced and explained it, begged me not to show it to any one in the village or to tell any one that he had drawn it, because the old men would be very angry with him for doing so.

## THE BULL-ROARER

The whirring of the bull-roarer (*guēv*) represents the voice of the *urar*. Among the people of North Bougainville, this instrument belongs exclusively to the *wapi* ceremony and has no other 778 534

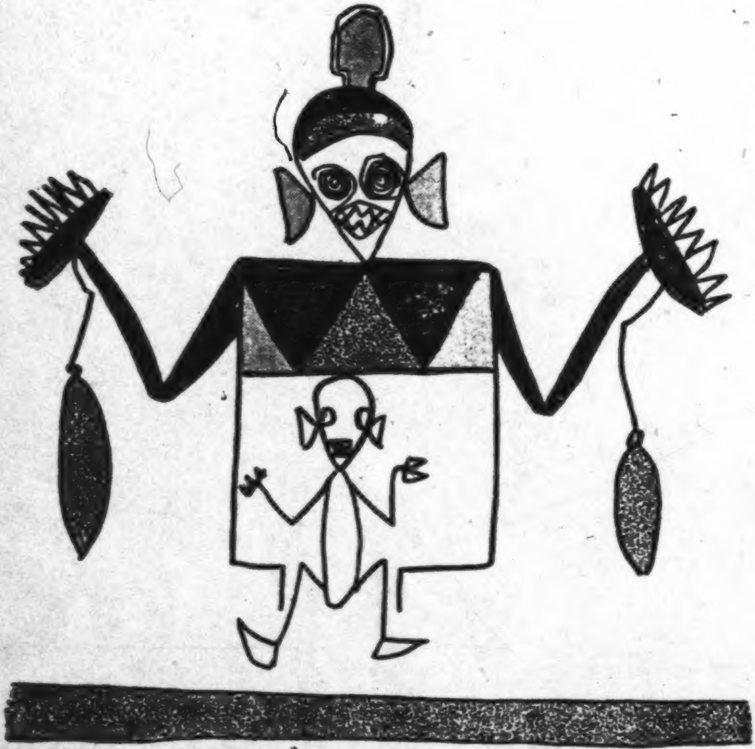

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Fig. 7. *Urar* figure at wapi ceremony, being carried on the shoulders of a man. The figure has an *upi* on its head and a bull-roarer in each hand. Drawn by a young man.

function at all. It plays no part in the other two ceremonies connected with the wearing of the *upi*. It is very sacred. The people believe that if a man makes it for no reason, he will die.[1] Only a 778 534

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[1] Before I knew this, I tried to persuade one of the Kurtatchi boys to make me a model of one, thinking it would be impossible to persuade them to part with one that had actually been used in a ceremony. He refused point-blank without giving any reason, and I saw by his manner that it would be unwise to

778 few know how to make it; those who do not must pay a man to
534 make one when they need it. It must be paid for with *imun*
[436 (ceremonial currency made of porpoise or flying fox teeth) and
several pigs. The wood of either of two trees may be used, the
824] names of which are *iwiŋ* and *torus*; both are hard-timbered trees.
The string is called *inuts*, but is the ordinary twisted fibre string.
To sound the bull-roarer is *wawiura*.

881 The bull-roarer may be sounded during the preparations for
the *wapi* ceremony, as well as during the actual performance.
534 During this time the men of one village will sometimes go in the
778 night and sound the bull-roarer outside another village belonging
to the group, whereupon the men of the second village must bring out a pig and give it to the bull-roarer party. Shortly afterwards they will go and sound their own bull-roarers outside the original village, and will receive a pig in return. This is all a part of the mystification of the women, who know that the time is near when their sons will be taken from them by the *urar*, and who believe—or are supposed to believe—that it is his voice which is heard near the village during the night, calling for the boys. If the men of any village were to sound the bull-roarer at any other time, all the other places would be very angry, and would 'make poison' against the men of the offending village. The bull-roarer is too terrible a thing to be played with, even though the men all know what it really is.

534 Like the *upi*, the bull-roarer is supposed to have belonged in
773 the first place to a woman. The story of its origin runs as follows:

A woman once went to cut firewood in the bush. When she had
539 finished cutting firewood the sun had already gone down. She picked
up a piece of wood and knocked it on a log. It split in two. One piece flew up into the air and made a noise like this (here the teller imitated the noise made by the bull-roarer). The woman jumped up in a fright: 'What is that?' Then she thought: 'It is something very good. It belongs to me, I found it.' She threw away the other half of the broken

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press the matter. A rather more sophisticated man from another village also refused, saying that the people would be angry with him if he did. However, shortly before I left, one of the younger men, who had been a plantation labourer, came to me secretly with one which he had made, saying I could have it if I did not tell any one he had made it. Eventually he brought me also two which had actually been in use, under the same conditions of secrecy, but with the per-
[177] mission of his father, to whom they belonged. Though I was glad to be able to bring home specimens of the bull-roarer, the incident shows only too plainly how the traditional sanctions are weakening.

stick, and broke off a piece of the fibre of a bush banana and fastened it 534
to the piece of wood that flew up into the air. Then she tried swinging 773
it, and it cried out: 'Woo-o-o-o-o-o-o' (imitating the bull-roarer). The
woman said: 'This belongs to me, I found it.' 539

Then she went to her village, and some women were sitting on the women's verandah. The woman put her load of firewood down at the back of her own hut, and called out to all the women: 'All of you come here, tell all the women to come together here.' Then all the women said: 'What do you want us to come for?' She said: 'You come, I want to show you something I found in the bush.' Then all the women came together. The men stayed at the *tagoan* (front, or men's verandah). Then the woman untied her load of firewood, and took out the piece of wood and showed it to all the women. They all looked at it, and said: 'Well, what of it? You get a piece of firewood and show it to us, what is it all about?' 'That thing, that's all, by and by you will see, I will go and make it cry out.' Then she swung it, and the piece of wood cried out: 'Woo-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o'. Then all the women said: 'True, true, you have found a good thing. It belongs to us, you found it.'

Then all the men came: 'What is that crying out here?' All the women said: 'Something belonging to us, this woman found it in the bush.' Then all the men went back to their own side of the huts and talked. 'Ah, we had better get this piece of wood, it can cry out.' So the men went and took it away from the women, and they killed all the women, all the grown women and all the girls, they killed them all, except some very tiny girls, hardly more than babies; they were allowed to live because they did not know about the bull-roarer properly. Then all the men tried the bull-roarer in front of the village, and the piece of wood cried out: 'Woo-o-o-o-o-o-o-o'. Then all the men said: 'Ah, true, this is a good thing we have got.' When the time for the *wapi* ceremony came, all the men cut down a tree and made bull-roarers with it, and tried them, and they cried out. Since then, the bull-roarer has always been used at the *wapi* ceremony.

Bull-roarers are kept most carefully out of sight of the women. 534
In the olden days, if a woman accidentally caught sight of one, she 688
was immediately put to death. Nowadays, since killing is forbidden
by the Government, some one would 'make poison' against her, 754
and thus bring about her death, for which, of course, no one would
be found to blame.

The shape of the instrument is fairly uniform, resembling the 534
accompanying sketch (Fig. 8). The size varies somewhat, some being considerably smaller than others. One of the two I brought home measured 25½ in. in length by 3¾ in. at its widest part, the

534 other 17 in. in length and 3 in. in width. Both large and small [562 775] ones are considered to be male, and each bears the name of the *urar* whose voice it is supposed to be. Thus one of those I saw at the *wapi* ceremony was called Buwō, another Upitomet, another Tororon.

[562] There is also a subsidiary instrument which is regarded as female. It is made by splitting open the stalk of a bush banana leaf, propping the two sides apart with a bit of stick and fixing the flat part of a leaf into the gap. By blowing upon this leaf in a certain manner, a sound is produced which resembles the wailing of women. The instrument has no name; they say: '*Mon to biom non*' (the [184 woman is crying). The Hahon people of the mountainous hinterland make it in a different 136] manner, by taking a canarium almond which has [824] had its nut extracted by a *karib* (a species of tree rat) through a hole which the animal makes with its teeth at one end. They blow into this hole, thus 534 producing a similar noise. These instruments are used to impress the novices while they are sleeping 481 in the bush. One man sounds it on one side of their shelter, another sounds it from another direction, another in yet another place. The boys think it is their mothers wailing for them, and are frightened, not knowing what is going to happen to them. These female instruments are not sacred, and are thrown away when they have served their purpose, but no one would make one for me.

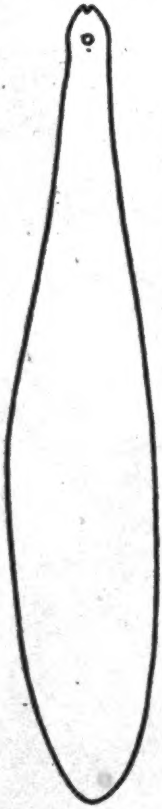

Fig. 8. Bull-roarer.

### CEREMONIES SUBSIDIARY TO THE *WAPI*

881 Several days after the *wapi*, there is a ceremony involving the mothers of the novices (*tʃina'upi*) and the *amro*. As usual in matters of time, it was impossible to obtain exact information as to the length of the interval that is allowed to elapse. Its purpose is to allow the novices to become accustomed to managing their extremely awkward head-gear. This ceremony is called *watog* (*wa-* causative prefix, *tog* = barter). The novices take no part in it, but remain still secluded in the bush until the following day.

The women cook a quantity of taro, which must be roasted in 881 the embers, not boiled in a pot. The novices and their *amro* go into the bush and catch a number of opossums and small non- [252] poisonous snakes. These they must bring in alive. They are placed carefully in baskets made of coco-nut palm leaves. [285] Areca-nut and betel-pepper is put in with them. The *amro* take the baskets to the village. Here they form a line. All the women who have sons among the novices form a line opposite to them, carrying baskets full of taro. [533 They sing a special tune and do a dance-step called *dāni*. They weep all the time they are dancing, and every one who 535] hears the singing feels sad and weeps also. It is forbidden to perform this dance except under these circumstances, so I was not able to see it or to hear the tune. Everybody agreed that it was specially fine. The *amro* then pretend to throw the contents of their baskets at the women, who pretend to catch in their own baskets. Then both lines advance towards each other, but do not quite meet, because a low palisade of boughs put up for the purpose [417] in the centre of the village square remains between them. Through gaps in it the *amro* exchange baskets with the women. This exchange of baskets is called *wasi'emor*. Each woman exchanges with the man who is acting as *amro* to her son. As the exchange is made, the *amro* say: 'You take these baskets of betel-pepper which belong to us.' The women take the baskets and run away quickly to their own huts, they are supposed to be afraid of the *amro*. The next stage was thus described: 'The women go to their huts, they think they would like to eat some betel-pepper. One woman opens her basket. The opossum inside is very lively. It bites her hand. She cries out: 'Woo-o-o-o-o-o, here is a 'possum; I thought it was betel-pepper when I took it.' Another woman wants to eat betel-pepper, she opens her basket, a snake runs after her. 'Woo-o-o-o-o-o, here is a snake; I thought it was betel-pepper.'

After the exchange of baskets the *amro* go back to the novices in 881/ the bush. The *kwigin* also assemble at the *nōnō*, and the *kwigin* of 553 highest standing in each clan gives the boys of his clan their new names. He climbs a tree (any tree suitably situated can be used for this purpose), and the boys of his clan group themselves at its foot. The *kwigin* then calls out the new name of each. This name he is supposed to receive from the *urar*. It must be the name of some one who has belonged to the group and has died, and thus become an *urar*. Stress was laid by my informants on the fact that the

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names now given entirely superseded the names by which the boys had previously been called, which were forgotten altogether. But in practice I found that some of the boys wearing the *upi* were familiarly known by the names they had had since babyhood, though if questioned about this they always explained that these were not the 'names belonging to the *upi*', which would then be stated.

881
[824]
The *amro* will have laid in readiness a supply of certain leaves, collected from the bush. Two of these are varieties of nettle, and sting the skin if touched. These are called *bobuwiar* and *sentun*. The third, called *nes*, I cannot identify.[1] The *amro* now fetch water and soak the leaves in it. With this mixture they return to the village. By this time it is getting dark. The *amro* find the mothers of the novices in the village, and throw over them the water containing the leaves, 'it makes the women's skin sting and they cry'. The women run away into their huts and fasten the doors. The *amro* climb up on to the roofs of the huts where the *tʃina'upi* are hiding, and throw water down through the roof. (The layers of sago-palm leaf thatch with which the huts are roofed can very easily be displaced for this purpose without doing any damage.) Then the *amro* run away from the village and go back to the *nōnō*, where the novices have remained while all this has been going on. This they do by night, a practice contrary to the usual custom except on special occasions, such as the present, when they consider themselves to be specially protected by the nature of their errand from the dangers usually lurking in the bush after dark.

They sleep with the novices in the *nōnō* for the rest of that night, and next morning, at early dawn, they come back to the village and throw stones and sticks at all the huts, not confining themselves to those in which there are *tʃina'upi*. As they throw, they call out: '*Wapor wats!*' ('Throw stones!') The people inside the huts talk among themselves; they are afraid of the *amro*. Then the *amro* return to the bush.

[292]
[302]
The novices are now given hats of the same shape as before, but decorated with patterns in red-dyed leaf (Pl. 27). Their bodies are hung about with aromatic plants, and painted with the usual
pigments,

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[1] Another account gave the leaves used as *hatʃan*, *hanosewar*, and *lasebl*. The sap of the last-named, if applied to the skin, causes little weals. The essential thing is that the leaves shall hurt a little when they touch the skin of the *tʃina'upi*.

pigments. The *amro* of the *wagi'upi* (i.e. those of the novices who 881
are *tsunaun* and therefore leaders of the group) take up their [565]
charges on their shoulders, the others walk. They return to the
village, where everybody gathers to receive them. As they come
up, all the people dance, the men doing the ordinary *kōma* and [535]
blowing the Pan-pipes, while the women, decorated with girdles
of aromatic plants, form a line, and as the boys come towards
them, do the special form of song and dance called *dāni*. Arrived
at the centre of the village, the *wagi'upi* get down from the shoulders
of their *amro*, and all the novices partake of taro and water, given to
them by their *amro*. The women are not allowed to give them food
as yet. This ceremonial return of the novices is called *wawats'upi*.

The novices then go down to the shore, if it is a coast village, and stand in line close to the edge of the sea. All women, not only the *tʃina'upi*, pour sea-water over the boys' legs; this removes the prohibition under which they have been since the *wapi* ceremony, forbidding them to go into the sea. The women all rejoice because the boys have come back. The mothers pretend not to know their sons; they say: 'Before, he was a little fellow; we think this is another boy.' The boys may now remain in the village. They cannot under any circumstances return to the *nōnō*, and must avoid that part of the bush in which it is situated until it has fallen to pieces. They sleep in the *tobar* (boys' house) belonging to their own clan, and are from this time forward subject to all the rules and restrictions attendant upon the wearing of the *upi*, which will be discussed in the following pages.

For a few days the *amro* also sleep in the *tobar*. They may not 881
enter their own huts or have intercourse with their wives until the 834
*kwigin* have taken bamboo-lengths full of water and poured it out 778
in front of all the huts belonging to the *amro*. After that the *amro*
resume their normal life. If an *amro* has intercourse with his wife 845
during the prohibited period, the *urar* will cause illness to come
upon the woman, and should a child be born of such intercourse,
it will resemble the figures of *urar* that are made for the *wapi*
ceremony, that is, it will be without legs, and will have two heads,
one growing out of the top of the other; this refers to the head of
the *urar* appearing above the head of the man on whose shoulders
it is being carried, who looks out of a peep-hole in the body of the
figure. It is said that this taboo is so strong that no *amro* would
dare to break it.

881 The men from other villages who took part, by invitation, in the
*wapi* ceremony, are not invited to these subsidiary ceremonies,
574 which are for the villages of the *upi* group only. But after a suitable
621 interval, usually about a month, there is a feast called *sinēv*, to give
food to all the people who attended the *wapi*, in return for their
presence and the part they took in shouting and attacking. This is
accompanied by a *kōma*. The food, as usual, is not all consumed
at the time, but large quantities are given to the guests to carry
home with them.

## REGULATIONS AND PROHIBITIONS FOR WEARERS OF THE *UPI* DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE *WAPI* AND THE *WATAWUTʃ* CEREMONIES

I. *Concerning women.*

882 Boys wearing the *upi* may not go into any house where a woman
lives, not even their own mother's. Their female relatives may
689 prepare their food, but it must be handed out to them through the
door at the *tagoan* (men's verandah). A boy breaking this rule
[266] would, in the olden days, have been killed, and his body eaten by
the older men. Now they would 'make poison' against him and
his father and mother, so that all three would die. This taboo on
entering a woman's hut is still most meticulously kept.

They may not sit on the *babots* (women's verandah) or go
882 round to that side of the line of huts.

They may not play with the girls and women in communal games, or join a group of which women form part. For example, they were not allowed to join the groups of story-tellers on my verandah whenever there were women present, so in order to induce the women to share in the story-telling I had to fix certain nights on which the *upi* boys were not allowed to come.

882 It is a very serious offence for a boy wearing the *upi* to indulge
434 in sexual intercourse. One or two cases known to my informants
were spoken of with the same horror and disgust—which I think
684 was genuine—as was accorded to the worst type of incest. Punishment in the olden days was death for both parties. They said that
until recently such a thing was unheard of—that is as it may be.
882 But I am pretty certain that this taboo is still strictly observed,
832 with rare exceptions. The following incident, however, is perhaps
worth recording for its bearing on this matter. One evening when

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

I was alone on my verandah, one of the *upi* boys—a lad whom I 882 should judge to be somewhere in his middle teens—came up, and with great secrecy, looking carefully round to make sure he was not 832 observed, produced from the folds of his loin-cloth a bundle of leaves, tied up with fibre string. He said it contained a mixture used by men to gain the favours of a woman they desired. He asked me not to tell anybody that he had given it to me, because, as he was still wearing the *upi*, he was not supposed to have such things, 688 and if the old men knew, they would 'make poison' against him and he would die. He had obtained it from a mountain native belonging to a distant village. It resembled, both in contents and in method of use, other 'medicines' of the same nature in my collection.

The boys are not under any restrictions as regards the discussion 882 of sexual subjects. They contributed, at my 'story-telling evenings', stories and legends of sexual and non-sexual content in about the same proportions as did the other villagers.

Under no circumstances may any boy be seen by a woman without 882 his *upi*. Strictly speaking, they are not supposed to take it off, except in the privacy of their *tobar*, but in practice they sometimes 292 remove it when away in the bush, especially when they do anything liable to injure it. Shortly after I first came to Kurtatchi I was out with two of the older men and several of the *upi* boys. One of the men told a small boy to climb a coco-nut palm and get us some coco-nuts to drink, and to take off his *upi* before doing so. He looked at me with a frightened grimace, and refused. The older man told him that I was 'just the same as a man' and that it did not matter if I saw him without his *upi*. He was still unwilling to remove it, so another boy was sent up. He took off the hat, and a roll of black cloth which helped to keep it in place, laying both carefully under a bush. Two other boys were set to watch the path in both directions, in case any women should come in sight. They explained that the women did not know about the roll of cloth, which was put in because the boy's hair had not yet grown long enough to keep the *upi* in place. It was hardly down to his shoulders; they said it had not been growing very long. Before they had any cloth they used bundles of grass. If a man saw one of the boys with this roll showing, he would take the careless youth aside and tell him to go into the *tobar* and put his *upi* on properly.

In the olden days, if a woman saw a boy without his *upi* she 688

688 would have been speared to death. Though the death penalty can
no longer be exacted, there is still a very real horror of this inadvertently
753 occurring. One unfortunate little boy was afflicted with
head lice to such an extent that his hair began to fall out badly.
This was attributed to the fact that he had eaten canarium almonds
which are taboo to boys wearing the *upi*. When the top of his head
292 was quite bald, leaving only a fringe of hair round the outside of
788 his *upi*, the men became afraid that the hat might fall off in the
presence of the women. They decided to forestall that catastrophe,
and take off the hat with proper ritual. One of the men came to
tell me it was going to be done, and asked if I wished to be
present.

The hat was removed in the *tobar* of the clan Naboin, to which
the boy belonged. This should have been done by the boy's *amro*,
but as he was away from the village at the time, his brother officiated
instead. As soon as the *upi* had been removed, the same man cut
[302] off the wisp of hair that remained and covered the whole head with
paint, black in front and at the back, with a broad streak of red in
the middle, running from ear to ear. The usual method of painting
for ceremonial purposes is from front to back; the pattern here used
is especially sanctioned for the removal of the *upi* and is put on at
the *wasipsip* ceremony. Three of the older men were looking on.
No one spoke above a whisper. The boy looked very crestfallen,
882 and it was evidently all he could do not to cry. He was one of the
292 smallest of the *upi* boys, his age would be somewhere about ten
788 probably. His status in the village is not affected, but he will not
be able to take part in the *watawutʃ* with his companions, which
is a bitter disappointment to him. He stayed inside the *tobar* for
the rest of the day. He was free to leave it had he wished, but he
was very self-conscious, and dreaded being seen by the women
without his *upi*. The older men legitimized its removal by partaking
of ceremonial pudding specially prepared, made in lengths
instead of rolls, and called *gōgi*. After sundown the *upi* was taken
to pieces, and the upper part, made of leaves, with part of the cane
frame was burnt inside the *tobar*. The lower part of the frame is
made of a large variety of bamboo which does not grow in the
district but must be bought from the mountain people. With an
eye to economy, this was saved and hung up from the rafters,
to be used again.

**1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935**

**ON6 Buka ON6**

**Kurtatchi**

II. *Regulations concerning food.*

When they first put on the hat, the boys may not eat opossum, but this prohibition is removed as soon as their hair has grown a little. It may be, though it was not stated by my informants, that this taboo has arisen because the cuscus opossum has very short fur, with the idea that if they were to eat the animal before their hair had grown beyond the length of the fur, it would never attain greater length than this. Even after they are permitted to eat opossum, it must be cooked in an oven; they may not touch any 'possum meat that has been roasted in the embers or boiled in a pot. Pig is allowed them cooked in any fashion.

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Fish may be partaken of freely, cooked in any manner, except that certain specified kinds are totally prohibited. These are: *harawa*, *sosoa* (garfish), *toro*, *poa*, and *useŋ*. I could elicit no reason for the prohibition of these particular fish. They are not rare, neither are they especially highly prized as articles of food. It is noteworthy that there is no prohibition on the eating of bonito.

[136]

The boys may eat fruit, except a certain variety of banana called *masôn*, the fruit of the banana palm used in the girl's first menstruation ceremony. The relation between bananas and sexual matters has been referred to in another connexion—it is because of this that the fruit is prohibited to the *upi* boys.

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There is also a taboo upon the eating of canarium almonds, until a ceremony has been performed whereat the boys are given nuts to eat in public. If this rule is broken it is said that their hair will not grow. I could discover no reason why such a result was supposed to follow. It may be that it was used as a deterrent, and that the taboo is for disciplinary purposes. Since canarium almonds are eaten with the greatest relish by everybody, it represents a very real deprivation; but, on the other hand, nothing was said by any of my informants about the idea of discipline, in discussing the regulations enforced at this stage, though it entered very definitely into the dietary restrictions imposed during the seclusion prior to the *wapi* ceremony, as this was clearly stated more than once in our discussions on these matters. Perhaps one might venture to conjecture that, like some of the Australian food taboos, it may originally have been devised with a view to conserving the supply of nuts for the benefit of the rest of the village. Seeing that the boys of Bougainville do not differ fundamentally from boys

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882 elsewhere, and that opportunities for eating the forbidden nuts with
little danger of discovery are legion, I suspect that this rule is more
262 honoured in theory than in practice, in spite of the urgent necessity
of having a good growth of hair to show at the *watawutʃ*. But
considerable stress was laid upon it in all our talks upon the subject,
and its theoretical importance is also clear from the fact that fathers,
and, less frequently, mothers of boys wearing the hat will voluntarily refrain from eating canarium almonds in sympathy with
their sons. Sobak and his wife Tsonakets were doing so while I
was in residence at Kurtatchi.

882 In the olden days the *upi* boys might never be seen in the act
of eating, but had to take their food into the *tobar* and consume it
264 in private. They were not allowed to handle knives, so it was the
177 duty of their *amro* to cut up their food for them. This custom is
no longer observed.

882 They may chew the betel-mixture, but must use with it only the
276 leaves of the betel-pepper, not the fruit, which is preferred under
ordinary circumstances.

### III. *Regulations concerning personal appearance.*

882 The hair of the boys is never cut or trimmed from the time they
302 go into the bush before the *wapi* ceremony until it is ceremonially
cut short at the *wasipsip*. It is pushed up underneath the *upi*,
except for a few straggling ends on neck and forehead.

593 The fathers of boys wearing the *upi* sometimes lay themselves
under a similar prohibition as regards cutting their hair, which
302 they tie up into a knot on the top of the head. This method of hairdressing is seen in Plate 52. Mothers do not cut their hair over the
temples, and do not put paint on it. This custom is not obligatory
upon either sex, and is followed only by a few.

826 There are certain 'medicines' for making the hair grow long, of
824 which the following is a typical example:

> Take the long (tap) root of the plant *nijowan* (unidentified). Chew
> 789 the end of it with the betel-mixture, spit out the resulting mash into
> your hand and put it inside the hat, pushing it well up to the top. It will
> pull up the hair and make it grow longer. The longer the root you chew,
> the longer your hair will be.

882 The boys may not wear red paint on their hair, or white paint
302 on their temples, except as prescribed for the various ceremonies,
when it is put on by their *amro*. In one case the *amro* of a boy

stood to him in the relation of *pi'an* (cross-cousin), and as he was 882
therefore prohibited from touching his skin, another man was 302
specially appointed to perform the duty of putting on the paint.

They may not decorate themselves with a plant called *tsutsuir*, 882
which is much liked by these people and is frequently worn tucked 301
into the arm-band. This prohibition is removed after the watawutch 824
ceremony.

IV. *Other regulations.*

In the olden days, boys wearing the *upi* were not allowed to 882
handle edged tools. They might help to clear the bush, but all 412
cutting was done by the *amro*. This taboo is no longer enforced.

A boy wearing the *upi* may not be beaten by anybody, no matter
what his offence. Those who break this taboo will die. Specific 882
instances were cited of people who had done so—and had died. 861
It is permissible for two boys to fight each other, though it is
difficult to imagine how they could do so effectively without first
removing their head-gear.

In recent years, with the increase in the practice of going away 882
to work for white men, another rule has been made, that the boys 464
wearing the *upi* may not sign on as indentured labourers. For
some time after putting on the hat they must not work for white
men at all, but after their hair has grown to some length they can
work as casuals, provided they work on a plantation near enough
to their own village to enable them to return to it each night. They [292]
are not allowed to remove their *upi* while at work. After they
have been through the *watawutʃ* they may sign on as indentured
labourers and are permitted, if they wish, to remove the *upi* and
tie up their hair in a bit of cloth; this is done to keep it out of the
way rather than to prevent it from being seen, since the prohibition
on showing it is removed at the *watawutʃ*.

A further complication is now caused by the boarding-schools 882
instituted by the various missions. A boy from Ruri who went to 797
one of these had his *upi* removed by the priest. His people were
very angry, but the affair was not as bad as it might have been, 871
because the lad had been through the *watawutʃ* ceremony. It
was legitimized by making a feast at Ruri, to which the Kurtatchi 292
people were invited; this brought the matter to my notice. (Incidentally, 788
those who went said it wasn't much of a feast, there was
only one pig and some taro, and they got only very little apiece!)

### PREPARATIONS FOR THE *WATAWUTʃ*

881 The *watawutʃ* is considered by far the most important of the three ceremonies connected with the *upi*. It is looked forward to with great eagerness by everybody. In contrast to the *wapi*, it is held in the village, not in the bush, and there is no taboo on the presence of the women, which is, indeed, essential to its success. All the boys who went through the *wapi* ceremony together must attend the same *watawutʃ*. Not to be able to do so is considered a very great misfortune.

881 Several months before the ceremony, the *tsunaun* of the village
565 in which it is to be held sends messengers to all the other villages
824 in the group, carrying a number of strips of bamboo about 6 inches long, and a bunch of *win* leaves split into thin strands. A strip of
202 bamboo is left with the *tsunaun* of each village, and one of the *win* strands at each house where there is in the family a boy wearing the *upi*. This is a sign that they must set aside a pig for the *watawutʃ* ceremony. Large areas of bush are cleared and planted with taro, which is also reserved for the *watawutʃ*. The women plant and tend this just as they do taro intended for everyday consumption.

881 When the time for the ceremony approaches, preparations are begun for building the 'long house' (*tobar tʃan*) for the novices.
346 The *tsunaun* of the village in which the ceremony is to be held
621 details certain portions of the structure to be provided by the various villages of the group. Special importance is attached to
313 the *pa'i*, the horizontal ridge-poles supporting the roof. These
824 must run the full length of the house, and it is no easy matter to find and bring in poles (consisting of the aerial roots of the banyan) of the required length. Those for the *tobar tʃan* at Kurtatchi, which were brought in while I was there, were provided by the
[804] village of Tabut. A length of fibre string had previously been sent from Kurtatchi as an indication of the length required. They measured 65 ft. 8 in.[1] They are brought through the bush by the
881 *upi* boys themselves, assisted by the older men, both *amro* and *kuigin*. All the women must keep out of the way while this is being
313 done. Marotē had promised to accompany me on a visit to Ruri
824 on the day when the *pa'i* were brought, but when she heard this was

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[1] For the ordinary dwelling-house the *pa'i* would measure not more than about 40 feet.

to be done she refused to go, saying it was dangerous to walk about 881
on that day. The *pa'i* were brought to within about half a mile of
the village. They were covered with leaves, and from them de- 313
pended all sorts of creepers and ornamental plants, especially the 824
split leaves of the *win* palm, of which the *upi* are made. They were
laid upon forked sticks set up in the ground to a height of about
3 feet. There they remained for three days, until enough opossums
had been caught and smoked to provide a feast following their
arrival in the village.

On the afternoon of the third day, just before dusk, a crowd of 881
men and *upi* boys went out, to the accompaniment of the sound
of the *mabu* and much blowing of conch-shells, to meet the Tabut 313
people, who were bringing in one *pa'i*. There were several rushes, 621
and pretence of fighting, and much shouting when it finally reached
the village and was placed upon a stand that had been prepared for 574
it in the central space, near the *tobar*. Then all the men and boys
from both villages congregated in front of Pinari's largest hut. Here
they held a short *kōma*. Then they went back to the *tobar*. Presently the people of Ruri came up with the areca-palm planks they had prepared for the making of the verandah of the 'long house'. These were also swathed in leaves, and were received with another mock fight, followed by another *kōma*. Then the people of Sēlō, a group of villages farther along the road to the west, came up with two more *pa'i* and were received in the same fashion. After this all the men and boys sat round and ate pig and opossum and ceremonial pudding. The materials for chewing the betel-mixture were distributed in large quantities. There was a general air of tension about the whole proceedings, and Pinari was careful to impress upon me the importance of the occasion.

All the women were obliged to stay inside their huts, with the 881
entrance closed, while all this was going on. They kept up a perpetual howling until the *kōma* was over and the men had settled down to eat pig and to chew the betel-mixture. The howling is done because their husbands and sons are engaged upon a very dangerous proceeding, and they are afraid that some of the *upi* boys will die.

The boys wearing the *upi*, for whose benefit all these preparations were being made, held a *kōma* later in the evening, no one
else taking any part in it. It did not last very long (Pl. 30*a*). 881
The *pa'i* remained on their stand, covered with leaves and 313

881 313 creepers, for eight days. They were then stripped of their coverings by the *upi* boys, and left to dry in the sun till they should be required for the building of the 'long house'.

881 313 621 The *tartaras* (rafters) for the long house were also provided by the people of Tabut. These were brought in some days later, with renewed shouting and excitement, covered with leaves and the split leaves of young *win* palm in the same manner as the *pa'i*. But the occasion was regarded as much less important than the bringing in of the *pa'i*, and there was no *kōma* connected with it.

881 834 688 From the time when the *pa'i* are cut, up to the time when the *watawutʃ* takes place, it is accounted a very serious offence for any man in any of the villages concerned in the ceremony to have sexual intercourse with any woman other than his wife or wives, a proceeding ordinarily regarded with unconcern. It so happened that while the people of Tabut were working on the *pa'i* for the *watawutʃ* to be held at Kurtatchi, a man from one of the hamlets comprising the village of Tabut broke this taboo. The woman became pregnant, and was made to tell the name of her lover. As soon as this became known at Kurtatchi, some of the men of that village took a pole and tied some fibre to it; this they left in front of the house where the offender lived, as a sign that he had been found out. He was then obliged to pay a fine of a pig to the Kurtatchi people. Two of the Kurtatchi men went over the next day and brought the pig back; it was cut up and cooked immediately, and the *pa'i* were smeared with its fat. This was done in order to obviate the harm that might otherwise have ensued from the breaking of the taboo.

881 292 824 386 438 The next matter of importance was to arrange for the making of the special *upi*, to be used at the *watawutʃ*. These are elaborately ornamented with a cut-out pattern laid on over the usual *win* leaves. The cut-out is made of the same *win* palm leaves, dyed with a special dye, the secret of which is known only to the mountain people, from whom the leaves are purchased ready dyed. When, shortly before, I had gone upon a trip into the interior, I was charged by Pinari to bring back a supply of these from the Kunua people, who were experts in the art of dyeing them. This I did, and was also able to obtain from a Kunua native the secret of the dye, after promising that I would not disclose it to the coast people, a promise which it was not difficult to keep, as they had no idea that the mountain people had let me into the secret. The

actual method of dyeing is the same as that well known to the coast 881
people, who use it for colouring pandanus leaves to ornament the
women's hoods. The secret possessed by the mountain people is 292
the use of a mordant which sets the dye and renders it more or less 824
permanent, the untreated colour quickly fading in the sun and
being washed out by rain. The procedure for dyeing the red leaves 386
for the upi is as follows: The leaves of the *win* palm are picked 438
while they are green, and are put into a length of bamboo and dried over the fire. When thoroughly dry, they are taken out and put in the sun until bleached white, then hung in the rafters of the hut where the smoke of the fire will reach them. This colours them a light brown, and also helps to preserve them, and they remain there until needed. When it is intended to dye them, the roots of the tree called in the Kunua dialect *boridor*, which is the same as that known to the Kurtatchi people as *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*), are put, with some water, into a length of bamboo which must be freshly cut. Some of the bark of the tree called *kaifika* in the Kunua dialect is soaked in cold water and squeezed out into the bamboo. This forms the mordant. (I obtained a piece of the bark and specimens of the leaves of this tree, but unfortunately it cannot be identified, and the quantity is too small to permit of analysis.) The *win* leaves are pushed into the bamboo and the whole laid on the embers of a smouldering fire. When the colour is considered deep enough, the leaves are taken out and washed in cold water, and then laid in the sun until they are dry. Thus pre- [435]
pared, they are sold in bundles of ten, enough for one *upi*, for goods or tobacco to the value of about 2*s*. in our money. They are called *kokoman* in the Kurtatchi dialect.

As I had not brought enough *kokoman* back with me from Kunua 881
to provide for all the *upi*, a trip was made to a group of hill villages
behind the north coast to arrange for a further supply. Eight of 437
the most important men of the village went on this journey. None of the *upi* boys were permitted to go, but I accompanied the party by invitation. We brought seven loin-cloths to pay for seven sets of *kokoman* leaves, enough for seven *upi*. It was arranged that the hill people should bring them down to Kurtatchi when they were
ready. This they did twelve days later. They were received with [576
blowing of conch-shells and beating of the slit-gong with the 533]
rhythm /// /// /// ... /. The leaves were carefully put away in the *tobar*.

881 At this stage in the proceedings I was reluctantly obliged to leave Kurtatchi as my time was at an end. The remainder of the preparations for the *watawutʃ*, and the ceremony itself, are therefore described not from observation but from information received from the natives, who professed to be sorry that I was not going to see it. The details given in the following pages have been verified with the utmost care, but it is impossible to know the extent of their incompleteness.

### MAKING THE *UPI* FOR THE *WATAWUTʃ*

881 As soon as the 'long house' is completed, word is sent to the
294 people of the mountains to come down and help to make the
special *upi* with the red patterns which must be used for the *watawutʃ*
621 (Pl. 27). The Kurtatchi people call for this service from
the Hahon (Wawon in their dialect, which has no *h*) who live in
the foot-hills behind the north coast. The men making the *upi*
do not, however, work in the *tobar tʃan*, but in the ordinary *tobar*,
[554] the only condition being that the owner of the *tobar* must possess
a number of pigs—not for use, but as a sign of his prestige. One
*tobar* in the village of Kurtatchi could not be used for this purpose
because its owner had no pigs. The other two divided between
them the making of the *upi* for the boys of the different villages of
the group. For boys from Tabut and Wantoa the hats were to be
made in the *tobar* belonging to Kakari, of the clan Nakarib, for
those of Munlus, Baniata, Bona, Mosang, and Togaragar, in the
*tobar* belonging to Wasē, clan Naboin. For the boys of Kurtatchi,
the hats are made in the *tobar* of the clan to which each belongs.
[292] One hat is made for each boy who is to take part in the ceremony.
These special upi are called *wasōbō*. The Hahon people are paid
for cutting the patterns. In the olden days this payment was made
[465] with specially prized stone axe-heads, but nowadays with trade
knives, and also sometimes with loin-cloths and other trade goods.
[436] Ceremonial currency, either of shell or teeth, must never be used
for this payment (perhaps because of its use in connexion with
marriage?). The *amro* make the payments to the Hahon people,
and are subsequently repaid by the mothers of the initiates.

881 The time occupied in making these hats is a period of great
294 tension throughout the village. While the work is in progress the
784 workers must stay in the *tobar*, and the village must be kept as
silent as possible. No sweeping or cleaning must be done. Each

day the women must leave the village at sunrise, and go to the bush 881
or to the shore. They cannot stop in the village while the work is
actually in progress, but they may come back at sunset, when the 294
men have ceased working on the hats for the day, and may sleep 784
in their own huts. The *amro* and the *kwigin* attend at the *tobar*;
it is their province to make the hats, the duty of the Hahon people
being merely to cut the patterns from the red leaves. These village
men are allowed to go to their own huts to sleep, and they are not [834]
forbidden sexual intercourse with their wives during this period.
The *upi* boys, who would normally be sleeping in the *tobar*, must
avoid those in which the work is being done, and find themselves
quarters elsewhere. The *tsunaun* of the village sit in the *tobar* [565]
while the work is in progress, but take no part in it. No word must
be spoken in the *tobar* while the patterns are being cut out. All the
time it is essential that the workers should be well fed, and word
is sent to the other villages of the group to bring in pig-meat for
the men who are making the hats. The *upi* boys collect large
quantities of areca-nut and betel-pepper and coco-nuts for them.
The work goes on for several days, until each boy in the group is
provided with his special hat. When all are finished, the slit-gong [202]
is beaten to let every one know that the making of the hats is over.

A story in my collection, related to me independently of any 881
discussion of the ceremony, is here given as it illustrates the state 294
of tension that prevails in the village at this time: 688

> The people were busy making the hats for the *watawutʃ*. Ten men 539
> were cutting the patterns for ten hats. A woman went to cut firewood;
> she came back, and threw her load of firewood on to the ground. All
> the men in the *tobar* jumped up angrily. They asked: 'Who is that there?'
> They said to one man: 'You go and see who it is making a noise with
> a bundle of firewood.' The man went and saw the woman, she had
> thrown down her load of firewood. The man saw her. He went back
> into the *tobar* and said: 'It is a woman, she is throwing down a load of
> firewood.' The men all got up, they were very angry, they broke the
> patterns they were cutting. A *tsunaun* said: 'Go and seize her.' Two
> men went out and seized her; they pushed her into the *tobar*. They
> asked her: 'Don't you know this thing is very sacred? You defecate into
> my hands.' (This was explained to me as meaning: 'You don't know
> much.') Then all the men had connexion with the woman in the *tobar*. [786
> When they had all had connexion with her once, they killed her, and 266]
> cooked her in a pot in the *tobar* and ate her. Then they cut patterns for
> the hats a second time, they cut ten. When night came, they lit torches;

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

881

294 they wanted the *tsunaun* to see the hats they had made. All the men
688 who were *tsunaun* said: 'They are good. You go now and eat some pig.
[539] You are making very sacred things.'

The teller of this story volunteered the statement that nowadays, if a woman behaved as did the woman in the tale, they would not be able to kill her, because the Government had forbidden it.
[754] They would all have intercourse with her, and then somebody would 'make poison' against her and she would die, but it would not be known who was responsible for her death.

## PRELIMINARIES

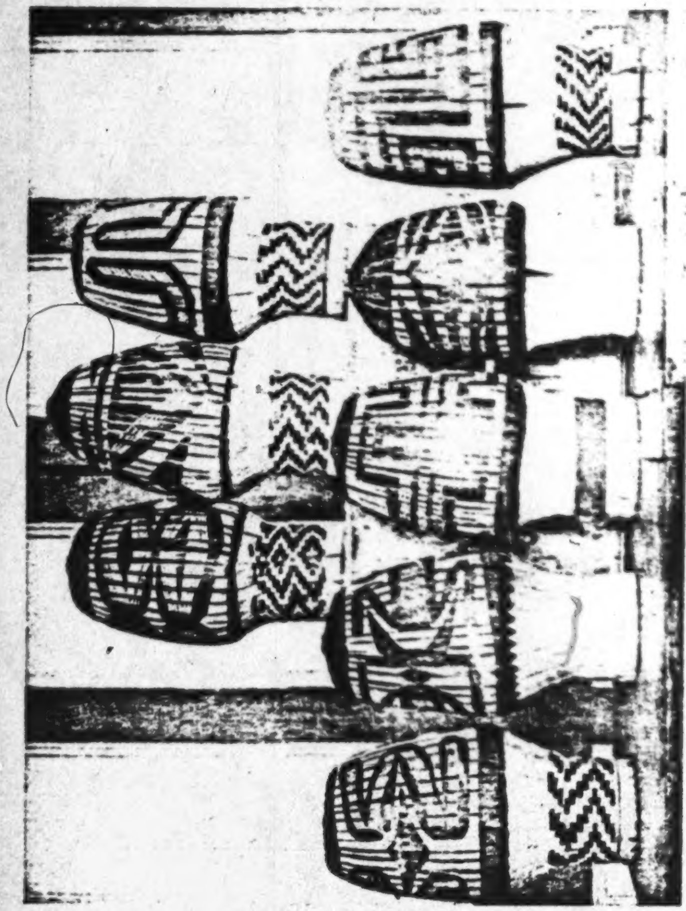
881 When all the preparations are complete, a hut is built in the
[342] bush, and the boys must sleep there for two nights. The *amro* accompany them. During this time the boys are not allowed to eat anything except one small piece of taro. The reason given for this abstinence is that if they were to eat too much they would be too heavy to be carried on the shoulders of the *amro* during the ceremony.

881 While the boys are in the bush, the people of the village where
the *watawutʃ* is to be held set up platforms in the centre of the
621 village and cover them with food. All the villages which are sending
574 boys to the ceremony help in providing this food. Vast quantities are required, as people come from villages scattered over a wide area. At the one to be held at Kurtatchi they were expecting contingents from the whole of the north coast of Bougainville and all the islands of Buka. Failure to provide enough food for the assembled multitude would in the olden days have resulted in a fight ending in the breaking up of the village, and even now resentment would be shown by wanton damage to taro crops and coco-nut palms, if nothing worse.

881 Meanwhile, a palisade has been erected round the 'long house',
so high that the women cannot see over it. Then the men go into
417 the bush and fetch two tall trees. Young canarium almonds are
824 frequently chosen for this purpose, owing to their tall slender trunks, though they are not felled under ordinary circumstances, as their nuts are highly prized as an article of diet. If there is a *wapi* ceremony going on anywhere in the neighbourhood, these trees must be pulled up by the roots instead of being felled, otherwise the *urar* who are about in the bush will be angry.

881 The selected trees are called *roror*. They are brought near, but
824

PLATE 27



DECORATED *UPI*

[facing p.234]

not into, the village, and hidden in the bush. Conch-shells are 881 blown; there is much shouting and calling out about the *roror*. 824 Eventually they are brought into the village and set up in front of the long house inside the palisade. If the number of boys is very large, there may be three *roror*, but usually there are only two. Each is assigned to one group of villages. At the ceremony to be held at Kurtatchi, there was to be one tree for the boys of Tabut and Wantoa, led by Kakari, and another for the rest of the group, led by Wasē.

### THE *WATAWUTƒ* CEREMONY

On the day appointed for the ceremony, the amro bring their 881 charges into the village while it is still dark, and they all enter the palisade. The opening which was left for them to pass through is fastened up after them. They go into the long house, where the new hats which have been made for them have been set out by the *kwigin* and the *amro* on a number of sticks planted in the ground in rows, one row for each village.

Still before dawn, a live pig is brought and tied up at the root of each *roror*, together with a pile of taro tubers smeared with red paint. The boys are brought out, to the accompaniment of the blowing of the big pipes, and the shouting of all the men. Each boy, beginning with those who are *tsunaun*, takes off his *upi* and places it carefully at the foot of the tree representing the group of villages to which he belongs. He must then climb the tree, in order to show his growth of hair to the assembled people, particularly to the women, who watch from a distance, outside the palisade. It is the first time they have seen their sons with uncovered heads since they first went to the bush preparatory to the *wapi* ceremony, perhaps several years before. Only boys whose hair has grown very long can go up the trees. If any boy with a poor growth of hair showed himself, everybody would laugh. While each boy is up on the tree, the *amro* and the *kwigin*, standing at its foot, shake it violently, so that the boys have to hold fast to prevent themselves from being shaken off. Each remains a minute or two only, and then climbs down again, to make way for the next. As he comes down he must step on the pig which is tied up at the foot of the tree, and make it squeal. So far as I could ascertain, the only reason for the presence of the pig is to add to the general din, and so impress the people (particularly the women, who cannot see inside the palisade, and are supposed not to know the pig is there) with

881 the importance and danger of the occasion. All the men make as much noise as they can, and the women set up a ritual wailing. My informants said that this wailing is done because the women are afraid that their boys will be poisoned by other natives, and will die; it is of the nature of a safeguard against this disaster. This part of the ceremony is called *wawan*. Seen by the light of coco-nut palm leaf torches, it must be an impressive moment.

881 302 When all the boys have been up the trees and come down again, they all go into the long house with their *amro*, who decorate them in the prescribed fashion. Their hair is covered with black paint (*tʃina*), their foreheads are outlined with white (*wiwi*) round the edge of the trimmed hair. This outline is called *wakai*. A small triangular patch of the red paint called *oin* is placed under each eye, and a dab on each ear. The mouth and chin are touched with white. A line of white is carried across from each shoulder under the arm on the other side, and across the back. Cock's feathers are fastened into their hair.

881 All this takes place so early in the morning that at this stage in the proceedings it is still dark. When dawn is about to break, the outer sheath of leaves covering the special *upi* is taken off, showing the cut-out pattern underneath. The hat designed for each individual is shown to him by his *amro*; he then puts it on, to the accompaniment of much shouting and blowing of pipes. It is essential that there should be a large number of pipes, particularly the large ones called *mabu*. More coco-nut palm leaf torches are lighted. By this time the village is so full of people that there is barely room to move. Part of the palisade round the long house is broken down to make a door. Out of this a procession emerges.
[532] First come boys who are not among the initiates, carrying wooden figures of men, women, and birds. These are carefully carved, and are of varying sizes, the birds of natural size, but the men and women are smaller than life (see Pl. 28). Behind the boys carrying
[482] these figures come the *amro*, each carrying one of the novices on his shoulder. If one man is *amro* to two boys, he may pay one of the Hahon people to carry one of his charges, or some member of the boy's own clan may carry him, in which case no payment is made. The *amro* carrying the boy who is second in rank (*nonorir*) goes first, the first in rank (*wagi'upi*) comes second. This is done so that the second in rank can brush away the cobwebs, covered with dew, that cross the path in the early morning.

Each boy carries in his right hand a carved lime-pot,[1] hanging 881 by a string. At this stage in the proceedings the pots must be 415 empty of lime. They are filled by the *kwigin*, in the *tobar*, after the close of the ceremony. The right hand also holds a bunch of the aromatic leaves called *tsutsuir*, which he has been forbidden to 824 use since putting on the hat. In his left hand he holds two areca-nuts on a stalk, and in his mouth a catkin of the betel-pepper, which has also been denied him. These prohibitions are now at an end.

The *amro* walk round in wheel formation, as at an ordinary *kōma*, with their charges on their shoulders. All the men join in it, 535 but the women do not dance, they keep up a ritual wailing, just as they do for a death. When the men have been round once, the procession goes back inside the palisade. By this time it is getting light. The *amro* have a short time for rest, then they take the boys on their shoulders again, and the *kōma* is repeated for another two rounds. Then the boys are carried to the front of the long house, and are offered water by their *amro*, which they must only pretend to drink, and taro, which they must only pretend to eat. After this, which again is said to be a safeguard against their being 'poisoned', they go into the long house and are given pig, taro, and ceremonial pudding to eat in reality. The visitors from other villages are provided with supplies of areca-nut and go back to their own homes.

Later in the morning, all the initiates, still wearing their new hats with the red patterns, make a round of the village and go inside the huts of the married people, which they have not been able to do since they first put on the *upi*. Then they come back to 292 the long house, go inside the palisade, take off the decorated hats and put on plain ones. The decorated ones are kept in the permanent *tobar*, and are put on for special occasions. Boys who are 565 *tsunaun* may, if they wish, wear decorated hats all the time, but must keep them covered with an outer layer of leaves. The outer 465 covers are made for them by their *amro*, who do not receive payment for this service. Fig. 9 is a boy's drawing of a *kōma* connected with the *watawutʃ*, at which the boys are wearing the decorated upi.

The long house, the palisade, the *roror* trees, the wooden figures,

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[1] For description of these lime-pots see p. 432 and Pl. 72. One of those figured (on left in second row) has actually been used in a *watawutʃ* ceremony, but as a rule those that have been so used are very highly prized by their owners who are unwilling to part with them. Another had similar human figures, but placed vertically instead of horizontally.

881 and the discarded *upi* are all burnt. But the strictness with which this provision is adhered to is now somewhat relaxed, and at the *watawutʃ* held at the village of Ruri before my arrival, Mrs. Hadden was able to obtain two of the wooden figures, which she kindly gave to me. They are figured in Pl. 28*a*. They represent

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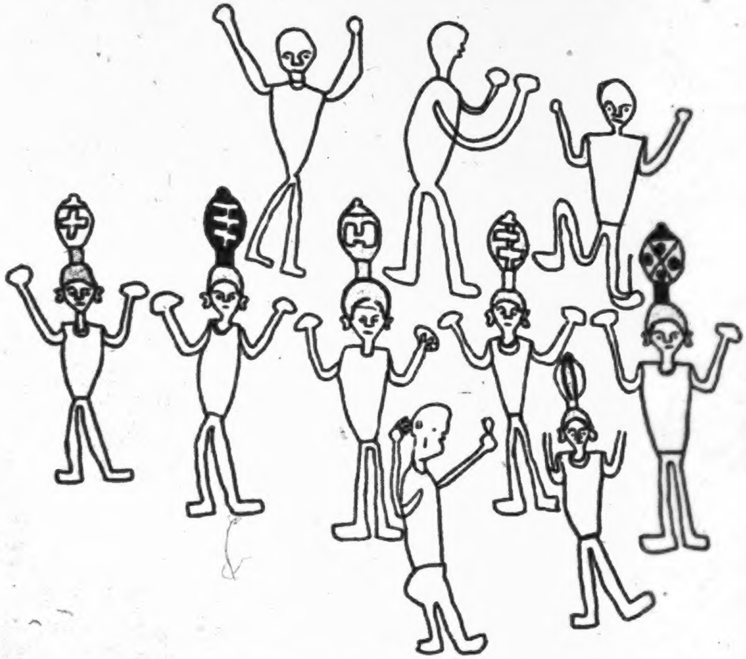

Fig. 9. Dance at the *watawutʃ* ceremony. Boys wearing special *upi*, the other men are their *amro*.

a male and a female, and are about 3 feet high. Two men of the village of Kurtatchi made for me, of their own accord, models of two other figures, both female, one of which is represented as in an advanced stage of pregnancy (see Pl. 28*b*).[1] The figures are called *kaisa*. Unlike the *urar* figures used in the *wapi* ceremony, they do not represent spirits of the dead, or any one in particular, and they have no names. They are never furnished with *upi*. At no point is there any secrecy attached to them. The little boys, still too small to wear the *upi*, who carry them, know all about

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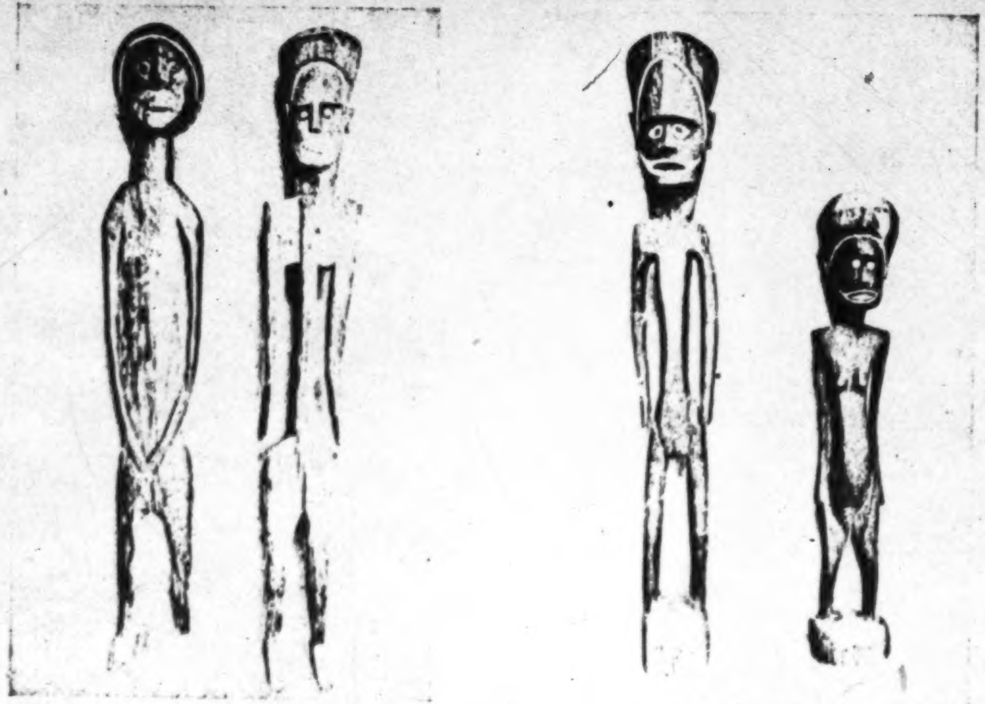
[1] All these figures are now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 28



*a.* FIGURES USED AT *WAIAWUTJ* CEREMONY
*b.* MODELS OF SUCH FIGURES

[Facing p. 238]

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1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 29

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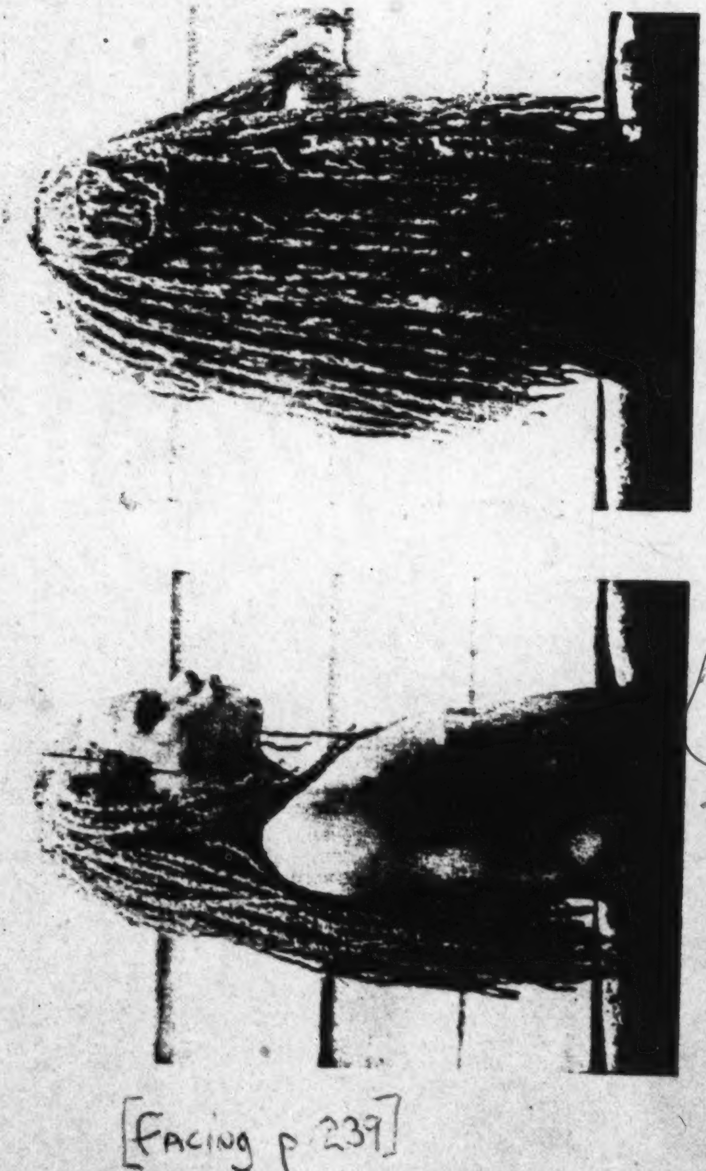

BOY WITHOUT *UPI*

[Facing p 239]

881
532

them, and women, though they do not carry them, may see them without hindrance.

### THE *WASIPSIP* CEREMONY

881

The *wasipsip* is considered the least important ceremony of the three. If it is convenient for some of the boys to remove their hats at any particular time after the holding of the *watawutʃ*, a *wasipsip* may be arranged for the benefit of a few, or even of one boy alone, if there is any special reason for doing so. Thus, for example, a boy who wishes to go and work as an indentured labourer will sometimes persuade the elders to hold a *wasipsip* for his benefit. But in the ordinary way, the boys who go through the other two ceremonies together also join for the third.

The boys must first spend a few days, perhaps ten, in the bush. This seclusion is called *wawilbē*, the same word as is applied to the seclusion before the *wapi*. They stay in the bush until noon on the day fixed for the ceremony. During this time they must not be seen by the women. Food is brought to them by the *kwigin*. At noon they come to the village and go inside a palisade enclosing [346] a little *tobar*, specially made, just big enough to accommodate the number of initiates involved. The inside of this *tobar* is decorated with leaves, and strings of shell money. They remain there for the 881 remainder of that day, and sleep there that night. At dawn next 302 day they get up, and their hair is cut off by their *amro*, with a *kina* [412 shell (a variety of *Cyrena*, having a very sharp edge). The hair is 825] cut quite short, and is trimmed close to the head at the back and perpendicularly at the sides. The *amro* then paint the heads of the novices with the special pattern appropriate to the removal of the *upi* (described on p. 224). All the people *kōma*, and *mabu* are blown. For the *wasipsip* it is considered enough if there are two *mabu* only.

The *amro* take their charges on their shoulders, just as they did 881 in the *watawutʃ* ceremony. No lime-pots or areca-nut boughs [482] are carried, and the faces of the initiates are not painted as in the former ceremony. A few figures of men, women, and birds are carried round in front of them; these must be made afresh for this occasion, those used at the *watawutʃ* having been burnt.

When they have been once round, the boys get down from the [565] shoulders of the *amro*, and go to the chief *tsunaun*, who gives them water in coco-nut shells. This they must really drink, not pretend

881 as at the *matawutʃ*. After this all the people *hōma* until sunset, when the dance must stop. Then the boys go to their mother's huts. If they wish, they can still sleep in the *tobar*, but they are not obliged to do so, and those who are married may cohabit with their wives.

292 778 The discarded *upi* are burnt, but the hair which is cut from the heads of the initiates, by this time very long—some say it may be down to their ankles—is carefully stored away in the *tobar*, to be used subsequently for making *urar* figures for use at a future *wapi* ceremony.

885 This concludes the series of ceremonies connected with the wearing of the *upi*. The boys are now known as *tagutsu*, and take their places in the village as adult men.

## 881 TABULATION OF PROCEDURE CONNECTED WITH THE *UPI*

| *Native Term.* | *Description.* | *Time (approx.).* |
|---|---|---|
| | I. Sequence of Events connected with *Wapi* | |
| 1. *pinpin* | Boys go to bush in day-time only, return to village at night. | Fixed by *tsunaun*. |
| 2. *matagi'upi* | Mothers take farewell of their sons before seclusion. | Several days after 1. |
| 3. *somsibi* | Period of complete seclusion in bush. | Formerly about a year, now about 3 months. |
| 4. *WAPI* | Ceremony at which *upi* are put on. | Occupies most of a day. |
| (i) | Visiting parties received at appointed place with mock fighting. | |
| (ii) | *Urar* figures shown to the visitors, and, from a distance, to the women, with sounding of bull-roarer. | |
| (iii) | Novices brought up and form a group surrounded by *anra*. | |
| (iv) | Pretended attack on group by assembled company. | |
| (v) | Men carrying *urar* figures descend on novices and make the figures gesticulate over them. | |
| (vi) | Novices carried one by one into shed hiding *urar* figures, pantomime of killing novices. | |
| (vii) | Novices laid, as if dead, on the ground and covered with leaves. | |
| (viii) | Novices restored to life by agency of *urar*. | |
| (ix) | *Upi* placed on heads of novices, who return to their place of seclusion. | |

| *Native Term.* | *Description.* | *Time (approx.)* |
|---|---|---|
| 5. *watag* or *wani'ʃ mon* | Exchange of baskets between *amro* and mothers of novices. | Several days after *wapi.* |
| 6. | New names given to novices. | Immediately following 5. |
| 7. | *Amro* go to village and throw stinging water over mothers of novices. | Immediately following 6. |
| 8. *wapor wats* | *Amro* throw stones at houses. | Dawn on day following 7. |
| 9. *womwats'upi* | Return of novices to village. | Immediately following 8. |
| 10. *sinēo* | Food given to people from other villages who attended *wapi.* | About a month after *wapi.* |

## II. Sequence of Events connected with *Watawutʃ*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Bamboo slips sent round to villages to ear-mark pigs. | Several months before ceremony. |
| 2. | Bringing in of materials for building *tobar tʃan*, with *hōma* and distribution of food. | When ready. |
| 3. | Building of *tobar tʃan.* | Some weeks after 2, when materials are dry. |
| 4. | Mountain people come to make the special *upi*, during which village is in a state of tension and women must absent themselves all day. | Lasts several days. |
| 5. | Novices and *amro* go to bush. | Two nights, when preparations are completed. |
| 6. | Palisade erected round *tobar tʃan*, and *rovor* trees set up. Food set out on platforms. | During period 5. |
| 7. *WATAWUTʃ* | Ceremony for removing certain restrictions from novices. | At discretion of *tsunaun*, several years after *wapi.* |
| (i) | Novices brought to village and taken into *tobar tʃan.* | Very early in the morning. |
| (ii) [illegible] | Each novice in turn climbs *rovor* trees to show hair. | Just before dawn. |
| (iii) | Decorated *upi* are put on. | Immediately following, as dawn breaks. |
| (iv) | Novices carried round on shoulders of *amro*, accompanied by little boys carrying *hoiso* figures. | Follows directly. |
| (v) | Novices offered water and taro which they must pretend to consume. | " " |
| (vi) | Novices taken into *tobar tʃan* and given a meal. Food distributed to visitors who return home. | " " |
| (vii) | Novices visit huts of married people. | " " |

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| *Native Term.* | *Description.* | *Time (approx.)* |
|---|---|---|
| (viii) | Ornamented upi exchanged for plain ones. | Follows directly. |
| (ix) | Burning of *tobar tʃan*, *roror* trees, *kaisa* figures, and the *upi* worn up to time of *watawutʃ*. | " " |
| | III. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS CONNECTED WITH *WASIPSIP* | |
| 1. *wawilbë* | Seclusion of novices in bush. | A few days. |
| 2. *WASIPSIP* | Ceremony for discarding *upi*. | At any convenient time after *watawutʃ*. |
| (i) | Novices return to village and enter enclosure. | At noon on appointed day. |
| (ii) | *Upi* removed by *amro* and hair of novices cut short, inside enclosure. | At dawn, day following i. |
| (iii) | *Kōma* with *amro* carrying novices on their shoulders. | Immediately following. |
| (iv) | Novices given water, which they must really drink. | " " |
| (v) | *Kōma* in which novices join. | Till sunset on same day. |

*Note.* Parkinson (1907, p. 657) gives an illustration of some boys wearing the *upi*, with a few details of the time of seclusion in the bush, and a description of a ceremony which appears to be a combination of the *watawutʃ* and the *wasipsip*. He makes no mention of any ceremony held when the novices first put on the hat. It does not appear that he had himself witnessed the ceremony he describes, and he admits that his information regarding the wearing of the hat is scanty. But it is, of course, possible that the procedure may have been changed in the interval between his account and my own.

## DISCUSSION OF CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH THE WEARING OF THE *UPI*, AND THEIR EFFECT ON THE LIFE OF THE VILLAGE

882 182 As has been previously stated, a boy wearing the *upi* is strictly enjoined to avoid all but the most distant association with girls and women, and is forbidden to enter any hut in which a woman lives, including that of his mother. It follows that the putting on of the hat involves the withdrawal of the boy from family life. He may still come to the door of the hut and receive the taro or bit of fish which his mother or some other woman may hand out to him, but he cannot go and sit with his family while he eats it. He lives and sleeps in the boys' house with others of his kind. He therefore has no part in the two things which the members of a family (in our sense of the word) usually share—their meal and their roof.

881 182 Conversations with many native women on this subject leave me in no doubt that the women feel very keenly this break—often the first—in their family life. The ritual wailing which accompanies

the withdrawal of the novices into the bush for their seclusion 881
preparatory to the *wapi* ceremony is not only the formal
expression of their fear lest harm should befall the boys in their 182
new and perilous adventure, but also an occasion for the shedding of real tears over the son who is no longer a baby—an intensified form of the feeling 'he isn't mine any more', of the English mother when her son first goes to boarding-school, mingled, as in her case, with pride in the boy who is on his way to become a man. With regard to the boys, it is no easier to get at the real feelings of a Melanesian youth than it is with his English counterpart, but I think that, except in the case of the boy who takes the step at too early an age, pride in his new status definitely triumphs over any regret he may feel at losing contact with his mother and sisters. An atmosphere of mysterious importance surrounds him all the time he wears the *upi*. I have often been out with a group of women when they have suddenly scattered from the narrow track into the bush, with a whisper of '*Upi!*' to make way for a party of boys returning from some ploy of their own. I have walked with women, who were carrying a heavy load, through an extra mile of long wet grass to reach the village by a roundabout track in order not to pass too close to the *tobar*. If I had occasion, as sometimes occurred, to speak sharply to one of these boys for some reason of my own, looks of horror from any woman who happened to be within hearing distance indicated that I had failed in the respect due to the hat. In all the discussions I had with both men and women, the same deference was paid to the *upi*. It has a marked effect on the psychology of the village. The women in particular seem never to be entirely free from a certain compulsion—oppression is perhaps too strong a word—connected with it.

The *upi* itself is apparently only a symbol. The really important 881
thing is the hair, which is pushed up inside it, and must be kept 826
hidden under it. The purpose of the preliminary seclusion in the
bush is to give the hair time to grow long enough to keep the *upi* 182
in position, and the reason for the fear of the hat falling off or being [688]
jerked out of place is that the hair would then be seen. If a woman
were to catch sight of it she would be put to death.

It is, of course, very tempting to quote the parallel of Samson, and to see in the flowing locks the source of the youth's strength, of which the glance of a woman might deprive him, but I could find no evidence that any such motive was present.

88 182 There is, in the *wapi* ceremony, quite definitely the motive, familiar to anthropologists in the Duk-duk and other secret societies, of hoodwinking the women. To impress upon them the great power of the *urar* who will presently kill their sons, large areas of bush will be laid waste, and even groves of areca-palms in full bearing will be cut down, although the areca-nut is one of the most highly valued delicacies known to the natives, and is far from plentiful in this area. This destruction is clearly for the sole benefit of the women, since the novices do not see the result of it, or at least, not until after they have been enlightened as to the real interpretation of the *urar*. On both occasions of my attendance at the *wapi* ceremony the men took great pains to impress upon me that I must on no account betray their secret to the women, a promise which, of course, I faithfully kept. The question now arises, how far are the women really hoodwinked by all this mystery? In the case of the older women, I am pretty sure they know more than [688] the men would like to think they did, but since the penalty of knowing these things is death—formerly direct, by spear thrust, nowadays indirect, by 'poison'—it is a wise woman who keeps her own counsel. Even to me, in private conversation, they permitted themselves no more than a tone of the voice or a gleam in the eye, and these are the only evidence on which I came to the conclusion I have just stated. To the younger women, I am inclined to think, the mystery is really a mystery. The shrieks of terror which came from the crowd when the *urar* figure appeared to them (that is, its head and shoulders, at a considerable distance, as previously described) were certainly not merely 'ritual feigning', many of the women grabbing their babies and rushing off into the bush, hysterical with terror. On my return to the village, the women made persistent attempts to get me to tell them what I had seen, but I was able to keep my promise to the men without offending the women by telling them that I was frightened, an excuse which they appeared to understand.

[534] There is no doubt whatever about the value of the bull-roarer for impressing the uninstructed. Its sound, once heard, remains a vivid memory, and even a hardened anthropologist cannot hear that ominous roar booming through the forest without feeling its power, and forgetting, for the moment, that it is caused by a bit of wood twirled on the end of a string.

The bull-roarer and the *urar* figures whose voice it is supposed to represent are used at the *wapi* ceremony only, and this is the 881 only one which is kept secret from the women. Both *watawutʃ* and *wasipsip* are held within the precincts of the village, and may 182 be witnessed by anybody.

The people say that the *watawutʃ* is held in order to remove the taboo forbidding boys wearing the *upi* from entering huts occupied by women. It also removes, as previously stated, certain prohibitions regarding diet and chewing the betel-mixture. After this ceremony has been held there is no further need for the boy to be careful about being seen without his hat. The idea is, according to the old men, that as his growth of hair has been publicly 826 shown when he climbed the *roror* tree, its length is no longer a secret, whereas if the women had seen it in the process of growth, they would not be surprised at its length when it was exhibited for their special benefit at the *watawutʃ* ceremony.

Most of the restrictions which have hitherto shut the wearer of 882 the hat away from female society are relaxed after he has been 182 through the *watawutʃ*. There still remains the taboo on sexual intercourse, which is not permitted until after the *wasipsip*. But 834 the breaking of this rule is not so serious an offence as it would have been before the *watawutʃ*. One young man even asserted that sexual intercourse was allowed, provided the boy first took off his *upi* and left it in the *tobar*. Possibly this indicates a weakening in the observance of the rule, but it should be mentioned that the [24] young man in question was not a very reliable informant, even when talking, as here, of matters with which he might be supposed to be well acquainted. Most people with whom I discussed this question were definitely of the opinion that a boy should not cohabit until he has finally removed the *upi*. The formal marriage ceremony is never held until the bridegroom has been through the *wasipsip*, although the girl to whom he has been betrothed, possibly from infancy, may have been living in his parents' hut for some time.

The keeping of this taboo imposes sexual continence upon the boys of this community not only during adolescence but also beyond it, since the *upi* may be seen on the heads of some who are, to judge from their appearance, fully mature young men. A few incidents illustrating the effect of this repression have been given in the previous pages, and some dreams reported by wearers of the *upi* are discussed in this connexion in Chapter XVI. The question

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834 182 would repay fuller investigation from the psychological standpoint than I was able to give it.

882 868 The boys wearing the *upi* are not exempt from taking their share in the work of the village. They are encouraged by the older men to share in their daily round. They help in cutting the bush to prepare the ground for planting taro, though they are not allowed in the taro garden while women are working there. They are taken fishing, both ordinary reef-fishing and bonito-fishing. They are taught the technique of canoe-making, house-building, and so on. They join in the ceremonial dances, going round in wheel-formation with the men.

883 571 As well as the activities which they share with the adult men, they have also their own. Parties of them were always going off into the bush on their own, either to hunt for small creatures to cook for themselves, or just to wander about. Not wanting to be always with their elders, and debarred from playing with girls of their own age, they have every inducement to develop an organized 'gang' among themselves. There is a word, *tobarupi*, which means 'all the boys' (in a given village). There seems to be a considerable amount of solidarity in their life together, and I do not think that any boy wearing the *upi* was deliberately made to feel an outsider. [732] One of the boys at Kurtatchi was deaf and dumb, but he had been granted the privilege of putting on the *upi*, and was accepted by the others without distinction. They used to laugh at him sometimes, but it was always in friendly fashion, and they never left [198] him out of their pursuits, having evolved a system of signs whereby he could be made to understand what they wanted to convey to him.

882 178 In times past, whatever secret chafing may have gone on in the privacy of the *tobar*, the boys seem to have accepted the restrictions under which they laboured with a good grace, and to have felt that they were compensated by the importance conferred upon them. But at the time of my visit signs of resentment at the irksomeness of the taboos might be detected among the older boys. They were supported in their rebellion by the Missions and the employers of labour, and some of the younger men shared their point of view, though every one was careful not to voice his unorthodox views too loudly, in case of punishment either by the *urar* or by the *tsunaun*. One or two men with young sons told me, in private, that they were not going to let their children put on the *upi* when

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*a.* BOYS' DANCE

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*b.* BOYS OUTSIDE THEIR *TOBAR*

[facing p. 246]

882 178 the time came, giving as a reason the unaccountable death of the fathers of some of the *upi* boys not long before. There seems no doubt that the custom will shortly disappear, together with most of the taboos involved, although segregation of the adolescent boys will probably continue in a modified form, as it does in Buka at present.

# VII

# ADOLESCENT GIRLS

## GIRL'S LIFE DURING ADOLESCENCE

882 291 THERE is no sharp break in the life of a girl, corresponding to that which faces a boy when he puts on the *npi*,[i] No ceremony imposes upon her any sudden burden of taboos and regulations. There seems to be no hard-and-fast rule as regards the age at which [602] she begins wearing the woman's hood. Owing to the ramifications of the classificatory system of relationships, even quite small girls are liable to have relatives who come under the term *waris* (son-in-law), from whose sight they are technically supposed to shield themselves by means of the hood. Most little girls possess one, and wear it on ceremonial occasions. But, in practice, the rule of avoidance is rigidly enforced only between the woman and the husband of her own daughter, or of her sister's daughter, after the final marriage ceremony, so that it does not bear heavily upon a girl during her adolescence. Similarly, so far as I could learn, there was never any great stress laid on the time of putting on the girdle and bunch of leaves which was the only wear of the women prior to the adoption of the loin-cloth. A girl wore this girdle as a matter of course after she had experienced her first menstrual flux, but could begin earlier if she liked. But it may be that a custom long fallen into disuse may have been forgotten by, or even unknown to, those with whom I discussed this question. Nowadays, when even quite tiny children are often to be seen wearing loin-cloths, it seems to be a matter of their parents' or their own personal preference.

882 591 A girl's first ordeal comes when she must go for the first time to stay with her prospective husband's people, almost invariably in another, if perhaps not always far distant, village. This takes place long before she arrives at the age of puberty. After the first, which, as one would expect, seems always to be difficult, most girls, I think, regard these visits with complaisance, or at worst with indifference, though perhaps seldom with any degree of positive pleasure. The tenor of their lives runs in much the same grooves as before; they work in the gardens, fetch firewood and water, and

[i] [erratum, should be upi. — Analyst]

[p. 248]

look after babies for their mother-in-law instead of for their own 882 mother. In the instances which came under my own observation, they were kindly treated, and some amount of trouble was taken 591 to make them feel at home. Between such visits a girl returns to her own people, and takes up her ordinary life again with them until such time as the marriage ceremony is performed, after which she lives with her husband, unless he signs on as an indentured labourer. In this case she will probably continue to live at home and go about with the other girls of the village as before. There were several girls at Kurtatchi in this position.

One child, Takon (Pl. 7*b*), whose breasts began to develop during the later months of my stay, was living in the hut of her husband, Wasē, though the marriage would not be consummated until she was older. Wasē (Pl. 66*b*), a man somewhere in his early twenties, had another wife about his own age and a third had recently died. Takon was a reserved, quiet child, but appeared to be happy enough. She held her own in the village, and was always on good terms with the other girls both in work and play. She and Nawi were frequently to be seen together, and both spent much time on my verandah.

Even the onset of menstruation makes no violent change in the 882 girl's life. There is nothing here comparable to the conditions found by Margaret Mead among the Manus, where 'puberty for girls means the beginning of adult life and responsibility, the end of play, careless companionship, happy hours of desultory ranging through the village' (1930, p. 175). The girl of the North-Western Solomons goes on with the tasks she has gradually taken up as she has grown older, and continues to play with the girl friends she has gone about with all her life. Nawi, of whom more later, had as her greatest friend and constant companion a girl named Kiots, who had experienced her first menstrual period a year or more earlier, and went about nearly as much with Bolis, a child of five or six, who, though so much younger, seemed to be accepted and treated by her as an equal. Both these friendships continued as usual, after Nawi had been through the ceremony marking her first menstruation.

Under ordinary circumstances, the second great ordeal of a girl's 593 life is the consummation of her marriage. This has been discussed in Chapter III. The aspect of it relevant in the present connexion is that after a childhood which grew gradually into girlhood, during

593 which her duties and responsibilities were always towards her
mother or her mother-in-law, she must now launch out for herself, not only entering into new and often difficult physical relations with a man who is practically a stranger to her, but also assuming the responsibility of providing food for him, of caring for their home, and, probably very soon, of bearing him a child. This great change in her circumstances may take place soon after, or in some cases even shortly before, her arrival at physiological maturity, or it may be delayed for some time.

797 The establishment of Mission schools is tending to alter the
871 prospects of the adolescent girl in places within their sphere of
influence. The possibility is now open to her of attending boarding-
177 school, and thus of postponing for several years her marriage and,
882 in the case of the younger girls, her betrothal. She is just beginning
to assert her right to accept or reject the advances of her suitors,
582 instead of passively acquiescing in a match arranged by her parents.
At Petats there were several unmarried adolescent girls. One even announced her intention to remain so, saying that she preferred her freedom. But the point of view of the majority was probably better represented by the girl who said that she didn't want to stay single and have all sorts of things said about her. If occasion arises, the young people may even go so far as to question the authority of the taboo forbidding marriage with certain classificatory relatives. One couple, whom I knew, proposed, to the horror of their parents, to marry in spite of the fact that they stood to each other in the relationship of *mataha* ('brother and sister') since their grandmothers were sisters. In the end, however, the opposition was too strong for them, and the affair was broken off.

797 It is evident that the whole system of betrothal and marriage
will eventually disappear, and be replaced, under the tuition of the
177 missions, by something approximating to our own, involving the
582 break-down of much of the native social structure. Whether they
will make more of a success of marriage under these conditions than we do, or than they do under their own system, remains to be seen. On the face of it, and in view of the evidence cited in the Chapter III, there seems reason to think that the early part of married life, at any rate, would be made happier by the change. But it is hard to foretell what effect a radical change such as this is going to have on the life of a primitive community.

The present chapter is chiefly concerned to record the state of 882 affairs at the time when the investigation was made, in a village where, as far as the adolescent girls were concerned, the original conditions still prevailed.

Of the adolescent girls at Kurtatchi, by far the most interesting 159 was Nawi, whose first menstruation ceremony I attended, and shall presently describe. She was very friendly, and often begged me to 882 come with her to the taro garden she helped her mother to keep in order, or to the reef to look for shell-fish. She was betrothed to a boy at Ruri, who still wore the *upi*, and though he had been through the *watawutʃ* ceremony, she expected—and hoped—that it would be some time before his hair would be long enough for him to submit himself for the *wasipsip* ceremony at which the hair is cut and the hat finally removed. Until that had been done, Nawi had no need to think about her marriage.

Belonging to a family of *tsunaun*, she was a person of importance 159 in the village—the original village of Kurtatchi, in which the *tsunaun* family were of the Naboin clan (their history has been 882 given in Chap. II). Accordingly, certain customs had to be ob- 565 served at various epochs in her life. The only one of these—other 824 than the menstruation ritual—which occurred while I was at Kurtatchi, marked the stage at which she was permitted to go and collect from the bush the heavy spathes at the lower end of the leaf of the areca-palm. These, when dried, are used as receptacles for [415] all kinds of purposes, and are mentioned continually in these pages by the native term *kōbū*. One day several of the women told me they were going out to collect a number of them in order to hold this ceremony for Nawi. They asked me to go with them. Nawi did not come. We went to a part of the bush about six miles off, where there were a number of wild areca-palms, and hunted in the underbush for fallen leaves from which to cut the spathes. One or two trees had been recently cut down, apparently on purpose. Part of the next day was spent in scraping clean the *kōbū* we brought back with us, and fixing sticks across them to keep them from curling up while drying. At dusk, the women all gathered in the centre of the village, where the *kōbū* were laid out. They held a [535] *kōma*, taking up the wheel-like formation which in ordinary dances is the prerogative of the men. Nawi danced too, but took no outstanding part in the proceedings. Afterwards we all went to her mother's hut and ate ceremonial pudding. This took place six

159 882 565 824 months before the menstruation ceremony, with which it was not in any way connected.

159 145 881 Owing to the impossibility of obtaining from these people any information whatever with regard to the passage of time, I cannot give the age at which girls begin to menstruate. To judge from their appearance, it would seem to vary considerably in different individuals. Nawi, with breasts not yet fully developed (see Pl. 31), had been expecting her first period for nine months or so before it actually occurred. Kiots, with little, if any, further advanced breast development, had been menstruating for more than a year. From the appearance of their breasts and pubic hair, I should estimate the ages of these girls to be somewhere about twelve or thirteen. Both had cut their second permanent molar teeth, the presence of which, among ourselves, is usually a sign that the twelfth birthday has been passed. Muben, looking decidedly older, with much fuller breasts, went through her first period about ten months earlier than Nawi, while I was told that Laia, whom I should have judged, from her looks, to be at least in her later teens, had started the flux at about the same time as Muben.

881 565 Unlike the first puberty ceremony for boys, which depends, not on their physiological development, but on the number of boys whose parents desire it, and upon the condition of the food supply, the puberty rite for girls is held for each girl singly, and at the actual time of her first period. There is also another difference. While all the boys, whether *tsunaun* or commoners, must undergo the same series of ceremonies in exactly the same manner, the puberty ceremony for girls is held, in its entirety, only for girls who are *tsunaun*. A very much shortened form, with important parts of the ritual omitted, is performed for commoners.

881 159 565 I will first give an account of the full ceremony for a *tsunaun*, as related to me by the women, chiefly by Pari, one of the most important women at Kurtatchi, and afterwards a description of the ceremony as I saw it performed for Nawi, who, though *tsunaun*, went through it in a modified form owing to special circumstances.

### ACCOUNT OF GIRL'S FIRST MENSTRUATION CEREMONY AS GIVEN BY KURTATCHI WOMEN

881 When a girl finds that she is bleeding for the first time, she does not like it, she is afraid, she hides in the bush. She runs away from her mother, and does not tell her, but her mother guesses what has

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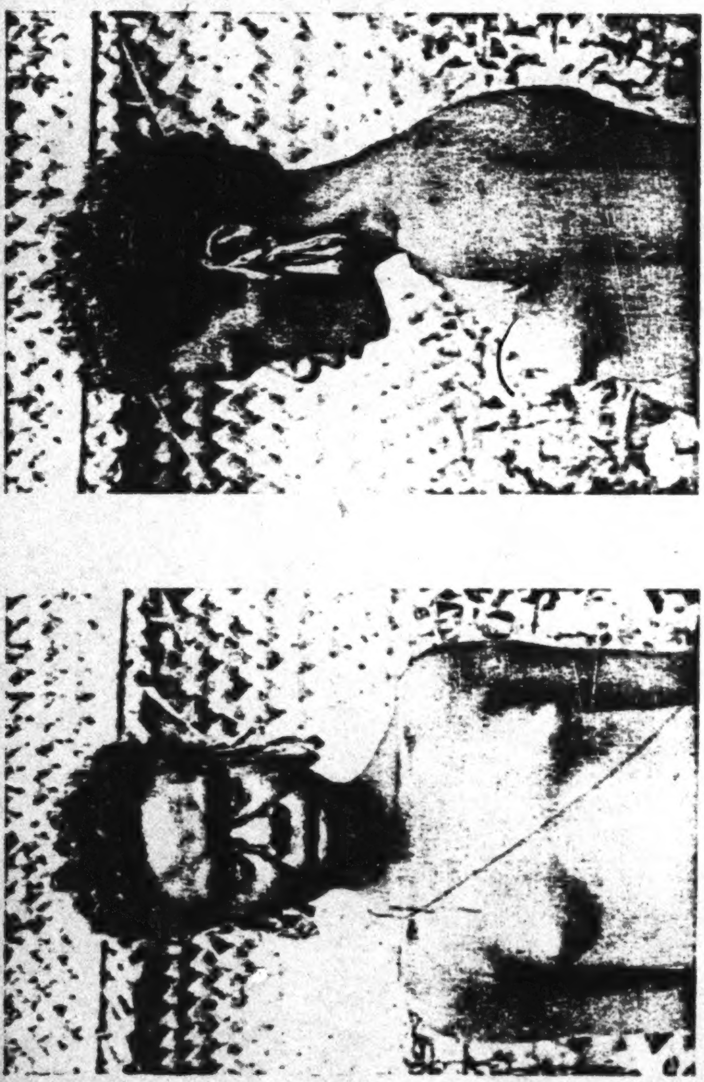

NAWI

[facing p 252]

881 happened, and asks her: 'You are bleeding, aren't you?' The girl does not speak, she is afraid, but she nods her head. Her mother asks her: 'Did you see the blood when you got up this morning?' Then her mother tells the other women: 'The girl has broken.' All the women are glad. They call out, and jump about, and shout, and say: 'By-and-by we shall eat a big pig, and have a dance.' They are all glad about the girl, and as they go to work they talk about her, and are pleased.

The girl's mother gives her a little taro, secretly, saying to her: 'You eat it up quickly and don't let any one see you do it.' After [262] that she must go hungry, she must not eat any more. She is forbidden to eat taro, coco-nuts, bananas, pig, or fish, and she must not drink. All that she can have is a kind of areca-nut, which is not strong, and has water in it, so that [illegible] moistens her tongue. [824] (This is not the kind of areca-nut which is usually chewed, but a smaller variety, called *gagmorat*, *gag* = drink.)

881 Two children keep her company and go hungry along with her. 784 They must belong to her clan. Both must be too young to men- 621 struate. The girl's mother, father, brothers and sisters (blood and 565 classificatory), and grandparents do not eat either. For a commoner this is enough, but for a girl who is *tsunaun* all the village goes hungry. This fast goes on for about two days, until a certain part of the ceremony is over.

881 When the girl's mother goes to draw water in the evening, she must take all the water-coco-nuts (see p. 289) and hide them in another hut. If she does not want to do this, she must pour away all the water that is not used immediately. If she left any of it in [841] the hut, the girl might steal some and drink it, and that would be very bad for her, for then her blood would flow all the time and would not dry up. The two children who are keeping the girl company may drink a little secretly, without letting the girl see them, and they may eat a little taro also in the same way. After two days the girl may eat a little specially prepared taro, which her mother brings to her secretly, and may drink a very little water, enough to make her tongue cold.

The girl and her two companions must stay inside the hut for [565] five days and nights. If she is a commoner four will be enough. She must sit all the time doing nothing, and must not leave the hut at all except to relieve herself. When this is necessary she puts on a hood, and goes no farther than the back of the hut. One of the

881 children must accompany her, also wearing a hood. During this time she must not handle fire. (This involves her abstinence from [276] smoking, which is a very great hardship.)

After sleeping for the fifth night the prohibition on handling fire is over. She is given a drink, which she must drink when no one is [272] looking. It consists of the milk of a green coco-nut mixed with the 824] leaves of certain plants (specimens of these were given to me, with their native names, but have not been identified). She and her two [302] companions have their heads painted red with *owan*, and their foreheads outlined with white (*wiwi*).

All the women *kōma*, the conch-shell is sounded, and the slit-gong is beaten in this rhythm:

[533] /// .. /// .. /// .. /// .. /// .. ///, &c.

The girl does not join in the *kōma*, she stays in the house. All the women call out: 'To-morrow we shall eat a big pig. It will be cut into pieces.' Each of them calls out which part of the pig she would like for herself: 'I want its head.' 'I want its neck.' 'I want its leg.' 'I want its hind quarters,' and so on.

881 Then word is sent to the neighbouring villages. For example, 574 for a girl living at Kurtatchi a woman will be sent to Ruri and one to Tabut, telling the people there to collect taro to make ceremonial pudding. They prepare packages of ceremonial pudding and cook them, and bring them to the village. Every woman who can possibly manage it will accept this invitation.

881 Next day, before dawn, the women of the village in which the girl lives go and cut down a banana palm which has a bunch of 824 nearly ripe bananas on it. (This is a special kind of banana called *pias a mon* (*pias* = climb a tree, *mon* = woman). Its fruit may never be eaten by boys wearing the *upi*.) They cut down the tree close to the ground, with the fruit and leaves remaining on it. This must be done while it is still dark. They bring the tree back to the village, and lay it on the ground near the girl's hut.

As dawn is breaking, the banana palm is stuck in the ground in front of the girl's hut, at the *tagoan*. The women bring a quantity of certain young plants and saplings (the only two which I could identify were sugar-cane and canarium almond). These must not be cut, but pulled up by the roots, and are planted in front of the hut in two rows, making an avenue between the banana tree and the hut.

Then the men go into the bush and cut down wild areca-nut 881
palms and make planks which they bring to the village. They
make a long platform like a bridge, supported on poles stuck in the 417
ground, leading from the front verandah of the hut to the banana
palm, between the two rows of saplings.

One of the two girls who have been keeping the menstruating 881
girl company now comes out of the hut, walks along this bridge,
and climbs up the banana palm. She sits down on top of the bunch
of bananas. This girl is called *mani*, 'the opossum'. I could get no
explanation for the use of this term. The girl chosen must be too
young to menstruate, and is usually about seven or eight, judging
from the appearance of the children who were pointed out as being
of the right size to act as *mani*.

The girl for whom the ceremony is being performed now comes 881
out of the hut for the first time since the flow began. By this time
it will have finished. She wears round her waist a series of girdles 292
made of the outer bark of the banana palm, some scraped and dried 824
in the sun, with a pattern cut on them; other girdles are made of
a white cane, and others still of the same cane (rattan, I think) dyed
red with *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*). She also wears a plaited and
twisted belt (*sosu*) of the inner skin of the bush banana, similar to
that sometimes seen at dances. There are five different kinds of
girdles altogether. From them, in front, is suspended a bunch of
leaves (*onon*), chosen either for their decorative appearance, or for
their aromatic properties. A long list of native names of leaves
suitable for this purpose was given to me. These must not be cut,
but must be pulled up by the roots. The roots are left attached, [436]
and are bound round with lengths of ceremonial currency, both
shell and teeth. The roots must be uppermost, coming up on to
the girl's chest; the leaves hang down in front of her, the fastening
being at about the level of the navel. She must wear no other 881
covering. Her hair is painted with the pattern called *waputan urits*,
i.e. a red stripe in the middle, going from forehead to back of neck, 302
a stripe of black on either side, then another stripe of red on the
outer side of the black stripes, these red ones reaching down to the
ears. Her temples and forehead are edged with white paint. Round [301]
her neck she wears a *piriv* (ornament made of clam shell with overlay of tortoise-shell filigree work, see Pl. 68).

She walks along the bridge and climbs up into the banana palm, 881
sitting down just below the bunch of fruit, on a small plank which

881 has been fixed there for the purpose. The 'opossum girl' is sitting above her on top of the bunch of fruit.

Then all the women bring the ceremonial pudding they have prepared, and plenty of cooked taro, drinking coco-nuts and dry coco-nuts, and special kinds of taro uncooked with the stalk still attached. These are painted with stripes of black and red. All the things are heaped up at the foot of the banana palm. Meanwhile, all the women *kōma*, shouting as loud as they can.

Then the 'opossum girl' breaks off one banana from the bunch and throws it at the women as they go round in the *kōma*. They are all glad, and shout. Then another woman climbs up the tree and [526] breaks off a banana and throws it. Then all the women start throwing things at one another, limes, canarium almonds, if they are in season, pawpaws, mangoes, areca-nuts, and so on. They play together because they are glad that the girl has begun to menstruate. She herself stays up in the tree and takes no part in the game. This goes on for some time.

[292] When the throwing is finished, the girl puts on two hoods, one plain, the other with a pattern worked on it with strips of fibre (these special hoods, called *tsububuwat*, are made on Buka and obtained by barter). All the women now gather as close as possible to the banana palm, and continue to *kōma* loudly. One of them cuts down the banana palm near the ground. All the women hold up their hands to catch the tree as it falls. They lower it gently to the ground with the two girls still sitting in it. The conch-shell is [533] blown, the slit-gong is beaten with the same rhythm as before, and all the women shout. Some of them catch hold of the girl and carry her into the hut. She must not touch the ground. Other women call out to the 'opossum girl' to hold tight to the bunch of bananas. The tree is laid on the ground with the 'opossum girl' still clinging to it. Its leaves are then pulled off and the 'opossum girl' is covered up with them.

881 831 Then the women all play at copulating with one another. One woman makes another woman lie on the ground, at the foot of the prostrate banana palm, she then lies on the top of her and pretends to have coitus. But they must not play at coitus with the girl for whom the ceremony is being held. She must stay inside the hut and take no part in the play. Some one seizes the 'opossum girl' and runs off with her into the hut; she is too small to play at coitus with the women. Then the women get hold of bits of ceremonial

pudding and pieces of pig, and rub them on to their genitals, and 881
then on one another's mouths, with the secretion from the vulva
adhering to them. The women are obliged to eat these pieces. If 831
any one refuses she is held down, her mouth forced open, and the food pushed into it.

When the women have had enough of this sexual play, the 884
visiting women are all given quantities of food to take back with
them. They then disperse to their own villages. The whole of [565]
this part of the ceremony, involving the banana palm, is performed
only for persons of rank.

The three children, i.e. the girl for whom the ceremony is being 881
performed, the one who acted as 'opossum girl', and her other
companion, remain inside the hut for a few days more. The exact 252
period was not specified; my informants said it did not matter very 824
much. They may now eat taro which has been roasted in the embers or cooked in an oven, but not that which has been boiled in a pot. They may not eat the meat of a green coco-nut, but they may break open ripe ('dry') coco-nuts and cook them in the embers like taro, then scrape the meat off them; this they may eat. (In the ordinary way the meat of a coco-nut at this stage is not considered
fit to eat.) If the girl who has been menstruating eats green coco- [841]
nuts or taro that has been boiled in water, she will have another
period in a short time, and will lose too much blood. The same prohibition applies to taro leaves, which these people are accustomed to boil and eat as we eat spinach. These are liable to have the same effect, being cooked in water, but the leaves may be made into a package tied up with covering leaves, and roasted in the embers; in this form, since they are cooked dry, she is permitted to eat them. But she is absolutely forbidden to eat pig, fish, or opossum, which amounts to the prohibition of all flesh foods.

When a few days have passed, the girl's mother prepares a 881
special pot of taro, called *pipiro*. One *roran* (six tubers) of each of 252
several different kinds of taro is taken and boiled in a pot with certain aromatic leaves. Taro thus prepared is esteemed a great delicacy. The men go fishing, and bring in certain kinds of fish. The names of fourteen kinds of fish were given to me in this connexion. They were all rather small fish, so far as I could ascertain. No reason could be elicited for choosing these particular kinds. They are brought into the village; the girl's mother wraps them up in the large leaves of the bush banana, which are much used in

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252 cooking, and cooks some of them in the pot along with the taro. The contents of the pot are eaten by the girl only. If the men have brought a great many fish, the girl's mother makes all that are over into packages for roasting in the embers. These are for the other villagers, both men and women.

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784 The pot is boiled in the hut where the girl has been secluded—generally her mother's. The people who are looking after the cooking must neither drink nor eat, nor chew the betel-mixture, but they are allowed to smoke. All the other people of the village must stay in their huts, and must on no account go out, even to relieve themselves. They must not speak, and children must not cry. If any one were to speak the pot might break, and its contents be spilled, and this would be very bad for the girl, causing her always to have an excessive flow at her periods. Meanwhile, two lengths of bamboo are prepared, each cut just past the nodes so that the two ends are closed. When the contents of the pot are properly cooked, these bamboos are heated on the fire, then laid across stones, and two men pound on them with stones in their hands. They explode with a loud bang; this is the signal to all the people of the village that the cooking is done and that they may now talk again and can come outside and approach the hut.

The contents of the pot are turned out on to a *kōbū*. The girl who has been menstruating bends over it so that the steam comes up on to her abdomen. When it is cold she eats the food out of the *kōbū*. When it is all gone, the girl takes the *kōbū* with the water that is left in the bottom of it, and holds it out to another woman, who mixes red paint (*owan*) with this water, and rubs it over the girl's abdomen. This is to 'fasten her belly', so that she will not have another flow too soon. The paint is rubbed on to her abdomen inside the house; then she comes out and shows herself to all the people who have gathered round. They then disperse.

The girl may now eat fish, but is still forbidden pig and canarium almonds. After another interval, which may be several months, another pot of *pipiro* is prepared, with pig and canarium almonds taking the place of fish. The same ritual is gone through as before, and all taboos on food are now removed. *Pipiro* is prepared for a commoner as well as for a woman of rank.

This ceremony is rapidly falling into disuse, as it is discouraged by the missionaries, the climbing of the banana palm with the attendant sexual horse-play being considered undesirable. At

Ruri, the next village to Kurtatchi, there was a girl of rank for 881
whom this should have been done, but the proceedings were reduced to a short period of seclusion and the cooking of the *pipiro*. 797
It would have been performed for Nawi at Kurtatchi, a much more 177
conservative village than Ruri, had it not been that the village was engaged in preparations for the *watawutʃ*, this involving modification of the first menstruation rite, since it is strictly taboo to 'go up bananas' under these circumstances. The following account of what actually took place is transcribed from my diary.

### FIRST MENSTRUATION CEREMONY AS PERFORMED FOR NAWI

*September 12, 1930.* On my walk round the village this morning 159
I found all the women greatly excited, because it has just been discovered that Nawi has started her first menstrual flux. This had 881
been anticipated for several months, and the women had often told me that it was sure to happen soon. They had been very much looking forward to it, and are very disappointed that the banana-palm ceremony cannot be held because the time is approaching for the holding of the *watawutʃ* ceremony.

All the older women went into the bush and gathered quantities [824]
of cordyline leaves, which they must wear tucked into cane girdles at their waists during the ceremony. Nawi remained in her mother's hut. Her friend Kiots, with whom she generally goes about, is staying in the hut with her. Kiots experienced her first period [565]
some months ago, but the banana-palm ceremony was not held for her because she is a commoner. She is keeping Nawi company now out of friendship, not ceremonially. The two little girls who are her official companions are Talewu and Beawon. Talewu is the *mani*. Talewu is the daughter of Poa, Nawi's father, by another mother, who is sister to Nawi's mother (by the same father but a different mother). Nawi calls Talewu *kiar* (sib of the same sex). It follows that Talewu belongs to the same clan as Nawi, viz. Naboin. But Beawon, who is not related to Nawi (there is no relationship term used between them), belongs to the other clan, Nakarib. This is contrary to the information given me previously [183]
by Pari and other women, who said that the two little companions of the girl must belong to the same clan as herself. It would thus seem that in this, as in many other particulars, the rules are not strictly adhered to.

All the people of the village, men and women, members of both

159 All the people of the village, men and women, members of both

881 784 183 clans, are fasting. Bwapip (one of the younger men) says he does not intend to fast; he is going to eat taro and drink water. The women are very angry with him; they say that if he does it will bring some terrible disaster on the village. I think he is bluffing, and will not have the courage to break the taboo, or, if he does, it will be in secret.

159 881 I visited Nawi in her mother's hut. She was lying on the plank which forms her bed, with a woman's hood across her body. Beside her were bunches of leaves, which covered her genitals. The three girls were sitting beside her. Various women came in [292] at intervals and sat chatting for a while. All the women are wearing girdles of banana fibre with cordyline leaves tucked into them at the sides and in front.

*September 13*. A crowd of women are keeping Nawi company, and more are grouped on the women's verandah outside. The men are all lounging about the village, and no one is doing any work. Nawi spends most of her time dozing. When she has to leave the [292] hut to relieve herself, she puts on a long hood, and both little girls, also wearing hoods, go with her. Ira and Poskea (two of the younger women) came and sat on my verandah, saying how hungry and thirsty they were. They must not eat or drink until to-morrow.

*September 14*. All the women of the village collected in or around the hut. Two men, Nobit and Wasē, both belonging to the Naboin clan but not related to Nawi, were inside the hut, and a number of other men, including most of the older men of the village, of both clans, were sitting or standing just outside, round the men's verandah. Three new *kōbū* had been prepared, and a bunch of roots and leaves made up beforehand (for description of this see p. 263). Nobit loosened the bundle and held it while Pasu, an old woman of the Naboin clan, sprinkled some red paint (*owan*) over it and into it. Then he held the bundle of leaves and roots over each of the three *kōbū* in turn, while Pasu poured the milk of a large number of coco-nuts through the bundle into two of them; the third was put underneath to catch the overflow. A length of bamboo was put into one of the *kōbū*, and all the women present drank some of the mixture in turns, drawing it up through the bamboo. Nawi was urged to drink freely, so were the two little girls who had been keeping her company. While we were all taking turns to drink, Pasu and Takok (Takok is Nawi's *tubū*) lay at full length on the ground, and some of the women indulged in a little

horse-play with them, jumping over them and pulling them about, 881
but there was nothing that could be called playing at sexual inter-
course. This part of the ceremony had to be modified on account 159
of the approaching *watawutʃ*.

The second *kōbū* was put on the ledge just inside the door at the men's end of the hut, and all the men present drank from it, both the two who were inside the hut and those who remained outside at the *tagoan*. When all had drunk, it was filled up with more coco-nut milk, poured through the bundle as before, and the contents were then poured into half-coco-nut shells, with the meat still in them. These were sent to Pinari, who was not present. Coco-nuts were also filled from the *kōbū* out of which the women had drunk, and these were sent to a group of women with babies who were sitting at the women's end of the hut and on the women's verandah.

Nawi wore a hood with a pattern worked on it in fibre. All the 159
women still had cordyline leaves tucked into cane girdles, which
they wore over their loin-cloths. The leaves were allowed to hang 881
down, either in front or at both sides. Nawi wore hers in front, 292
under her loin-cloth, which she had resumed; over it she had several girdles of red cane. I was also given cordyline leaves, and asked to wear them in my belt, with the earnest request that I should not throw them away afterwards. They said it would be all right for me to press the leaves and keep them in my box, which I did. Those worn by the other women were to be put up in the rafters of the hut, together with the *kōbū* used to contain the drinking mixture, and dried in the smoke which is constantly rising
from the smouldering fire on the floor of the hut. This hardening [841]
of the *kōbū* and cordyline leaves is to ensure that Nawi's flux will not occur again too quickly. When she is married, her mother will prepare some ceremonial pudding, of which all the women will partake, and the leaves and the *kōbū* will then be thrown into the sea.

Nawi tells me that her flow has finished. Since its onset was 145
announced on Friday morning, it has lasted two days and two 159
nights, or possibly three nights, if it began early in the night of Thursday–Friday.

When all the men and women present had drunk some of the 159
mixture out of the *kōbū*, Nawi was given a basket of roast taro cut
into thin slices, each slice smeared thickly with *owan* on both sides, 881
and a little packet of taro leaves, cooked in the embers. She ate

159 881 one piece, and gave some to the two children, and some to Kiots. The village is now free to eat what it pleases, but Nawi must still eat sparingly. She may not yet come out of the hut.

All the proceedings were over quite early in the morning, and every one dispersed as usual; there was no lounging about the place as there was yesterday. In the evening there was a *kōma* of the usual kind, with slit-gong and *mabu* and *piu*. The women of Nawi's clan were not allowed to take part in it, but those of the other clan did so.

*September 15.* Nawi and the two little girls still confined to the hut. Village at work as usual. No special features, and no *kōma* at night.

*September 16.* Nothing happened till shortly before dusk, when [831] some of the women came to fetch me to go to Nawi's hut. All the women of the village gathered there, and engaged in romping and horse-play, the sexual nature of which was somewhat more veiled than in the account previously given, consisting chiefly of some women lying flat on the ground and others jumping on them. Then all present, including myself, drank, from a bamboo, a mixture out of a receptacle that had been set up on a stand inside the hut. (The ingredients of this I afterwards obtained from its maker, they will be discussed later.) No men were present at this part of the proceedings. All the women still wore their cordyline leaves. After every one had drunk, there was more romping, during which pieces of pig and taro were thrown about. This went on for some time. Then there was an interval during which every one sat around and talked.

159 881 535 When it was quite dark the men began blowing the pipes, both *mabu* and *piu* (see pp. 411–12). The women, all wearing their hoods, collected in the central space of the village, and called to me to join them. We walked backwards and forwards towards and away from the men who were playing, then walked all round them, then along the back of the line of huts (*babots*), to Nawi's mother's hut. Nawi came out. A coco-nut shell filled with water was handed round. Some of the women drank, some held it to their mouths without swallowing any. Then we all stood in a group, close together, facing east, and yelled 'Ba-a-a-a-h'. The whole group turned round to face west, and yelled again. Then all, including Nawi, went back to the central space where the men were still playing, and danced with a peculiar step, a hop coming down on

both feet, hissing the while, in a series of jerks. (This is different 159
from the ordinary dance steps as performed by the women at other
times, and I did not see it done on any other occasion.) Some 881
women formed lines and danced together, some danced alone. 535
Nawi danced also. This went on for a long time.

*September 17*. Nawi can now walk about the village, but she 159
must not go to the taro garden nor do any work.

This state of things continued till 881

*September 20*. On this day Nawi went for the first time to fetch water, but she must not yet go to the taro garden.

On September 21 I was unfortunately obliged to leave the village for a few days. When I returned, Nawi was working as usual, but neither she nor any one else could tell me which day she first went to the taro garden. It was definitely more than ten days from the time of the first appearance of the flux.

As I went on my way I met a man from Baniu, who said he had 159
come to fetch Nawi and take her to Tendru, a village farther along 304
the coast, where there was to be a cicatrization ceremony, at which she would be 'cut', together with three other girls. I was invited to attend, but when I went to the village on the appointed day I found that Nawi had run away into the bush and refused to go, and her parents said they would not insist on her undergoing the operation. One of the other girls, from another village, had also run away, and a third was ill. Since only one candidate remained, the ceremony did not take place.

### DETAILS OF MIXTURE USED IN NAWI'S FIRST MENSTRUATION CEREMONY

The following description of the preparation of roots and leaves 881
used for the drink which was shared on the third day of the pro-
ceedings was given me subsequently, by the men who made it. 272
These were three of the younger men of the village, Wasē, Tchub, 824
and Bwapip; they did it because Tchub knew the method of making it, having been taught by his mother and father (his father has been dead for some time, his mother is alive and resides in the village, but she did not superintend the preparation of the mixture). None of the men is related to Nawi, but all belong to the same clan. I
think, however, that this is not essential. 881

A stand must be made from the branches of a tree called *awitʃ*. 272
This is done by setting up four straight branches about 3 feet in 824
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881 height, pushing them firmly into the ground (the floor of the hut)
272 to make the corners of a square. Cross-pieces are then tied on to
824 the four corner sticks for the sides of the square, and about a foot
417 from the top other pieces are fastened to these for the bottom.
This stand, when finished, is called *taraki*. It is lined with the leaves of the special kind of banana palm which is used in the full ceremony. All the women present must drink the special mixture from the *taraki* direct, drawing it up through a length of bamboo, but some of it is put into a *kōbū* and set aside for the men.

881 The mixture put into the *taraki* is called *anam*. It is made as
272 follows: Make a bundle containing portions of the root of a certain
824 tree, and scrapings from the bark of a number of others, whose
native names were given to me; I cannot give their botanical names, but I know that they are all hard-timbered trees, and are chosen for the purpose of 'making the girl's belly strong', so that she will not menstruate again too soon. Add to these the scraped outer skin of the stem of a very tough bush creeper. Then take the young leaves of a number of aromatic plants, to make the mixture smell nice. Only the top of the plants, with fresh young leaves, must be used. Take also a piece of sugar-cane broken from the middle of the stalk. Pound up all the leaves to pulp by means of stones. Take a leaf of *tskō* (a large smooth-leaved plant constantly used for wrapping up packages of food, both for carrying and for cooking purposes), and lay the pounded pulp on it, then take the rest of the ingredients previously mentioned, and lay them on top of the pulp. Sprinkle a quantity of the red powder called *owan* over the whole.

This mixture is prepared beforehand. At the time of the ceremony, the bundle is opened a little, and a hole is made in the bottom of it. One man holds it over the *taraki*, and then over the *kōbū* which the men will drink out of, while another pours coconut milk through the package into these receptacles. The coco-nuts must be young, with the meat still soft (*mayur*). Then some which have a little firmer meat (*wisi*) must be cut; their milk is also poured through the package. Then comes the milk of coco-nuts which are nearly ripe (*wakamitskoma*), which is not considered palatable in the ordinary way. Finally the meat of a ripe (dry) coco-nut (*makas*) is scraped and squeezed through a piece of coco-nut fibre; the expressed oil is added to the mixture. One man holds the package, one holds the piece of fibre, another brings and manipulates the coco-nuts. By thus pouring the milk of coco-nuts through

the mixture, the good properties of the leaves and roots, &c., are 881
supposed to be carried into the liquid which runs into the *taraki* 272
and the *kōbū*. This liquid is of a red colour, owing to the *owan* 824
(impure iron oxide) which was plentifully sprinkled over the package
before the coco-nut milk was poured through. It tastes bitter,
probably because of the *owan*, since the liquid, being cold, could
hardly act as an infusing agent during the short time it is in contact
with the leaves and roots in the package, so as to acquire any
properties from them.

When sufficient liquid has been poured through, the package is 881
fastened up again and placed in the rafters of the hut over the fire.
Two immature coco-nuts (*kukuts*) are put beside it. It must dry 272
well in the smoke. This is another precaution to 'harden the girl's 841
belly' to prevent her from menstruating again too quickly. When 842
the girl sleeps with her husband for the first time, her mother takes
down the package and the coco-nuts, and slashes the two immature
coco-nuts open; this represents the 'opening of the girl' in order
that she may become pregnant. The package and the coco-nuts
are then thrown away into the sea by the mother, who must take
care that the current carries them away immediately. This removes
their restraining influence over the girl's flow of blood, so that she
will have plenty to make a child. If for any reason the girl's mother
considers that it is not desirable for her daughter to have a child
soon, the package and the coco-nuts are left in the rafters until
such time as pregnancy is desired.

The liquid which has been poured through the package into the 881
*taraki* and the *kōbū* must be tasted by all present. The women
drink from the *taraki* and the men from the *kōbū*. When every one 272
has had a taste the rest of the liquid is put by in coco-nuts for those
who are not present. A woman will save some for her husband,
and a man for his wife and children. Little girls who are *tsunaun* [565]
cannot drink; they must taste it for the first time when the ceremony
is performed on their behalf. Little girls who are commoners
get their share with the other people; none will be prepared for
them when they begin to menstruate. The coco-nuts in which the
mixture is carried to other huts must be carefully kept in the rafters
of those huts, and thrown into the sea at the same time as the
package of leaves and roots. The belts of coloured cane worn by 881
the girl during the period are rolled up and encased in a covering 292
of fibre, and placed with the other things in the rafters of her

881 mother's hut. Nawi's mother allowed me to keep one of them
292 (see Pl. 75).

### FINAL PART OF CEREMONY FOR MUBEN

881 It sometimes happens that a girl is married, and actually sleeps
[582] with her husband, before the onset of her first menstrual period. This was the case with Muben, wife of Kakari, whose marriage took place just prior to my period of residence. Her first flux occurred shortly afterwards. As soon as her mother heard of it, she sent for Muben to return to her own village of Baniu for the
[574] banana-palm ceremony. Unfortunately, this was over before I went to Kurtatchi. But during the first few days of my stay, several of the women of Kurtatchi went to Baniu to bring her back after the conclusion of the ceremony, and on this trip I accompanied them. The final dance took place on the evening of our arrival. When we reached the village, all the men were busy making cere-
[292] monial pudding for us. The bride was dressed in a belt of cane, three white strands and three red ones, from which a bunch of leaves depended in front. She wore no loin-cloth. Another girl, who looked slightly younger, was similarly attired. She was undergoing the ceremony for her first menstruation with Muben, who was of the same clan, but in her case it was not accompanied by marriage.

I was invited to sit on the women's verandah of the hut belonging to the bride's mother. For a long time nothing happened. We passed the time by munching taro and playing at cat's cradles. Long after dark, the sound of Pan-pipes and *mabu* was heard on the other side of the house. Nobody moved. They told me that the men and boys had it all to themselves at first, and that they would come and fetch us afterwards.

881 Presently the two girls concerned went into the hut and were made ready by their mothers, helped by their mothers' sisters.
292 When they came out, a little procession was formed, the men and boys with their instruments in front, the two girls following, and then all the rest of the women and children. The two girls had long bunches of leaves stuck into their cane girdles, they wore the usual woman's hood on their heads, but into the tops of the hoods there were stuck white feathers from the tail of the hornbill. Round their waists was a cord from which hung a rattle made of shell.
[302] A long streak of white outlined each temple and the forehead.

The group of men and boys formed itself into the usual wheel 881 formation and continued to play on the pipes. The little procession of women walked round them twice. After this it broke up; the two girls went back to the hut and took off their hoods, sticking the hornbill feathers into their hair. Then all the women joined [535] in the dance in the usual way, in twos and threes, backwards and forwards with a kind of balancing movement, varied by a hop 'on the spot'. This went on for some time, but not all night.

The next day the two girls appeared still dressed in their cane [292 302] girdles, which were now, however, worn on the top of loin-cloths. Their hair was still covered with black paint, but they had washed off the white outlines from forehead and temple. I made a tentative suggestion that I should like to photograph them as they had appeared at the ceremony the night before, but this was met with a polite but firm refusal from the older people. 'That is finished.' After the usual delays, we started on our journey back to Kurtatchi, taking Muben with us. All the Kurtatchi women were heavily [574] loaded with taro and packets of ceremonial pudding. Quite a crowd of the Baniu people accompanied us round the beach to the foot of the cliff, where we sat on the sand for a little while before starting up it. As we went up the cliff path Muben's mother and mother's sister set up a wail. It was quite clearly a piece of ritual, but it seemed to me that there was real grief there as well, and Muben certainly had tears in her eyes when I walked beside her at the top of the cliff. She was obviously making a great effort to control them sufficiently to answer the teasing remarks which one of the men would persist in addressing to her.

### CHANGE OF NAME AFTER MENSTRUATION CEREMONY

It is customary that after she has experienced her first menstruation, 551 a girl should be given another name; the former one is then supposed to be taboo. Muben was given the name of Buin, but I never heard her called by it, every one continuing to use the name by which she had been known before. The custom seems not to be considered of great importance, and I never heard of any other name being given to Nawi, the old one being used as before.

### VARIATIONS

As in the boys' ceremony, the time involved seems to have been 881 curtailed considerably of late. In the account given by the women, 881 and in the ceremony as I saw it, the time during which the girl remained in her mother's hut was only five days. But in discussion, informants told me that she used to remain in her mother's hut for one month after the first discovery of the flux. At Saposa, also, the longer interval was given.

881 At Saposa there is a further elaboration. A wooden figure, life-
184 size or larger, is carved out of soft wood, to represent a girl orna-
532 mented as she would be for this ceremony, with her hair dressed
585 and painted, and a tortoise-shell filigree ornament round her neck. The pattern of the cicatrization on her body is also indicated. This figure is kept in her mother's hut during the period of her seclusion.
768 It appears also at her wedding. One such figure, which I saw during a brief visit to Saposa, had been made for a girl who had died; it was to be burnt after a suitable interval with other of her belongings (Pl. 32).

### WOMEN'S VIEWS ON MENSTRUATION

841 The reason given by the natives *for holding the ceremony* above described is one which I have not seen put forward elsewhere, namely, to ensure that the girl does not menstruate too frequently or too freely. All the details of the ritual appeared to be directed towards this end, e.g. avoidance of drinking any liquid or eating taro boiled in water during the period of the flux, the use of hard-timbered trees in the preparation of the appropriate mixture to be drunk by all, including the girl herself, at one stage of the proceedings, and the preservation in the rafters of the hut of the package containing the roots and leaves from which this mixture is prepared, to be hardened by the smoke, and thrown away when a child is desired. In all discussions arising out of the ceremony, and from several different informants, this was the only explanation that was forthcoming, and I see no reason to doubt its validity.

145 The usual duration of the menstrual period *irir* (*ira* = blood)
841 among these women would appear to be three days per month. No one reported a semi-monthly period. A few told me that they had it for one or two days only. One case of five days was reported indirectly; I was also told that the woman in question was not in the habit of taking any of the medicines for controlling the flux which appear to be in universal use. Since data of this sort cannot be checked by personal observation, and in view of the vagueness of all these people in regard to any question of time, I feel no great

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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PLATE 32

[Facing p. 268]

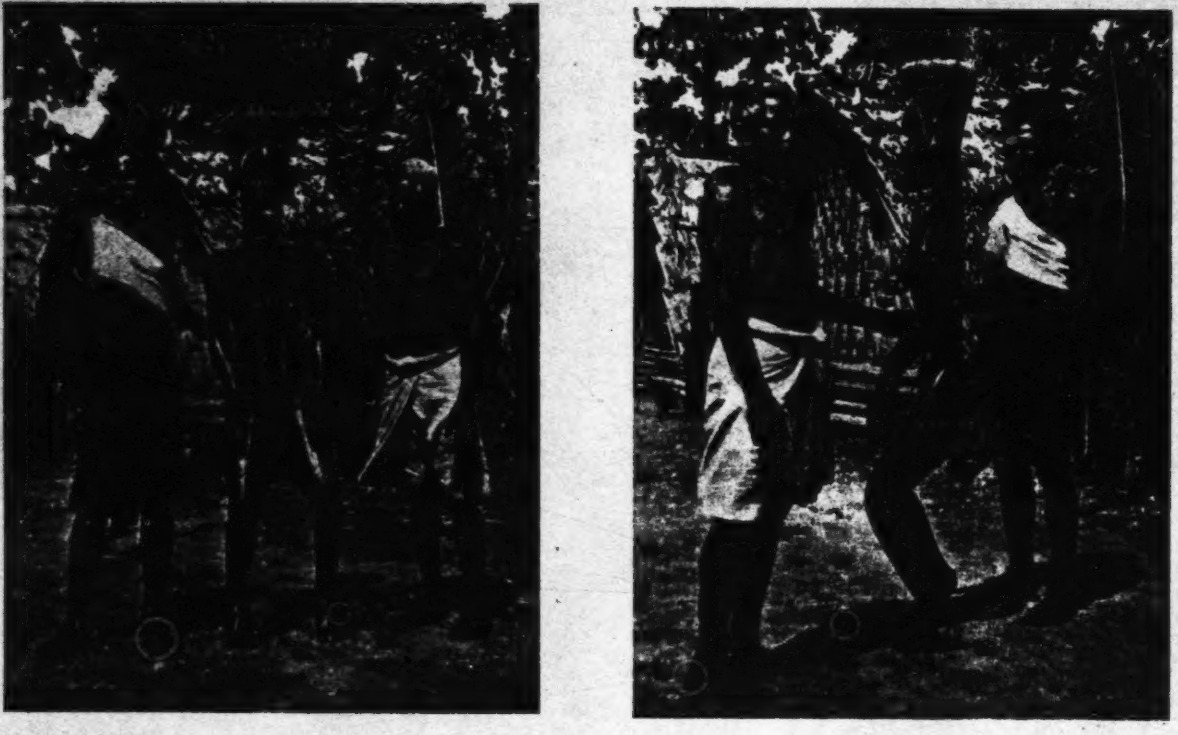

FIGURE USED AT GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

532
881
291

145 confidence in the accuracy of this information, and merely give it
841 as the best I could get. Menstrual disturbances would appear to be rare. Only one of the women I questioned on the subject admitted to pain at the period, but all were unanimous in voting it a nuisance, and nearly all said that they shortened its duration, or caused it to be omitted for one, two, or three months by taking some of the numerous medicines. They assured me that the omission was not followed by any harmful consequences.

841 Eight different plants were brought to me as being useful for this
824 purpose, and I think it likely that this list is far from complete. Unfortunately, most of them could not be identified from my pressed specimens. The following, however, are known to the authorities at Kew Gardens: *kakariuk* (*Selaginella flabellata*), *ʃip-ʃip* (*Pteris ensiformis*), *tatsir* (*Menispermacea*, variety indeterminable). The procedure is the same in every case. While the flow is in progress, the root is chewed with the betel-mixture; some of this mash is swallowed, the rest is spat on to the hand and rubbed over the abdomen, generally by the woman herself, but sometimes by another person. It is noteworthy that the purpose of all of these was expressly stated to be that of lessening the flow or shortening its duration. None was mentioned as useful in cases where menstruation is accompanied by pain, which supports the statement of the women that this condition is rare.

It does not seem likely that all of the plants which are supposed to control the flux do, in fact, possess any astringent or other properties which would render them effective as a uterine haemostatic, though some of them may do so. The only relevant analysis I have been able to find is that of a variety of *Menispermaceae* (*Jateorhiza palmata*), the root of which contains columbin, berberine, and columbic acid. This is used in Africa and in India as a cure for dysentery and other affections of the bowels, and in Europe as a tonic (Dymock, p. 18).

It is easy to understand the woman's dislike of a lengthy menstrual period, especially as, apart from the inconvenience, it involves her in several irritating taboos. She must not prepare food for any man, including her husband, which means that she has to arrange for some one else to cook his meals. She must not go to work in the taro garden; if she did, pigs would eat the taro plants and the crop would be poor. She must not go in a *mon* (plank canoe) or a storm would arise and the canoe would capsize. She must not go

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

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841 into the sea, either to fish or to wash, or she would spoil the fishing. Sexual intercourse is forbidden her until she has performed ceremonial ablutions in the sea after the flow has ceased. I think it probable that there are other taboos which have escaped my notice. [184] Neither at Petats nor at Kurtatchi was it necessary for her to retire to a separate hut, but I am informed that this is customary in some parts of Buka.

There was a certain reticence observable in the demeanour of the women when I tried to investigate questions connected with menstruation, which was entirely absent from our discussions on sexual matters. It is possible that this may have been connected with the horror of menstrual blood shown by other primitive peoples, but I noticed that they were particularly chary of letting me know when they were themselves experiencing the flux, and since some of them were not very punctilious in observing the taboos, this may have been a factor in their reluctance. Perhaps I might have overcome it by greater persistence, but as I did not wish to alienate them, I did not press the matter. Most of the information was obtained while the subject was in their thoughts, on the occasion of the first menstruation ceremony described in the previous pages, which gave me a good excuse for discussing it.

## VIII

## DIET, COOKING, AND MEALS

THE people of Buka and North Bougainville are acquainted 262 with white man's food in the shape of canned meat and rice, [177] which are served as rations to those working as indentured labourers, and are occasionally seen even in the villages, either brought home by returned labourers, or purchased at a trader's store. But except for this, the natives are still entirely dependent for their food supply on what they can obtain by their own exertions, either individual or concerted, from their immediate environment. Thanks to the climatic and geographical conditions under which they live, they are not often faced with actual scarcity, but the provision of their daily bread requires constant activity, and occupies, even at the best of times, a large portion of their waking lives, while the amassing of a quantity of food such as is required for any special occasion causes them no little anxiety.

Except, possibly, for the addition of a few fruits, brought into [177] the country of later years by the whites, their diet has probably not changed appreciably since the introduction of the pig. The list which follows does not claim to be exhaustive, but it is at least fully representative, and I do not think that any item of importance has been omitted.

### LIST OF FOODSTUFFS

(*The native terms are given in the Kurtatchi dialect*)

#### 1. *Vegetables, nuts, and fruit*

Taro (*tamū*)
Sweet potato (*kumar*)
Tuber resembling a potato (*durun* or *rurun*)
Yam (*ta'oie*)
Bread-fruit (*banis*)
Pumpkins and squashes (*uetan*)
Sugar-cane (*mayoŋ*)
Mushrooms, several varieties (generic term *kūmū*)
Leaves of taro and other plants (*kuban*)
Heart of coco-nut palm
A species of seaweed
Coco-nut (generic term *ūir*)
Canarium almond (*winoa*)
Indian almond (Terminalia catappa) (*kōt*)
Barringtonia (*karū*)
Banana (generic term, *uerton* or *pa'un*)
Passion fruit (wild)
Mango (*ma'et*)
Pawpaw (*wamiōk*)
Orange and lime (pidgin-English term *moli* or *muri* used)

[p. 271]

### 2. *Flesh food*

- 262 Pig (*gū*)
- Opossum (*manī*)
- Flying fox (*tsūbak*)
- Small variety of bat (*pupūtū*)
- Iguana (*biro*)
- Frogs, several kinds (generic term *kūra*) and tadpoles (*boboi*)
- Insects of grasshopper species (*koka*)
- Large white grub found in decaying wood (*pa'oa*)
- Many kinds of birds (generic term *nōwan*)

### 3. *Sea food*

- Many kinds of fish (generic term *ien*)
- Many kinds of shell-fish (generic term *kesa*)
- Crabs (generic term *kuri*)
- Turtles (*gurut*)
- Sharks (*kes*) (occasionally)

## NOTES ON THE LIST OF FOODSTUFFS

### 1. *Vegetables, nuts, and fruit*

262 Taro (*Colocasia esculenta*, or *antiquorum*) may be considered the
244 staple food, since no meal, whatever else is included, is complete
without it, and it will, if necessity arises, suffice for a meal by itself. But most people are not contented unless they have either fish or flesh as a relish (*kabu* or *warit*) to eat with it. Its cultivation occupies a very large proportion of the working time of both men and women, the men in clearing and fencing, the women in planting, weeding, and gathering. Many varieties of taro are known, differentiated by the colour of the tubers, or of the stalks or leaves, not according to taste or properties. One woman gave the names of twelve varieties in her garden, showing me each in turn from a heap she had just gathered, and pointing out their special characteristics. She said there were many more which she had not got in her garden.

137 The giant caladium, very similar in appearance to the cultivated
taro, except that it grows much taller, and that its leaves are much
824 larger, grows wild in the bush. It is known as *wiar* ('bush taro').
[293] Its tubers are never eaten. The leaves attain a length of several
feet, and are often used by the natives as umbrellas.

251 The women bring up each day from the taro garden only enough to last till the next day, or at most for two days. Probably because this quantity is as much as a woman can carry, no attempt is made to maintain a surplus store, although the tubers would keep for some time. One day the women could not go to the taro garden because some business connected with the *upi* made it dangerous

for them to be on the road. The next day, several had to get up 251
and go down early because they had nothing to eat.

In the case of those villages which are unfortunate in not possessing
sufficient land of suitable quality for growing enough taro to 437
meet their requirements, the women make regular trips to trade
with the women of other villages, obtaining taro in exchange for
other commodities, chiefly fish. Details of this system of barter
will be found in Chapter XII.

The usual methods of cooking taro are either to boil it in a native 252
pot (lined with banana leaves, which also cover the top, tucked in 412
over the contents), or to roast it by laying it on the embers of a
smouldering fire. In both cases it is first peeled or scraped (*kuiskuis*) 321
with a knife (*nanes*) made of a black-lip oyster-shell which has been [825]
ground down to the hard pearly surface by rubbing on rough coral
(Pl. 38, no. 3). These knives are preferred to trade knives for this
purpose; the women say the trade knives spoil the taro. Two other
kinds of shells, a conus (no. 4) and a dolium (no. 5), are occasionally
used instead of the black-lip oyster. Taro is also cooked in 252
a native oven (*ta'ō*). When a woman wishes to make such an oven
(*nog a ta'ō*), she first scrapes out a hollow in the ground, probably 354
inside the hut at the women's end of it, and then builds up a framework
of sticks in it, by laying in two lines of sticks and some crosspieces.
This is then lighted from a smouldering log or the embers
of a fire; when it has flamed up she places a quantity of round
stones, about the size of a hen's egg, in the flames, and also throws
on taro parings to make it flame up well. When the wood is burnt
away and the stones are hot, water is thrown on the flames to make
them die down and to produce steam, the food to be cooked is laid
on the hot stones, and the whole is covered up with some of the hot
stones and the dirt from the floor which was displaced in making
the hole. The oven is left thus for several hours, being generally
prepared in the evening and opened up on the following morning.
When the cooked food has been taken out, the stones are carefully
put away in a corner of the hut for future use.

Taro is never eaten raw; it would be as unpalatable as our own 251
potatoes in the same state. It is liked either hot or cold, and is 262
frequently prepared beforehand, placed in a basket made of plaited 285
coco-nut leaves, and hung up in the rafters of the hut until required
later in the day; it is not, however, kept for more than about
twenty-four hours.

252 The methods previously described are those of preparing taro for ordinary everyday consumption, and are all in the hands of the 462 women. Besides these, there is another method of preparation, which is considered of great importance. This is the making of *menak*, which may be described as 'ceremonial pudding', as it is not made as part of an ordinary meal, but only for use in a prescribed manner on special occasions. The making of *menak* involves the expenditure of a considerable amount of time and trouble. Because of its ceremonial character, it is exclusively in the hands of the men, women taking no share either in the preparation or in 252 the cooking. The method of making it is as follows: Taro tubers in sufficient quantity are peeled and boiled. When they are soft they are taken out of the pot, and put a few at a time into a large [415 flat wooden tray made for the purpose (*kōn*), and are pounded with 412] a wooden pounder, which is usually nothing more elaborate than a stout stick the end of which has been carefully stripped of its [824] bark. If no *kōn* is available, a dish made of the stiff sheath of the areca-palm (*kōbū*) may be used instead. While some of the men are busy pounding, others are scraping the meat of a coco-nut which is riper than those used for drinking, the meat being now hard and solid. The contained liquid is thrown away, or may be given to the pigs; at this stage it is not considered fit for human [412] consumption. The meat is scraped from the shell by means of a serrated shell, fixed on to the end of a long board. Sometimes the broad end of an old canoe-paddle is utilized for this purpose. On one I brought home the shell is a species of cardium (see Pl. 38, no. 9). The operator sits on this board, holding the projecting end, fitted with its shell, between his knees. The scrapings fall into a receptacle placed on the ground in front of him. When a large quantity of coco-nut meat has been shredded, it is squeezed through [415] a piece of coco-nut fibre (*ipoits*). A liquid resembling milk is the result, this is poured into a native pot of oval shape with a lip at each end (*kepa*, Pl. 61*a*, no. 3); the usual round ones are not used for this purpose. The pot is put on a fire and kept on the boil until the contents become very thick. This mixture is added to the 252 pounded taro, mixed well by stirring, and the resulting paste is 415 either made into balls by rubbing between the palms (Pl. 33), or, more often, pressed into frames made of thin lathes of wood, about an inch wide. These frames are then made up into a rectangular package by wrapping them in banana leaves, and are placed in an

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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PLATE 33

MAKING CEREMONIAL PUDDING

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[Facing p.274]

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PLATE 34

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516

COOKING BREAD-FRUIT

[facing p.275]

oven prepared as above described. The scrapings of the coco-nut 252
from which the liquid has been squeezed are eaten with great [415]
relish by the pigs. When thoroughly cooked, the packages are
removed from the oven and kept in their wrappings until required
for use, but they will not remain good for more than a few hours,
so must be made not earlier than the day before they are required.
When made up in the form of balls, the pudding is called *arorov*,
in the form of the flat slabs which come out of the frames it is
known as *menak*, or both kinds may be referred to as *kokoin*, a
word which belongs to another dialect but is current throughout
the area, being used in speaking pidgin-English.

This ceremonial pudding is the indispensable adjunct of every 262
special occasion. It is either consumed on the spot, or given to 574
visiting parties to take home with them. Presents of it are taken
by guests to their host, who is required to reciprocate with similar
packages on some future occasion. It is sometimes made especially [554]
for some individual as a mark of honour. Taro cooked in the
ordinary way is always eaten along with it, as we eat bread with
with some rather richly prepared dish. *Menak* is also made by 252
using crushed canarium almonds instead of coco-nuts. This is 262
considered a very great delicacy; it can be enjoyed only while the
almonds are available.

Sweet potato and yam. These do not grow so readily here as in 262
other parts of Bougainville, and are considered rather as a change
from taro when they happen to be procurable, perhaps from other [437]
places by barter, than as staples of diet. I saw no yam vines equal
in size or quantity to those of the mountain villages behind Kieta;
the natives of the north coast say the soil is not very suitable for
them. They are cooked in the same manner as taro, i.e. either [252]
boiled or roasted, but are not greatly enjoyed, being tough and
stringy.

Bread-fruit (*Artocarpus*, several species) is very much liked while it is available, making a welcome change from taro, which is eaten in smaller quantities during the bread-fruit season. The trees seem to be in bearing almost continuously, one crop starting after the other has fallen, but they take some time to ripen, so that the fruit is not always ready. During my year of residence bread-fruit was eaten in October and in January, but the time when it was most plentiful was during July and August. At the end of the latter month in walking through rather unfrequented portions

262 of the bush, bread-fruits were to be seen lying about on the ground in large quantities in various stages of rottenness, where no one had chanced to pass that way to pick them up.

222 412 The bread-fruits are obtained by climbing the tree and knocking them down; those above hand reach are hooked off by jerking them from their stalks with a stick lashed, pointing backwards, on to the end of a long pole.

252 Bread-fruit is cooked by being laid on the top of a fire of sticks, directly exposed to the flames (Pl. 34). When the outer skin is completely charred, the inside is done to their liking. The blackened skin is scraped off with a black-lip oyster-shell knife, and the soft inside pulled to pieces with the fingers and eaten in great hunks. [262] The large seeds it contains are very much relished. They may be eaten as they are, or cooked again by being laid in the embers, just as we roast chestnuts, which they strongly resemble both in look and flavour. Bread-fruit is never pounded or made into pudding.

262 Leaves eaten as vegetables. Although the taro plant is cultivated principally for the sake of the tubers, its leaves are also used as food. Other kinds of leaves, grown in the taro garden or wild in the bush, are likewise eaten, also the tender tips of some species of bracken (*Pteris*). 252 824 They are prepared by being boiled in pots with water, generally sea-water, or with the addition of some sea-water, for the sake of the salt. [263] When done, they look and taste not unlike spinach. [323] In the mountains, where there is no pottery, they are cooked by being thrust into a length of bamboo, without water, the bamboo being then laid on the fire. As I know from experience, the resulting dish is both succulent and tasty. (I was told that pig, cut into small pieces, is also cooked in this way, but I did not see it done.) [184 439] I have never seen this method of cooking in bamboo without water in use among the coast natives, where it is not necessary since they can obtain, from the women of Malasang, pots in which to boil their food.

262 252 Nobody would deliberately cut down a coco-nut palm in order to eat its heart, but if one is blown down, or has to be removed for any reason, the heart is hacked out and eaten with great enjoyment, either raw, or, more frequently, boiled like taro, in a pot lined with leaves.

262 [222] There is a species of seaweed which can be obtained from the reef at low tide, which is eagerly sought for and eaten just as it comes from the reef, in spite of, or perhaps because of, its saltness.

Unfortunately, I omitted to bring home a specimen for identification. 262
It consists of tiny green globules, and looks not unlike a
bunch of grapes in the earliest stages of formation. Guppy (1887,
p. 89) mentions an alga, a species of *Caulerpa*, as being eaten with
relish by the natives of Treasury Island, which from his description
may be the same or perhaps an allied species.

There are some varieties of edible fungi; they are not cultivated 262
or made objects of special search, but if seen in the course of a 222
journey through the bush, will be gathered and taken home. I
cannot find in my notes any reference to the method employed in
cooking them. Most of the fungi growing in the bush are avoided [824]
and are thought to be poisonous.

By far the most important of all the nuts available, and in the 262
front rank of their foodstuffs, is the coco-nut. The meat, especially
that of the nuts in the green stage, when it is soft and creamy,
is a permanent stand-by as an article of diet, and at a later stage it
is used in making ceremonial pudding. The cool sweetish liquid 272
inside a green nut provides a most refreshing drink, which, fortunately,
can be obtained all the year round. The nuts are procured 222
by climbing the trunk and knocking them down. Climbing is 481
assisted by tying a bit of fibre round the feet, which then grasp the
trunk, the body is supported by the grip thus obtainable, while
both hands reach up as far as possible, grasp the trunk above the
head, and pull the body up towards them, till the knees are bent
so as nearly to touch them, the feet then taking another hold. Men
and women, boys and girls, are all very skilful at doing this, but
the older men send the small boys up if there are any about. The 252
nuts are opened in this way: the outer sheath is removed by impaling
it on a stick sharpened to a point and stuck in the ground at
a suitable angle. Having removed this outer covering, the opener
takes a trade knife, and with two or three sharp taps, cuts off a
piece of the top of the shell as we slice the top off a boiled egg. [272]
The liquid is then drunk straight from the nut. If there is no knife
handy, two of the 'eyes' will be pierced with a stick or sharp stone,
but drinking is then a much slower process, and the other is
preferred.

Canarium almonds are esteemed a great delicacy, and the time 262
when they are ripe is eagerly anticipated. This is one of the few 222
products that are not available all the year round. During the time
of my residence, the first nuts were brought in on May 14, and the

262 crop was just about finished when I left at the end of September.
222 Throughout the season they are brought in every day in large
quantities, women and girls walking many miles to collect them, and spending hours hunting for them among the fallen leaves and underbrush that cover the ground everywhere in the bush (*ahuit winoa* = to gather almonds from the ground). I went with them on many occasions, and can testify to their diligence. The trees are much prized, and are always left standing when a patch of ground is cleared for a new taro garden.

252 The nuts are cracked with a stone or a lump of coral. They
are always eaten immediately, unless it is desired to use them to
make ceremonial pudding, when they are grated on rough coral,
or pounded, and mixed with taro. So far as I know, these people
251 do not store the nuts for future use, or smoke them as is done at
Sa'a (Ivens, 1927, p. 367).

*Ceremony for first almonds.*

222 Up till recently a ceremony was performed, corresponding with
788 that described by Ivens for the SE. Solomons (p. 367), on the
occasion of the ripening of the first almonds. Owing to the dis-
797 approval of the native mission teacher, it did not take place in the
177 year of my residence, but I obtained the following account of it.

When the first ripe nuts are discovered, probably by finding on the ground some whose fleshy, purple outer covering has been eaten by the pigeons, who throw down the hard centre, men collect stones suitable for cracking the almonds, and take them to the bush. Some of them climb the tree whose nuts are ripe first. Others stay below. Those in the tree throw down a large number of nuts and then come down and join those below. Some crack the nuts, others bring them to the men who are busy cracking them. The women must stop in the village, except for a few who go to the garden to bring back a supply of taro.

When the men have cracked plenty of almonds, they get a leaf of the bush banana and pour all the kernels into it. They all hold it by its edges and stretch it out to its full length. Two logs are cut and laid on the ground parallel to one another; short pieces of wood are laid on top of these transversely. The leaf full of almonds is laid on these transverse logs, and covered up with another banana leaf. The two leaves and their contents are then tied firmly together with rough cane or creeper, and the supporting logs are taken

away. The resulting parcel (measuring perhaps 4 or 5 ft. × 2 ft.) is 222
called *met* ('dead'), and represents the body of a dead man. It
is fixed on to a pole in the same way in which pigs are carried, and 788
brought to the village, the men singing as they go. It is put down
in front of the principal house; in Kurtatchi village this would be
the hut occupied by Pinari's chief wife. Those who take part in
bringing it in may not eat or drink or chew the betel-mixture from
the time when they awake that morning.

Then they call for the *tsunaun* of the place (at Kurtatchi, Pinari 222
and his two *wevnē-*, Pari and Matēv). The *tsunaun* must make fire 565
by rubbing two sticks together, inside the hut, calling the while 788
the names of all the *urar*. They take some almonds out of the *met*
and throw them into the fire, as soon as it is properly kindled. 372
Then they take lime, and pass it round the fire, taking care not to spill any into the flames. They tap several times on the outside of the lime-pot. A few drops of water and the milk of a drinking coco-nut are scattered in a circle all round the fire. Then they take a taro and put it into the fire, calling on all the *urar* who are in the fire to come and drink. Each *tsunaun* calls the names of the *urar* of his own lineage. Then they break up some of the fruits of the betel-pepper and throw them into the fire. Then the *tsunaun* take some lime and put it on the ears of all the men who went to gather the almonds in the bush. After this these men can eat and drink and chew the betel-mixture for the first time that day.

Finally, the *tsunaun* break up the *met* and eat some of the almonds inside it. One of the women *tsunaun* (in this village it was Pari) fills a *hŏbū* with nuts from the *met*, and takes it to the women, who eat on their side of the hut. When all, both men and women, have finished eating, the slit-gong is beaten. If, when all have eaten as much as they can, there are still some almonds left in the *met*, each person takes a share of them and carries them off to eat at home.

The boys wearing the *upi* are not allowed to take any part in this 788
ceremony. They may not eat almonds at any time after they have 882
put on the hat at the *wapi* ceremony, until a special bit of ritual
has been gone through, which consists of their being given some
nuts to eat in public, thus removing the taboo.

At the conclusion of the ceremony for the first almonds a game 524
s played with tops made of coco-nut shell. The fibrous sheath of

524 a coco-nut palm is hung up on a branch, and the tops are thrown
at it. There are also competitions to see whose top spins longest.
The grown men join the children in this game, but the women are
[562 not allowed to play it. After this top spinning becomes general;
184] it is not played for some time previously. (At Petats they did not
observe this rule.)

574 The 'time of the almond' is also made the occasion for reciprocal
feasts between friendly villages, which have more of a social than
of a ceremonial character. The older men will say to the boys:
'You fellows go and get a lot of almonds and make a Tukis.' (Tukis
is the name of a group of tiny creatures somewhat similar to our
hobgoblins; they are discussed in Chapter XV.) So the boys go to
the bush and collect a great quantity of nuts, and bring them to the
village, and arrange them on the ground in the central space, in the
form of a man; they make his head, and his body, and his arms, and
[302 his legs. Then the people of the village all paint themselves with
533] red and black paint, and they play Pan-pipes, and walk round as
they do at a *kōma*, while they are cracking the nuts. This is one
of the very few occasions on which they *kōma* in daylight; usually
it is only done at night. They invite the people of a neighbouring
village, who all come with Pan-pipes and join in the *kōma*. Then
every one feasts on the nuts. A short time after, the village which
was thus invited gives a similar feast in its turn, and asks the people
of the former village. After this, if the boys, who naturally much
enjoy these festive occasions, ask the *tsunaun* if they may have
another, they are told: 'No, our guests have returned the one we
gave before, we cannot have another now.'

262 Most of the many varieties of bananas are eaten either raw or
252 cooked, but there are some, including one very large plantain (*kaŋ*),
which are not palatable until cooked. These are usually boiled in
a pot, skin and all. A smaller yellow kind (*tomra*) is usually skinned
before being laid on hot embers to roast.

177 Oranges and limes grow in the vicinity of most villages and are
much appreciated by the natives. They are always eaten raw.
262 The oranges do not change colour when ripe, but remain green;
the inside is pale, somewhat resembling the colour of a grape-fruit.
They are sweet and juicy. I understand that they are not indigenous,
as is also the case with the pawpaw (*Carica Papaya*). This
is eaten raw, like a melon, and generally while still, according to
our ideas, very far from ripe.

Mangoes grow in the bush, but do not, so far as I know, receive 222
any attention, though the locality of each tree is known. When 212
passing anywhere near one, most people will turn aside to gather the fruit. They like to dip it into their lime-pot before taking a bite; this is said to add to the flavour.

Pumpkins and some forms of marrow grow in the taro garden, 244
and in some places are found wild in the bush; possibly these are 262
escapes. They were sometimes offered to me, but are not much used or liked.

Sugar-cane is available. Bits of it are sucked with great relish. 263
It is tough and stringy and not very sweet; probably it suffers from lack of attention. No use is made of it except to suck sections of the cane as we eat sweets.

The long narrow fruit of the small-leaved mangrove (*parū*), 222
which goes red when it is ripe, is collected, skinned, and put into 252
a basket, then it is left in the sea overnight; next morning it is 262
washed in fresh water, boiled, and eaten as a relish, with coco-nut meat.

A small Chili pepper (*nubɔ*) is used to flavour the water in which 263
other food has been boiled, this liquid is then partaken of at the meal.

### 2. *Flesh food*

Unless some one chances to kill a wild pig in casual hunting, 262
pig-meat is a luxury reserved for special occasions. Domestic pigs 574
are never killed except for a feast of considerable importance.
The prestige of an important feast depends upon the number of 439
pigs that have been killed for it. If enough cannot be procured from the village supply, or caught by the hunters, the natives will,
at the present time, pay as much as £10 or £12 of our money— [435]
earned as wages in serving as indentured labourers—to a trader or planter who will sell them one.

Unless they have been wounded, wild pigs caught in the bush 224
are generally brought into the village alive. The method of carrying them is to tie the forelegs together, and the hind legs together, [482]
and swing the animal on a pole put between the legs. A pig will perhaps be brought in thus in the morning, thrown down on the ground near a hut, and left there for hours until the men are ready to kill it. Killing is usually done by plunging a spear into the animal's body just behind the uppermost foreleg, as it lies on its

224 side on the ground. A twist is given before withdrawing the spear, and if it has been done skilfully, death follows instantaneously; but if the pig grunts or squeals or struggles, the weapon is put in again, and sometimes two or three twists are given before the unfortunate animal ceases to breathe. 411 Nowadays the spear is a length of iron rod; in the olden days a stick of hard wood sharpened to a point was used; these are still employed if no iron is at hand. I have also seen pigs killed by a knife thrust instead of the spear.

252 A large fire is made, with big logs, and as soon as the pig is dead—I wish I were certain that they always wait long enough—it is picked up, still on its pole, and held over the flames till all the hair is singed (Pl. 35). Two men hold the pole, one at each end, the others look on with interest. When the hair is thoroughly singed, the pig is laid on the ground, and several men set to work to scrape off the singed hair with knives and sharp shells until the skin is fairly clean. If there is any blood on the body from the wound, the pig is taken to the sea and washed before it is singed. A longitudinal cut is made in the belly from snout to tail, through which the entrails are removed. Stomach and intestines are carefully washed in the sea, cleaned by being scraped with bits of stick, and then cut up and put into a pot, together with the lungs, kidneys, liver, &c. Practically no portion of the pig is thrown away. The blood is dipped up out of the body with a coco-nut shell, and poured into the pot, which is then filled up with water and set on a fire to boil. It is skimmed at intervals with the mid-rib of a coco-nut palm leaf, sharpened to a point. Its contents do not form part of the ceremonial meal for which the rest of the animal is destined, neither would they be given to guests, but are eaten as an ordinary meal by the men who attend to the cooking, when they so desire. 565 The liver is regarded as a special delicacy, and usually falls to the lot of the *tsunaun*. The pig is cut into thick sections transversely, the head forming the first portion. These 'joints' are cooked slightly by being placed on the fire for a few minutes till scorched on one side, then turned with the aid of poles and scorched on the other side. They are taken off the fire and laid on banana leaves spread for the purpose, either on the ground or on the verandah of a near-by hut, and are finally divided among the people concerned, who take them away and cut them into smaller pieces. These are wrapped up, with some taro, in packets covered with leaves, with which coco-nut-leaf baskets are filled for the

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PLATE 35

COOKING PIGS

252

[Facing p.282]

feast. Sometimes they are eaten as they are, almost raw, some- 252
times they are cooked a little more, by being placed on the fire
a second time.

The procedure of cooking pigs is always the same as that above 252
described. The men always attend to it throughout; women are 462
allowed to be present and to look on, but they never take any part in the work. If several pigs are to be cooked, there may be quite a number of men engaged in the various operations. On one occasion I counted ten men busy over the cooking of four pigs (see Pl. 35).

Opossum are skinned and cleaned before being cooked. The 252
animal is pulled apart at the joints, and each section, with the meat 262
on it, is roasted separately by being laid on the fire and scorched,
or wrapped in a package of leaves and cooked slowly in the embers
of a smouldering fire. More rarely, they are smoked whole. I [251]
once, at a bartering expedition, saw a woman with a load of smoked opossums on her back; they looked exactly like mummied cats. Flying foxes are treated in the same way as opossum, and are much appreciated by the boys wearing the *upi* who may not eat the other animal at a certain stage in their rites. Bats of a smaller variety are cooked, frequently by children, by holding them over a fire. Iguanas are eaten only occasionally, if other flesh food has been scarce.

The bush abounds with insects of the grasshopp[illegible]mily, some reaching a length of 3 or 4 inches. These are co[illegible]red great delicacies by the children, who toast them by impaling them on sticks held over a fire. They told me that these creatures were '*Tab en a dum tsū-u-u-u-u-u-n!*' 'Something very, very, very good to eat!' Adults are not above eating them when they feel so inclined.

The coast people will not eat snakes (*koro*), but they say the 262
mountain people do so. This, however, was denied by those 815
whom I had an opportunity of questioning on the subject, so [578]
it may be only a recognized form of insult. There are a number
of stories in my collection dealing with people who inadvertently 538
ate a snake, either by mistake for a *met'on* (sea slug), or through a mean trick played by some one else, who gives the man a piece of snake telling him it is opossum, an impertinence for which the practical joker, in most of the tales, pays with his life.

Several different kinds of frogs are used as food. The generic 262

262 term is *kūra*, which is apparently onomatopoeic, somewhat resembling the noise the creatures make in the bush. Each variety has its own name. One, called *lululagitʃ*, is said to come down with the rain. Some kinds have special conventions attached to their consumption (see p. 158).

252 Birds, especially pigeons, are much appreciated as a relish with
262 taro. They are usually roasted whole on the embers and pulled
[301] apart with the fingers. Domestic fowls are rarely eaten, and seem
to be kept only for the sake of the cock's tail feathers, which are valued as hair ornaments on ceremonial occasions. The eggs of the domestic fowl are left alone, but those of the little black bush fowl or megapode (*iowa*) are eaten with gusto when nearly ready for hatching. They are done up in little packages of leaves and cooked in hot embers, usually only on festal occasions. I failed to live up to my motto, 'Try anything once', when offered a packet of this delicacy.

222 When any one walking through the bush comes upon the partly
262 decayed trunk of a fallen tree, he will root about in the soft wood in search of a particular kind of grub, yellowish-white in colour, with a body 2 or 3 inches long and perhaps half an inch thick. These are collected, taken home, and cooked, to serve as an additional 'relish' to the evening taro. They are said to be good eating because they have 'plenty of grease' (*momōna*).

### 3. *Sea food*

262 Pig being a luxury usually reserved for feasts, and other flesh food being somewhat scarce and hard to come by, the usual relish to a meal of taro consists of fish. The most highly prized of all fish is the bonito (*atūn*), but a great variety of fish can be obtained and nearly all are eaten. The various methods of catching them are described in Chapter IX.

252 Fish is generally cooked by being wrapped in leaves and roasted
in the embers. I have never seen it being boiled. It may also be
[251] slightly smoked, so that it will keep for a short time (but never
completely smoke-dried so as to be fit for storage.) In this half-
[437] smoked condition it plays the principal part as a medium of barter
in the regular exchange of fish and taro which takes place between the women of different villages.

[226] Many varieties of shell-fish are collected on the reef by the women and girls. These are boiled in native pots, and the fish is

picked out from the shell, after being cooked, with a splinter of 252
wood. The liquid in which they have been boiled (*siro*) is drunk
from the pot, spooned up with a half-coco-nut shell or a mussel
shell, and is much appreciated. At the end of one such meal
I asked my hostess to pick out specimens of all the different
kinds of shell-fish which had been in the pot; she gave me nineteen
different shells, with the native name of each.

Trepang (*bêche-de-mer*) are very plentiful, but are not used as 262
food. Melanesians are amused at the idea of their being eaten, and
laugh at the Chinese for doing so. (There are several Chinese
stores in this area, so they are acquainted with this habit.)

Crabs are a frequent addition to a meal; I collected the names of
twenty varieties which are eaten. A large land-crab called *amo'on*
is especially liked. But the robber-crab (*Birgus latro*), which
Guppy (1887, p. 322) reports as being considered a luxury by the
Shortland Islanders, is not eaten by the people of the north coast
of Bougainville. The question did not arise while I was at Petats,
but when we were discussing it at Kurtatchi, on the occasion of
the game described on p. 13, my servant said that the Petats [177]
people used never to eat them in the past, but the Fijian teacher
had said they were good, and now they were much liked 'because
they have so much grease'. The hermit-crab (*kubar*) which is very
plentiful, and takes possession of almost any shell lying about
empty, is never eaten as it is considered dirty.

Turtles are sometimes to be had. They are most easily caught 225
by visiting an island on which they have landed to lay their eggs, 262
when they may be turned on their backs and collected at leisure.
I have also several descriptions of a method of catching turtles in
a net from a canoe; this involves a man diving so as to lift the
creature into the canoe. They say that men sometimes meet their
death in this work, by getting caught in the net and finding themselves
unable to come to the surface. Turtle meat is cooked by [252]
being wrapped in packets of leaves and placed in the embers; the
eggs are treated in a similar manner, and are considered a great
delicacy. The turtles of this district are mostly of the variety
known as 'green-backs', the shells of which are of little or no value
commercially.

Crocodiles are not eaten, as a rule, but I was informed that if 262
a crocodile kills or maims a native, and is afterwards caught, his 727
flesh is cooked and eaten, apparently as an insult, in the same

262 spirit as that in which a prisoner of war was eaten in the olden [727] days. I was not able to verify this piece of information with regard to the eating of crocodiles.

[538] I have never seen these people eating sharks, but I was told that they sometimes do, and it is referred to in some of the stories in my collection.

### SUMMARY OF METHODS OF COOKING

252 The principal methods of cooking employed by these people may be listed as follows:

*tsurak*, to scorch meat on the outside by holding it over the flame, or laying it for a short time in a hot fire.
*munmun*, to roast more slowly by leaving in the embers of a smouldering fire.
*moŋ*, to cook in packages of leaves laid on a slow fire.
*pupus*, to smoke. (When partial preservation is desired for purposes of barter.)
*ta'ō*, to cook very slowly in an oven, i.e. a hole in the ground filled with hot stones, and covered with earth.
*nosnos*, to boil in water in a pot.

With the exception of their use of the water in which shell-fish have been boiled, which they drink as soup, they do not appear to employ methods involving either decoction or infusion in the preparation of their food.

### DISCUSSION

146 With a view to ascertaining whether this diet fulfilled the conditions necessary to health in respect of its vitamin content, I have consulted the table given in the Medical Research Council's Report on Vitamins (published in 1932). Although of course many of the items in my list do not appear there, enough are given to show that all the vitamins are well represented. It is noteworthy that the banana, which is a very frequent constituent of their meals, is a good source of vitamins A, C, and E, contains $B_1$ and $B_2$, and is not entirely lacking in D. All the vitamins may also be obtained, in varying richness, from the different parts of the pig which are consumed. The use of citrus fruits and of the leaves of taro and other plants ensures a further supply of C, the latter also of A. Vitamin A is probably the least well represented of the more important vitamins, owing to the entire absence of milk and butter, though it is found in small quantity in the coco-nut, and perhaps

in the canarium almond, since it occurs in the European almond. 146
If taro (a species of *Colocasia*) may be compared to dasheen (*Caladium colocasia*), it probably supplies A, B, and C, but only in small amount.

I regret that I did not pay more attention to the daily quantity 261
of food consumed. In times of ceremonial feasting it is very greatly increased, especially as regards flesh foods. At such times every one eats to satiety, and the feast is considered eminently successful if a quantity of food is left over to lie rotting on the ground at its close. A typical meal for a man under ordinary circumstances 262
might consist of five or six medium-sized taro tubers and one or 146
two small fish, the other items appearing occasionally. The enormous preponderance of taro, which is the groundwork of every meal, would, one may suppose, result in an excess of carbohydrates in the diet,[1] but it is noteworthy that 'carbohydrate is the best material to have on hand for muscular activity', and that it is 'from the point of view of physiological economy, the most economical food' (Hutchison and Mottram, '33, p. 58). The protein content of the ordinary everyday meal is rather low, and there is probably a deficiency in the amount of fat provided, which perhaps accounts to some extent for the relish with which lumps of pig's fat are consumed when available.

While on a journey into the mountains of the Kunua district, 177
starting some twenty miles down the west coast, I saw a patch of 243
maize. I was told that it had originally been planted by some men who had brought it back with them on their return from working as indentured labourers. The coast people do not cultivate it, but they might well do so, as Mrs. Hadden was quite successful in her attempts to grow it on her plantation, proving that local conditions are not unsuited to it. In view of the high nutritive value and vitamin content of maize it might be of some benefit to the natives if facilities for obtaining seed could be provided for them; they might then be induced to cultivate and use it as a regular addition to their diet.

It is worthy of note that though the sago-palm grows in this 137
district in considerable numbers, its leaves being much in demand 824

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[1] Maiden (1889, p. 18) gives the following analysis, taken from a descriptive catalogue of the Japanese exhibits at the Health Exhibition, London, 1884: Albumen 1·427; Fat 0·080; Glucose 0·120; Starch 10·400; Pectose, &c. 1·154; Ash 0·987; Water 85·202.

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137 for thatching huts, yet these people do not normally use the pith
824 to make into sago such as is eaten by natives of other parts of the
Pacific (Codrington, 1891, p. 320). They neither ate nor prepared
146 any sago while I was with them, and on my questioning them about
262 it said it was eaten only in times of scarcity, when the taro crop had
failed. Their distaste for it in normal times is probably due partly
to the trouble of preparing it, but also perhaps to the fact that they
have already a more than sufficient supply of starch, of which sago
contains a high percentage.

In general it seems justifiable to say that the diet of these people is not seriously defective either in quality or in quantity. From the standpoint of our own eclectic taste, it is somewhat lacking in variety, but this does not seem to trouble the native overmuch, although he is quick to appreciate unaccustomed additions, such as canarium almonds, when they are available. It will be noted that under the climatic conditions here obtaining, where the staple foods can be procured all the year round, the comment made by Dr. Richards (1932, p. 164) in discussing this question—that the diet of the savage, though monotonous during any one season, is subject to the most drastic changes, not only in quantity but also in quality, in the course of the year—hardly applies. The quality of the food of the Bougainville native remains approximately the same throughout the year; the quantity varies, not regularly with the seasons but sporadically with the occurrence of ceremonial occasions, during which, if at no other time, he gets as much to eat as his heart could wish for, and more than his stomach can conveniently hold.

### WATER-SUPPLY

312 The villages in the mountains are well supplied with excellent water from streams, but the water-supply constitutes a very real problem in the case of the coast villages of N. Bougainville, except those fortunate enough to be situated near the mouths of the few rivers which run to the sea on the north coast. These are confined to its eastern portion. The people of the western part of the north coast are dependent upon the small pools which are found sporadically in the bush, and this supply they share with dogs, pigs, tadpoles, decayed matter, and all the other denizens of stagnant water in deep shade. A certain amount of decidedly brackish water can also be obtained by digging holes on the shore at low tide, to catch

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PLATE 36

415
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*a.* GETTING WATER

482
415

*b.* CARRYING WATER

[Facing p. 288]

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PLATE 37

[Facing p. 289]

415
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*a.* SEA WATER IN BAMBOOS
(Beach at Tiop.)

415
482
276

*b.* GAUA SMOKES A PIPE
(She is carrying bread-fruit in a coco-nut-leaf basket.)

the seepings which run down the cliffs and percolate through the 312
sand towards the sea.

It is the duty of the women, particularly the younger women and 462
girls, to bring in the water in the morning and again about sunset
(Pl. 36b). It is carried in coco-nut shells cleaned out for the purpose 415
through one of the eyes. The outside of such shells is often polished 624
by continual rubbing, and may be ornamented with seeds or shells
stuck in with the 'putty nut'. They are always carefully rinsed
before being filled. The hole is plugged with a stopper (*pipip*)
made of a smooth leaf (of the plant called *gartan*) by folding it in
an ingenious manner round the finger and tucking the ends in.
These water-containers (Pl. 36a) are called *ruin*; the same word
is used for fresh water generally and also means a stream. They
are never used for sea-water, which is usually transported in lengths
of bamboo (Pl. 37a). I have known men from the mountains walk
many miles to the sea in order to fill as many of these bamboos [317]
as they could carry back with them, this being their only means of
obtaining salt.

Ten or a dozen water coco-nuts will carry home the family's 312
supply for the day. Not much of it is expended on personal cleanliness,
but I have sometimes seen babies being washed by having [515]
the contents of one of the coco-nuts poured over them. Most of 272
it is used for cooking, chiefly for boiling taro. These people do not, [854]
as a rule, drink at meal-times, but will take a draught from one of
the coco-nuts some little time after eating. Water will sometimes 271
be carried to the taro gardens for consumption in the course of the [252]
day's work, but the liquid from a green coco-nut is more often
drunk on such occasions, being usually obtainable in the locality.
One could not want a more refreshing drink, since the shell and
the thick outer sheath keep the liquid cool under the hottest sun.
On the whole they seem to drink comparatively little, especially
considering the heat of the sun and the starchiness of much of their
food. If a person is thirsty while walking through the bush, and 824
cannot obtain coco-nuts, he will search for a special kind of plant 272
with a leaf similar to that of a banana, the native name of which is 137
*eben*. It grows in clumps, a number of rather thin stems close
together. Their colour is greenish streaked with brown. By making
a vertical slit in one of these stems a spurt of watery liquid will be
obtained, with which, by putting the mouth close to the cut,
thirst can be most refreshingly assuaged. There is another taller 137

137 tree, also known generally as 'bush banana', of which the native name is *wirtsun*; the liquid contained in this is not good for drinking. Its trunk is black, much thicker, and consists of a single stem only. Neither *oban* nor *wirtsun* produces edible fruit, except for parrots.
[324] The leaves of the former, but not the latter, are frequently used to cover cooking-pots in which taro, &c., is being boiled.

273 No fermented drink of any sort is manufactured, and fortunately
656 the natives have no access to European intoxicants, traders and planters being forbidden by the Government to supply them with beer or whisky, on pain of heavy penalties. Their comments on the behaviour of drunken white folk are not flattering.

### MEALS AND MANNERS

264 Two meals a day are generally prepared, one in the morning, before setting out for the day's activities, and one at dusk, after returning from the taro garden, the bush, or the fishing grounds. There is much impatience if food is not immediately forthcoming when wanted. '*Io to met a bios!*' is the exact equivalent of our 'I am dying of hunger!'

512 They begin their day at sunrise, but they do not immediately eat their meal. They will sit or stroll about in the sun, enjoying its
264 warmth before it rises high enough to become uncomfortably hot.
262 At their leisure the women prepare some taro, either by putting
252 some on to boil or by uncovering the oven where it has been cooking slowly all night. Fish are often eaten cold, having been cooked the day before and put aside wrapped up in leaves, or they may be heated on the embers. A typical meal which I shared with them at this time of day consisted of boiled taro, a quantity of small shell-fish, boiled, the water in which these had been cooked, and two kinds of bananas, one boiled and the other roasted on hot stones.

512 After taking their time over this meal they disperse to their
264 several devices, taking with them some cold taro in a coco-nut-leaf basket, to eat at intervals during the day or during rest intervals en route if they are going a journey. Any taro still remaining will be put into a similar basket and hung up in the rafters of the hut, where any member of the household can help himself whenever he feels inclined.

The second meal of the day is considered the principal one. The women set about preparing it as soon as they come back from

512

the taro garden with their loads, or from the reef with their little [264]
baskets of shell-fish. They begin by fetching firewood from the
bush; huge loads are carried on their backs by means of slings of 512
banana fibre hung from both shoulders after the manner of a ruck- 313
sack. The small girls must help in this work, each according to 482
her carrying capacity; they must also bring water. The meal does 883
not differ greatly from that taken in the morning, except that more
is eaten. Its main dish is invariably taro, either boiled or roasted, 262
sometimes supplemented by yams, sweet-potato, or green leaves,
or bread-fruit when in season. For the much needed 'relish' there
will be fish, or shell-fish, or perhaps opossum, if any have been
caught during the day.

Meals may be taken either inside or outside the hut, but are 264
most frequently eaten on the women's verandah. They are shared
by all the occupants of the hut, without rule of precedence, men [521]
and women eating together, and are times of pleasant chat and laughter, especially when the family sits at leisure after their hunger has been satisfied and discusses what is to be done that day, or what has been done, if the day is over. A man and his two wives, who usually occupy adjacent huts, will often share their meal on the verandah of one of them, with the children of both in great evidence. The adolescent girls eat with their parents, and the smaller fry hover about, scrambling on and off the verandah, getting such portions of food as their elders hand over to them. But the family circle is not complete, for the boys wearing the *upi* may not join it. They come to the door at the men's side of the house to have their food handed out to them, then they must take it away and eat it on the verandah of their *tobar*, or where they please, so long as they avoid the proximity of the women. It will be remembered also that persons standing to each other in the relationship of *magun*, *wetʃitʃio*, and *suvan* may not eat in one another's presence (see Chap. II), and that if a woman eats in the presence of her daughter's husband she must do so behind her hood.

Utensils used in the preparation and consumption of food are 415
simple and few. Nowadays an occasional enamel saucepan, and [177]
perhaps a cup and a plate or two, will be seen in the villages, brought in by some returned plantation labourer. But most families do their cooking with the aid of native pots, of which they will possess at least two or three of different sizes. For

415 individual needs, half a coco-nut shell makes an excellent cup or
bowl, leaves may be used as plates, and a shell (usually a species of
cyrena, Pl. 38, no. 6) serves many of the purposes for which we
use a spoon. These, with the women's knife made of black-lip
[412 oyster-shell and the large trade knives which are now universal,
825] constitute the chief utensils employed in preparing and eating
264 meals. Fingers and teeth are the aids to feeding most in evidence.

When ready to serve, the pot with its contents is placed on the
verandah, or on the ground, where every one can reach to put his
hand in and pick out a chunk of taro or a handful of tiny shell-fish.
These people will put their hands into water that is only just off
the boil, and take out a taro so hot that when they passed me my
share I invariably dropped it, till I learned to wrap a leaf round
my hand before accepting it. Similarly they will plunge a hand
into a potful of shell-fish immediately it has been taken off the fire.
Fish that has been cooked in leaves will be laid out on the verandah,
still resting on its leaf-covering; if the fish are small each person
will take one or more, according to the quantity available, if large,
pieces will be torn off with the fingers. Sometimes a number of
cooked taro or the portions of a disjointed opossum will be passed
round in a coco-nut-leaf basket. If you have taken more than you
want you pass the remainder of the taro or the half-picked bone
to some one else, probably one of the children, with the remark
'*Komanĕ a libul*', 'My belly is full'. I never saw any one put partly
eaten food back into the pot. There are always plenty of dogs and
pigs in attendance, who see to it that no fragments are left on the
231 ground when the meal is over. The pigs are specially fed with
the taro peelings and any other bits accruing from the preparation
of the meal, being called up by name by the housewife for this
purpose. The dogs fare more meagrely, being purposely kept on
short rations in order that they may be fierce in hunting.

## SMOKING

276 Smoking is universally indulged in, even by quite small children.
Apart from the merest babies I do not remember meeting any one
[855] who did not smoke. It is a common sight to see a little girl of
perhaps five or six strutting about with a pipe in her mouth, which
may or may not be alight (Pl. 37*b*).

249 Tobacco is grown in small quantities and cured by being hung
276 in bundles in the sun, but everybody much prefers the variety to
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PLATE 38

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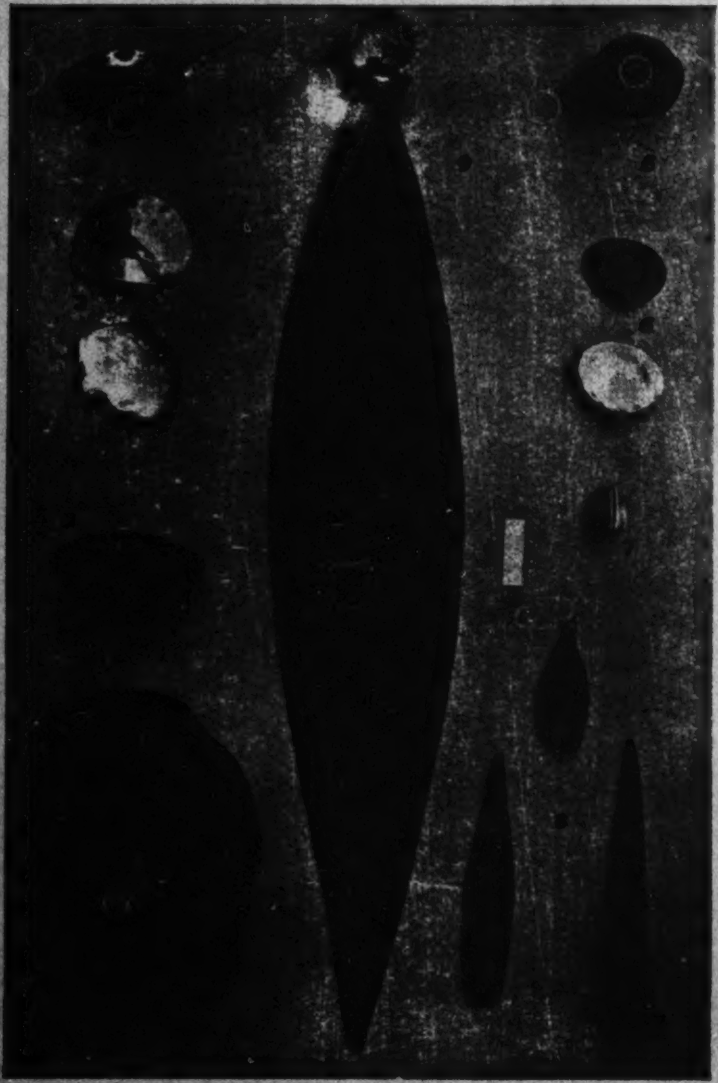

SOME OBJECTS IN COMMON USE

1. Pinna shell containing paint. 2. Stone for crushing paint, &c. 3. Women's nives. 4, 5. Taro scrapers. 6. Spoons. 7. Tweezers. 8. Bone tools for making thatch. 9. Coco-nut scraper made from canoe-paddle.

[Facing p. 292]

276

be obtained from white men, which is a kind of plug twist, mixed [249 with molasses, and made up into sticks about 6 inches long. The 439] same word (*wuruts*) is used for both native and trade tobacco. Portions of stick-tobacco are twisted off and crumbled, and are smoked either in pipes or in the form of cigarettes, made of any kind of paper that happens to be available. The newspapers sent to me from home were in great demand for this purpose. I once gave a man a half-sheet of the *Observer*, and was amused to see him roll it obliquely into a cigarette of enormous length, which he smoked with great satisfaction, to the envy of the onlookers, and somehow succeeded in keeping alight. The height of smoking luxury, however, consists in a tin of Capstan and a packet of cigarette papers. When they have no tobacco they will pick up a piece of smouldering wood from a fire, crush it into their pipes, and smoke it with apparent content. They like to mix with their tobacco [824] a resinous gum (*tagon*) collected from the trunk of the canarium almond.

Pipes are made in certain villages where a suitable supply of 276 clay can be obtained. One man on Petats was considered especially 323 skilful. He got his clay from the neighbourhood of a river on the island of Buka. It appears to be similar to that used for pottery-making on the opposite side of the island. The work is usually done inside the hut, so that the clay will not dry too quickly. The bowl is shaped in the finger, and the stems are moulded round a thin cane which is then pulled out. The pipes are baked by being laid in the embers of an ordinary house fire. They are also made in [184 some of the villages on Bougainville, especially in the Kunua dis- 438] trict, but not in any of those on the north coast, the people of which obtain them by barter. In the Kunua villages I saw some with [531] patterns incised on the bowls, but as a rule those in common use have plain bowls, with slight differences of shape in the projecting piece at the bottom. The length of the stems varies a little, but is generally not more than 3 or 4 inches.

### *CHEWING THE BETEL-MIXTURE*

Just as universal as the habit of smoking is that of areca-nut 276 chewing (*gas*), which begins perhaps even earlier, since babies a few months old are given the husks of the areca-nut to suck. I have seen a man spit his mouthful into the hand of a child aged perhaps six, who chewed it for a while and then transferred it to

276 a still younger child who also chewed it. The practice is usually referred to as 'betel-nut chewing', but, as has been pointed out by Ivens (1927, p. 285), this is actually a transference of the name of the condiment chewed with the nut to the nut itself, which is the seed of the areca-palm (*Areca catechu* and allied species). As usual throughout the Melanesian area, the areca-nut (*bok*) is always used in conjunction with betel-pepper (*ta-nek*) and lime (*iav*), a combination referred to by Rivers in *Melanesian Society* as 'the betel-mixture', a practice which I have followed in this book. The procedure is somewhat different from that described by Ivens for the SE. Solomons. It is frequently eaten after a meal, but also at any and every opportunity as desired, much as we smoke cigarettes. The catkin-like fruit, described by Guppy (p. 95) as 'the female spike', of the betel-pepper (*ta-sian*) is much more highly relished [853] than the leaf, which is eaten only when the fruit is scarce, or by those to whom the fruit is taboo, as in the case of a mother with [415 531] a suckling child. The lime is carried in a specially cleaned-out shell of a young coco-nut (also called *iav*), which is often ornamented with an elaborate incised pattern (*iav a gõm*) emphasized [439] by having lime rubbed over the lines (Pl. 72). The north coast people do not now make these carved specimens, but obtain them by barter from the mountain people. Often, however, they are 'too lazy' to make even a plain one by cleaning a coco-nut, and are content to keep their lime in empty cigarette tins or tobacco tins. No spatula is used, the nut being dipped straight into the lime-pot. I saw no mortars for use by old people, who, if they cannot open the nuts with their hardened gums, will get one of the youngsters to do it for them.

245 Areca-palms (*boi*) are cultivated, and are regarded as valuable
222 property. There is also a kind of wild palm producing small nuts, which are also eaten, but only if the others are not available.

The betel-pepper (*Piper betel*) is cultivated. There are also wild varieties, of which I know three kinds; they have much smaller leaves and are less in favour. One, called *tʃutʃun*, is chewed especially by old women. All these varieties are parasitic on large trees. If a large quantity is required the stem will be severed near the ground and the whole plant pulled off the tree, but as a rule the fruit and leaves are carefully picked one by one so as not to injure the growing plant.

vvv Lime is made from coral, branched coral being preferred. Its

Lime is made from coral, branched coral being preferred.

Its preparation is the work of the women, and consists of burning the 317
coral with a minimum of slaking. The work is carried on in the 462
recesses of the bush, the place being kept secret and no men permitted to approach it. Large quantities are prepared at a time, at infrequent intervals.

Areca-nut and betel-pepper must be provided in abundance on 276
every ceremonial occasion, and are always given to visitors from 574
other villages to take home with them on their return. Each individual 364
carries his own supply of lime, or begs a dip from his neighbour; it is not provided with the other ingredients. When in his own village the chewer of the betel-mixture will freely fling the skins about on the ground, to be swept up by the women in the course of their cleaning. They are thrown away in any convenient spot, in the case of villages on the cliff top generally over the cliff, or they may be burnt. There does not appear to be any special place for disposing of them, as is described by Ivens (1927, p. 287) for the SE. Solomons. But when on a visit to another village, particularly to one in the mountains, where there is always a feeling [609
that the people are not to be trusted, the skins are carefully put 754]
into the little basket which everybody carries, and brought away, lest an enemy should use them for making 'bad medicine'.

Branches of areca-nuts are carried by the messengers sent out 565
by the *tsunaus* to summon people to a ceremony. (Cf. Ivens, 202
1927, p. 288.)

The natives say that chewing the betel-mixture 'makes them feel 276
strong'. I can testify that when they have plenty to chew they are livelier and more inclined to talk. It is known to them that people who chew too much of it are apt to fall into a slightly dazed and stupid condition, and there are a very few who do not like the effect it has upon them and therefore avoid it. The majority, however, obviously feel lost without it, like an inveterate smoker left without tobacco.

## STORIES OF THE ORIGIN OF VARIOUS FOODSTUFFS

Among my collection of stories there is a large number explaining 773
how the people came to be possessed of, or to learn to use, 261
certain of their foodstuffs. Many of these turn on the activities
of the famous 'two brothers', and are connected with a widespread [171]
series extending over a large part of the Pacific (see references in my paper on Folk-tales, 1932, p. 74). As the stories are in most cases

773 261 long and involved, I give here only the substance of a few typical examples.

### *Origin of all the fruit*

773 261 539 According to a story current on the island of Pororan, the coco-nut was once a very tall tree whose top reached into the sky. Several birds tried to reach the top, but failed, and finally a flying fox succeeded in getting to the top and shaking down some coco-nuts. Then from the top of the tree he threw coco-nuts and bread-fruit and mangoes, and all the other fruits that grow on trees; he threw them about to all the villages, so that everybody had these things to eat; before this they had had none of them.

### *Origin of coco-nuts*

The younger of two brothers met his death by an accident (its nature varies in different versions), and the elder brother planted his head. In course of time a coco-nut tree grew up out of his mouth. By and by it grew tall and bore coco-nuts, which were distributed to all the villages, in one version by a bird, in another by the people coming to fetch them on the invitation of the elder brother. From these there arose all the coco-nut palms that now exist.

### *Origin of bananas*

Once upon a time there were no cultivated bananas, only the wild bush bananas which only the parrots will eat. But a man dug up one of these trees, and two of them carried it, one taking its roots and another its top, and they planted it in their garden. It grew, and bore fruit, and the fruit was very good, so the man picked the bananas and took them to the village and invited all the people to eat them. Then he suggested that they should all plant banana trees in their gardens, and so they did.

### *Origin of areca-nut*

Two men were out fishing; they stole a canoe belonging to a *pinari* (bush spirit, see pp. 542–3). The *pinari* caught them and cut off their heads, and planted them. From the two heads there grew up an areca-palm. Before that people did not know anything about the areca-nut. The *pinari* made a big feast and invited all the people, and gave them all nuts and taught them how to chew them with lime. They all found it good, and they all took some back with them and planted areca-palms in their own villages.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

### *Discovery of betel-pepper*

A man once went into the bush to hunt pig, and his dogs caught one. But in running with them he lost his basket containing his knife and the piece of rope he had brought to tie up the pig. He sat down at the foot of a tree up which a betel-pepper plant was growing, and bit its stem through with his teeth, thinking to use it as a rope. By chance he had some areca-nut and lime in his mouth at the time, and he was astonished to see that his spittle was red. At first he thought his mouth was bleeding, but by further experiment he found that the colour was due to the stem of the betel-pepper mixing with the areca-nut and lime in his mouth. He found also that it made the mixture taste much better, taking off the biting sharpness. But the stem was rather tough, so he looked up and saw the fruit of the betel-pepper. He tried that, and found that it had the same effect, but was much more pleasant to eat. So he went home and told all the people what he had discovered, and they all tried it and found it very good. Since then every one has chewed the fruit of the betel-pepper with their areca-nut and lime.[1]

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[1] A precisely similar story is current among the Orokaiva, cf. Williams, 1928, p. 123.

# IX

# THE FOOD QUEST

262 THE principal constituents of Melanesian diet having been discussed in the previous chapter, the present one will be devoted to a description of the methods by which this food is obtained. Since vegetable produce, and in particular the taro plant, forms by far the greatest part of the diet of these ~~people,~~ this will first be dealt with, followed by hunting and fishing, ~~the~~ means whereby flesh food is provided as a ~~much~~-needed 'relish' to the vegetable diet.

## HORTICULTURE

244 242 Horticultural activities centre mainly round the provision of a sufficient crop of taro for their daily needs, with an excess at certain times for use at ceremonial feasts. This is by no means an easy task. Taro makes heavy demands on the soil, so that in the absence of any knowledge of fertilizers or of the principle of rotation of crops, a patch which has produced a crop of taro cannot be used again till it has had time to recover. In the case of the large [412] taro garden near Kurtatchi, I was told that this particular patch was last cleared by men who used stone axes, long before the oldest men in the village were born, and that it will not be used again till the sons of the present generation of babies are grown men. I suppose that this practice must, at some time or other, have been adopted as the result of experience. At any rate, they know that if you plant again in the same garden too soon the taro will be small and will not grow well.

The result of this policy is that the men and boys must see to it that fresh patches of cleared ground are always ready for the women to replant the stalks of the tubers they take out daily for their household needs. It is not always realized, I think, how large an area of land a primitive community needs to support itself, even if not nomadic. At present the inhabitants of this region have plenty of land at their disposal for the necessary shifting of their gardens, though even now gardens are often several miles from the village to which they belong. But if there should arise in the future any

great increase in the demand for land for commercial coco-nut 242
plantations, it might become a serious problem. It is the practice 244
of the Government, however, to consider very carefully all requests
for land on the part of white people, and in view of the doubtful
future of the copra market, the situation may never become acute.
Apart from this it would be to the advantage of the natives to
learn more intensive methods of using their land, so that the women
might be relieved of the necessity of carrying heavy loads of taro
several miles back to the village.

A piece of ground which has been cultivated and subsequently 137
left untouched very quickly 'goes back bush', and soon becomes
indistinguishable from the rest of the forest. Since the practice of
continually changing the locality of the gardens has been continued
for a very long time, probably little, if any, of the 'bush' in the
north-western corner of Bougainville, where the soil is suitable
for taro-growing, is now virgin forest. Most of it is covered with
secondary growth, with very few really large trees, but with great
quantities of undergrowth and of 'bush banana' plants, which
grow very rapidly.

The clearing of the bush is done mainly by the men and boys; 244
the women help by taking out the smaller undergrowth and by
removing rubbish. The work of fencing is performed mostly by 262
men. It is very necessary owing to the depredations of the pigs.
When this has been done, the subsequent weeding and care of the
garden is the women's business, but their menfolk will often give
a hand to help them. The young married couple Matarē and
Marotē frequently went off to weed their garden together. I sometimes
used to go and do a day's work with them, or with other
friends, gaining thereby not only useful information, but also the
gratitude of the owner of the plot and some much-needed exercise.
The following description of one of these occasions is included for 244
the sake of the details it gives of a scene which, apart from my
intrusive self, may be regarded as typical: 'This is being written
in a taro garden, during a rest between two spells of work. We are
sitting on a log under the shade of a banana palm, surrounded by
taro plants at all stages of growth. A girl, somewhere in her teens,
with a pipe in her mouth and flowers in her hair, is making holes
in the ground with the sharpened end of a pole, while another girl
drops taro stalks into them. Their bright red loin-cloths make a
splash of colour in a picture that is otherwise much too green.

244 Presently a third comes up with a young tree balanced on each shoulder, with which to repair the fence where the pigs have broken through. An old man, entirely unencumbered by clothing of any description, alternately squats and stoops as he clears the patch of the ferns and grasses that tropical sun and rain so persistently replace. Balanced on a stump, beside the glowing embers at which the workers constantly rekindle their perpetual pipes, a baby opossum is being roasted to a turn. On the edge of the cleared patch a young man slashes with a long knife at the tangle of wild banana plants, ferns, creepers, and what-not that makes up the underbrush of a tropical forest where the trees are not too thick. Another young man, carrying a long spear, appears out of the bush where he has been hunting wild pig with the aid of the half-dozen or so lean and mangy mongrels which come bounding after him. With one accord they make a hungry rush for the roasting 'possum, which its owner hastens to retrieve and wrap in a banana leaf. Everybody stops work to light up pipes and listen to the woeful tale of the unsuccessful hunter, who explains why the pig got away. Presently he goes on, taking his curs with him, and work begins again.'

244 Although, as has been seen, men may, and frequently do, help with the weeding, the actual planting must on no account be done
462 by them. The reason given by the women was that the men did not know how, and if they did it the taro would not thrive. Those who wish may see in this practice some connexion with the idea of fertility.

244 Taro for the daily needs of the household is continually planted, fresh stalks being put in whenever any are taken out. It is propagated only—so far as my information and observation lead me to believe—by replanting tops of tubers, with the stalks left attached. I have never seen or heard of offsets being used, as is reported by Williams for the Orokaiva (1928, p. 137). Each woman looks after the needs of her own family. But when a great quantity of taro is going to be needed for a special occasion, the whole village works
423 together on a large new clearing, the various sections of which, however, remain the private property of individuals. A man will mark out a patch for each of his wives, and one for his mother, if
244 she lives with him, or any other dependent female relative, includ-
343 ing his sister, should she be a widow living in the same village. During the process of clearing some of the more industrious

workers often erect temporary shelters (*tanū*) of banana leaves on the spot and remain there for weeks at a time, thus saving themselves the long walk to the garden in the morning and back again at night. They bring down a minimum of household goods, a sleeping-plank and a cooking-pot, and often do not trouble to construct more than a roof and a back to their shelter. 244 343

In the olden days, when stone implements were the only tools available, large trees were brought down by burning them at their base. Now that trade axes and knives can be obtained the trees are felled a few feet from the roots, leaving the stumps standing. Trees with a food value, such as canarium almonds, are always spared. The undergrowth is cut down and left lying where it falls till it is dry; eventually it is made into large heaps and burned, except for the thick stems of the bush banana plants which contain so much moisture that they will not burn. These are arranged in orderly piles, kept in place by stakes on each side, and left to rot. 412 177 244 313

In the ordinary way taro is planted as a routine matter without any ceremonial attaching to the operation. But there are certain 'medicines' which may be used if desired. Some of these are the sole prerogative of the women, some may be used by both sexes. I have a considerable number of these 'prescriptions' in my collection, some of the more interesting run as follows: 244 824 [562]

*Burustĕ* (*Eranthemum* sp.).

Chew scrapings from the roots of this plant with the betel-mixture, spit on hand, rub shell-knife with which taro stalk is trimmed before planting, and knife (trade) with which ground is weeded. Rub also on taro. Your taro will be good when other people's is bad. Used only by women. [562]

*Magor* (a mixture, described on p. 475).

Chew some *magor* with betel-mixture. Spit it on to a piece of stick which grew in the taro garden, then spit on the cut end of the stalks that are to be planted, and say: '*Ar wayas nor ū mū so suts tʃan.*' 'You and I spit on the taro, now it is large.' Used only by women. [562]

*Tʃiab* (plant unidentified).

Chew roots with *magor* and betel-mixture. Spit on hand, rub on stalk of taro before planting. After doing this a man must not go fishing, and a woman must not go to the shore or hunt for shell-fish on the reef. If this prohibition is not kept the taro leaves will shrivel and dry up. The time during which it is observed was not to be ascertained.

244 To prevent pigs from spoiling taro:

789 *Karamuts* (plant unidentified).

Break some pieces of stick from this shrub into lengths of about two inches. Chew its root with the betel-mixture and spit on these bits of stick. Bury the sticks on the road to the taro garden. The pigs will not go into that garden. (Note that this prescription is not regarded as an alternative to good fencing!)

There are also special stones which may be planted in the garden to make the taro grow strong. They are smeared with *oin* and planted without further ceremonial. Those that I have seen are pebbles of volcanic origin, found, so their owners told me, in the beds of rivers that run to the coast from the interior. There are [439] no rivers near Kurtatchi; the stones are obtained by barter from the mountain people and are greatly valued.

244 796 When a large new taro garden is being made for some special purpose, a ceremony is held. I saw this done on two occasions, once at a taro garden belonging to Kurtatchi, the second time at one belonging to the neighbouring village of Tabut. Both these gardens were being prepared for use at the big feast accompanying the watawutch ceremony. Since the methods of preparation and planting are generally applicable, and the ritual typical, I give an account of the procedure at the Kurtatchi garden in some detail.

### *Ceremony for Planting New Taro Garden*

### *(June 9 and 10, 1930)*

The ground had been cleared of everything except the orderly piles of rubbish, the trunks of the larger trees, and the roots of the bush bananas, with their stems standing a foot or so from the ground. On the day before the ceremony the whole cleared space [423] was laid out in plots, roughly square, marked off by long thin logs, each plot being the personal property of one individual. A passage-way about 6 feet wide ran down the middle of the whole ground, the shape of which was roughly rectangular. Part of two men's plots had not yet been cleared, but was still covered with leaves and brush-wood. The men responsible were held up to ridicule as lazy, but the censure was neither meant nor taken very seriously.

All the small bits of stick, leaves, &c., which remained on the plots having been carefully removed, little fires were lighted on each plot, burning dry coco-nut shells. The leaves of a plant (*nets*)

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

The leaves of a plant (nets)

and another (*korowin*) were cut up into small pieces and put on 244
these fires. [These leaves give rise to a dense smoke which spreads
all over the ground. It is intended to drive away the *urar* who 796
might wish to do harm to the taro when it is planted. The smoke 824
of the *nets* blinds them so that they cannot see the taro. The
smoke of the *korowin* is directed against pigs, it blinds them so
that they will not be able to get into the garden and spoil the
taro. This is intended as a protection against possible disaster in
the future, since there is at this stage in the proceedings no taro
on the site or anywhere near it. No other fires may be lit on or
near the taro garden on that day.]

In the middle of each plot a stick between 2 and 3 feet high was 244
set up and half a dry coco-nut shell balanced on the top of it. The 796
taro, when planted, will look up at the coco-nut on the top of its
stick and will try to grow up tall so as to hide it.

In the village a number of men were busy making ceremonial
pudding. One package was made especially large, 5 to 6 feet long,
a foot broad, and a couple of inches thick.

The next day the village rose in great excitement, the climax of
a growing tension which had been evident for some days. (There
had been a *kōma* almost every night for about a week before.) The [302]
people cut and combed their hair, and covered their heads with
black paint. Some of them also put paint on their faces, outlining
the forehead with white and putting red dots or streaks on their
cheeks and red on their ears.

Matĕv, the woman of most importance in the village, carried the [554]
packages of ceremonial pudding down to the garden, a distance of
about three miles. I accompanied her. When we arrived several [437]
other women pulled up a quantity of taro from another garden in
the neighbourhood and went off to Tarongen to barter it, by
appointment, with the women of Saposa for half-smoked fish to
use as a relish, the occasion not being of sufficient importance to
warrant the killing of pigs.

Other women brought down some specially selected taro stalks [437]
which had been obtained several days before, in exchange for pots,
from the women of Baniu, where the soil is said to be better and
the taro finer. All the taro stalks were laid out in piles in a shady 244
place, and the tubers carefully cut off with black-lip oyster-shell 824
knives. The stalks were then left heaped up in the shade for the
time being. On top of the heaps were placed bundles of *ōts*, a plant 796

244 with jagged red and yellow leaves, which is always planted in the
824 taro garden and is supposed to have the effect of making the taro
796 grow well. Cordyline plants are frequently put there also for the
same purpose.

244 Meanwhile the men were cutting poles about 4 to 5 feet long,
scraping off the bark top and bottom, and sharpening one end.
796 These are called *isō* and are used to make the holes in which the
412 taro stalks are planted. They form the only actual agricultural
343 implement used in this district, since the trade knives used for
clearing bush and weeding serve also a multitude of other purposes.
When each man had been provided with one of these the men all
went off to the new garden and put up a shelter in the middle of it,
over part of the path which ran down its whole length. The shelter
consisted merely of poles stuck in the ground with a layer of banana
leaves laid across them, but it served to shade a small patch of
ground where the *ēto* (medicine) could be prepared, and where
food could be eaten away from the heat of the sun. The large
packet of ceremonial pudding was laid under this shelter, together
with bundles of leaves required for the 'medicine'. The food was
consumed at intervals in the course of the day's work.

244 Pinari had gone off in the early morning to look for some special
796 leaves in the bush. When he returned, all the men, but no women
[562] —except myself, by special invitation—collected round the shelter.
The women remained outside the garden, beside the heaps of
taro stalks.

[415] One of the men made a receptacle (*kōbū*) by twisting up and
tying the ends of the thick fibrous sheath of the areca-palm. This
244 he handed to Pinari, who put inside it an old *kōbū* containing a
796 mixture of red dust and scraps of dried leaves. This mixture was
not prepared on the spot, it had been obtained a long time ago
from an ancestor of Pinari's living at another village, and is very
highly valued. It is kept in Pinari's chief hut, and had been brought
down, carefully wrapped in banana leaves, earlier in the morning.
The mixture is called *tama'uy*. Pinari knows how to make it, but
he would have to obtain some of the materials from a distance.
[868] Before he dies he will teach the secret to his sons. He told me
later that the mixture consisted of scrapings from the roots and
leaves of a number of plants, which I was not able to identify,
some of them not found locally. These are mixed with a quantity
of *magor*. The mixture thus prepared is kept for use as required,

but other ingredients must be added just before the ceremony 244
takes place. 796

Into the mixture in the *kōbū* Pinari scraped a small quantity of
the red powder called *oin*, which was handed to him in two halves
of coco-nut shells. Then, with an air of mysterious dignity which
clearly indicated that the action was one of great importance,
he produced from the folds of his loin-cloth a very small piece [823]
of stone, which looked like some volcanic substance containing
sulphur. He scraped a very little of this into the mixture, which,
he said, already contained some of it, and then carefully folded the
remainder into his loin-cloth again. This stone is called Mumariria. 244
The large stone from which the fragment was taken is at Soamets, 796
a place about twenty miles down the coast to the east. [The stone 778
lies on the edge of a little river where the mangroves grow. It
belongs to the Nakarib clan, some members of which are in 423
especially close association with it. One of these was a Soamets 438
woman, now dead, called Mariria. If Pinari's sister's daughter,
Rus, should bear a girl child, she will be called Mariria, and will
inherit the special association with the stone from her namesake.
If a man belonging to any other clan goes near it, the stone
'fights him' and he dies. If men from another village want to buy
some of the stone to make 'medicine' for their own taro, Pinari
sells them a piece off the back of the stone, which is no good, and
will not make the taro grow. But when he wants it for himself
he takes it from the front of the stone, then it is very powerful
medicine.]

After adding the Mumariria, Pinari called for water, which was 244
brought in coco-nut shells. The contents of three of these were 796
emptied into the mixture, which Pinari then stirred round with
his hand.

Meanwhile the other men had been cutting small pieces of 244
wood, each about 4 inches long, carefully measured against one 796
another so that they should be of the same length. There were 824
two kinds of wood, *kunis* and *tario*. The essential thing is that both
these are hard wood, and so will cause the taro stalks to grow strong.
If sticks of soft wood were used the taro stalks would be rotten
and would stink. One piece of each kind was tied up in a bundle
with two leaves of *korowin*, one leaf from a variety whose leaves
are all green, the other from a kind whose leaves are green on the
upper side and red underneath. The stalks of these leaves were

244 left sticking out of the bundle. A number of these bundles were prepared and handed to Pinari one by one. He dipped each into
796 the *kōbū* containing the 'medicine' and smeared them with its
[824] contents, and then gave them back to the men, who went up the garden planting one beside each of the sticks holding up the coconut shells, which stood in the centre of each plot of ground. Several men took part in this procedure, there seemed to be no prerogative about it. These bundles watch over the taro and cause its stalks to grow strong.

While this was being done Sobak made a little fire of small sticks just outside the shelter, on which he very carefully placed some bits of cooked taro. These were for the *urar* who were presently to be called upon.

All this time the women had remained outside the taro garden. They were now called in by Pinari and came up in single file, each with an enormous bundle of taro stalks on her back. They went up through the cleared patch, leaving a bundle of taro stalks beside each plot, laying them out carefully and propping them up against the logs which outlined the plots.

While this was going on one of the men, Watchiu, was receiving each man's digging pole, dipping it into the *kōbū*, smearing the mixture over it with his hands and giving it back again. He is a commoner, not one of the older men, nor a person of any particular importance, and no reason was given for his undertaking this part of the procedure except that he had expressed his willingness to do so. Each man, as he received his digging pole, put it on his shoulder and went off up the ground. They divided themselves among the different plots and stood ready to make the holes in which the taro stalks were to be planted.

Then Pinari took a bundle of leaves tied up together. These were the special leaves which he had gone out early to collect.
[824] The names of six different kinds were given to me; they are chosen because they are all leaves of plants which grow quickly, the idea being that the taro plants will *follow their example* and hasten their own growth. The bundle was laid inside the *kōbū* containing the prepared mixture, with the stalks outside.

Then Pinari's favourite wife, Kwimau, came and took up the *kōbū*. They both went up the taro ground, Pinari in front, Kwimau following close behind him. At the bundle of taro stalks which had been left at the farthest plot he stopped, took the bunch of

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 39

244
796

*a.* SPRINKLING THE TARO STALKS WITH 'MEDICINE'

*b.* CEREMONY AT TABUT TARO GARDEN

[Facing p. 306]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

244
796

PLATE 40

PREPARING FOR PLANTING AFTER STALKS HAVE BEEN WASHED

[Facing p. 307]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

leaves out of the *kōbū*, and brushed the cut ends of the taro stalks rapidly with it, wetting them with the *tama'uy* mixture, and stirring the stalks about with his other hand, to make sure that each stalk was touched by it. As he brushed he called out, not very loud, but in a most reverent and impressive tone: '*Ah, Buntagori, Bunamoa, Bunabo'oi, Na'uston, Mutsbut, Bummoranor, Buna'ian. Tamū ini, tamū piar, tamū tʃan.*' The first part of this consists of names of people of the village who are dead, and are now *urar*, who were good gardeners in their time. All were women, except Na'uston, who was Pinari's mother's brother. Buntagori was Pinari's mother. The second part means: 'Taro here, our taro, good taro.' He carried out the same procedure at each plot (Pl. 39*a*). The order of the names varied slightly, and the formula was sometimes as follows: 244 796

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| '*Di* | *ma* | *ta tamū* | *pa* | *ēto* | *piar,* | *no* | *me* | *born ia.*' |
| Bring | (*imper. part.*) | some taro | by | medicine | our, | come | and | throw it away. |

He also dabbed the mixture on the logs outlining the plots, but without saying anything. Kwimau helped with this, but for the washing of the taro stalks she merely stood by holding the *kōbū* in readiness for Pinari to dip the bundle of leaves into it.

The *urar* thus called upon come up later on. If any of the men hide and watch for them they can see and hear them. They look at the taro that has been planted, and they laugh, and say: 'The people have planted bad taro, by and by they will have nothing to eat. Let us give them good taro.' Then they go and get good taro from Kunua, from Lontis, from Hanahan, from all the places where the taro is good, and come and plant it in place of the other, which they take up and throw away.

After washing the last bundle of taro stalks Pinari wiped his hands on some leaves, which he carefully buried under a heap of rubbish in one corner of the ground.

Kwimau held out the *kōbū* to the women, and they all washed their hands in it before going to plant the taro. Finally Kwimau dipped her own hands in the mixture and rubbed them over the legs of her youngest child, aged between one and two, who was just recovering from yaws and was very sickly-looking and backward in walking. This was done to make his legs strong. Nothing was said by her as she rubbed him with the mixture. [755]

The *kōbū* containing the *tama'uy* mixture, from which most of

244 796 the liquid had now been used, was carefully wrapped up and put aside. At the end of the day it was taken back to the village and hung up again from the rafters of the hut from which it had been taken. When the taro stalks grow tall it is brought out again, and they are rubbed with the mixture to hasten their growth. The mixture remains in the *hŏbŭ* permanently, being added to when required, as on the present occasion.

244 796 784 Just before Pinari and Kwimau started out to wash the taro stalks an animated discussion arose among the men. They wanted Sobak to help with the washing. But he said he did not want to be debarred from fishing. Those who perform this office may not go fishing until the taro has started to grow, and has been weeded once. If this taboo were broken the taro leaves would all shrivel up and the taro be spoiled. So Pinari excused Sobak, saying he would do it all himself. He does not fish very much in any case. Kwimau was also debarred from going near the sea, even from searching for shell-fish on the dry reef at low tide.

244 796 As Pinari finished washing each bundle of stalks the men set to work on the plots, making holes with their digging poles (Pl. 40). They pushed the poles into the ground with all the force they could muster, from some height above their heads, and then turned the pole in the ground so as to enlarge the hole. Some of the younger and more vigorous women shared in this task, but most of the women did not attempt it. As soon as the holes were ready the women planted taro stalks in them. First they took a couple of handfuls of earth out of the hole, then put two taro stalks into each, pressing them down very firmly. Then they pushed the earth they had removed down between the two stalks, pounding it down with both hands clenched. Great stress was laid upon the proper performance of this very practical procedure, and the women continually exhorted each other, and me, to press the earth down hard. If any leaves remained upon the stalk they were turned downwards and pressed into the hole, which was not always completely filled. The plants were put in about 1½ feet apart, roughly in lines.

Round the coco-nuts in the middle of each plot they planted special kinds of taro with red stalks. These are extra fine varieties. They talk to the ordinary taro, saying: 'We must grow quickly, we are afraid of these two men here who are watching us.' This refers to the two bits of wood which were planted close to the coco-nut in the middle of each plot.

The work was done very rapidly and was well co-ordinated, so 244
that there was no confusion, although there was a large number
of people working in close juxtaposition. Though it was long after 796
noon when the planting started the whole area was covered before
sunset, except a few corners where there were not enough stalks
to go round. These were finished subsequently, without further
ceremony. Almost all the able-bodied people of the village were
present, both men and women, with the exception of the boys 882
wearing the *upi*. They were not allowed to come to the garden on
that day, but were obliged to stay in or near the village.

The women wore no head covering. They are not allowed to 244
wear their pandanus leaf hoods on this occasion. If any one has
a *waris* relative present she must make a hood out of banana leaves. 291
I could get no explanation of this rule against the wearing of the 796
hood, usually very much in evidence on all ceremonial occasions,
frequently worn even when custom does not require it, to protect
the head when exposed to the heat of the sun, as these women were
all this day.

Every one left the garden as soon as the planting was finished. 244
It was not visited again for the next five days. After that work was
resumed upon it, the remaining patches were cleared and the odd 796
corners filled.

There was no *kōma* on the evening of the ceremony, and all next day every one stayed about the place doing nothing. They said they were tired after the hard work of planting. There was a *kōma* that evening, especially for the taro garden, but it did not go on all night.

I could get no information as to how long it would be before this 244
taro was ready for use. They seem to judge only by looking at it. 796

On August 23, 1930, I saw another performance of this cere-
mony, on the occasion of the planting of a taro garden belonging 177
to the village of Tabut. Although the general course of the pro- 184
ceedings was similar, the whole thing was much less elaborate and
carried out with less dramatic effect. The principal performer
chewed some roots with areca-nut and the leaves—but not the
fruit, which is the usual accompaniment of areca-nut—of the betel-
pepper, and touched the heaps of taro stalks with this mixture,
which he spat into the palms of his hands (Pl. 39*b*). He did not
call upon any *urar*. I inquired later as to this omission and was
told that some people did so and some did not, but that if it had

244 been a very large and important taro garden he would have done so.
796 The people of Tabut do not keep to the old customs as strictly as
184 the Kurtatchi people; they have been for a longer time subject to
177 the ministrations of a native mission teacher who is trying to make
them stop all the ceremonies connected with the *urar*. It may be that this was a contributory factor. The customary rules were also relaxed so far as to permit the boys wearing the *upi* to assist at the preparations, and the women wore their hoods, neither of which was allowed at the Kurtatchi ceremony.

### *Coco-nuts*

247 Coco-nuts are cultivated by all the coast natives. They do not flourish in the mountain districts.

247 The following are the terms applied to the coco-nut at various
192 stages in its development:

197

| *Stage of growth.* | *Kurtatchi dialect.* | *Petats dialect.* |
|---|---|---|
| Generic term used for the nut at all stages, and for the coco-nut palm | *ũir* | *ũel* |
| Very young nut | *hukũts* | *teõ* |
| Young nut before it contains liquid | | *pẽsis* or *pẽli* |
| Nut containing liquid before 'meat' appears | *konpẽn* | *haharut* |
| Nut with thin layer of meat at the creamy stage ('drinking coco-nut') | *mayur* | *irabil* |
| Nut with meat a little firmer (also used for drinking) | *wisi* | *kuvo* |
| Nut containing a little liquid and thick meat (the liquid at this stage is bitter and is not considered palatable) | *wakamitshoma* | *rut* |
| Nut the meat of which has hardened ('dry' coco-nut) | *mukas* or *makas* | *lay* |
| Mature nut the outer skin of which is not yet dry | *arop* | *pitor* |
| Nut the kernel of which has become spongy | *amam* | *tsoun* |
| Nut which has become dry and has fallen to the ground | | *tus* or *alaan* |
| Nut which has sprouted | | *hala* |

247 The Government encourages the natives to plant coco-nut
439 palms, requiring trees to be started for every child born. Apart from the use of the nut as food and drink, the meat is dried in the sun or on platforms over a fire, to make copra, which is taken by the planters in exchange for trade goods, such as loin-cloths, knives,
[651] &c., or for shillings, with which the head-tax of 10*s*. per year on every adult male must be paid. But now that the copra market has fallen upon evil days, it is becoming increasingly difficult for

the natives to get a price for it in any way commensurate with the labour involved, and there seems but little future for the industry, as far as they are concerned. The attention given to the native coco-nut groves is chiefly confined to clearing up a little now and then, young palms being allowed to come up where the nuts happen to fall. They are a characteristic feature of most beach scenes, overhanging the shore in picturesque confusion, pleasanter to look at, and easier to climb, but less productive than those which stand in orderly ranks of straight trunks on a white man's plantation. Once in a while, especially after a reprimand from the District Officer, there is a sudden burst of activity, in which everybody sets to work clearing away the undergrowth which covers the roots, and tearing down the parasitic and other creepers which festoon the branches. The casual way in which the native treats his coconut palms is all the more noticeable in contrast to the meticulous care which is lavished on the taro garden, where, of course, neglect would result in the complete absence of a crop. Similarly, in contrast to the many 'prescriptions' connected with the cultivation of taro, I know of only one directed towards the improvement of the coco-nut palm. A possible reason for this may lie in the fact that while the taro crop is precarious, depending largely on weather conditions, the coco-nut palm may be relied upon to produce a crop without much danger of its failing. The single 'prescription' known to me runs as follows: 247 [439]

*Bariur* (*Crinum asiaticum*).

Pound the roots of this plant and mix them with *oin*. Rub this mixture on the trunks of the coco-nut palms. This will ensure that they will bear well. [824]

### *Bananas*

A great many varieties of edible banana are known and distinguished by name; the appearance and taste of each is familiar to most natives. A group consisting of two men and two women once gave me a list of thirty-seven varieties at a sitting, with comments on them. [192]

A certain amount of trouble is taken to cultivate many of these varieties. They are sometimes planted in clearings, made for the purpose, and sometimes amongst the taro or in a portion of the taro-garden reserved for them. When the young fruit has formed, the whole bunch is tied up in a bag made of coco-nut fibre.

247 Most people say that this is done to protect the fruit from being eaten by parrots, but one man contradicted this statement when it was made in his presence, saying that the real reason was to make the skin of the fruit become yellow. The bananas are not gathered separately, but the whole tree is cut down and the 'rope' of fruit carried off to the house and hung up to be eaten at leisure.

I have no information regarding any magical procedure used to ensure the welfare of the banana crop, and, so far as I know, the cultivation is done without ceremonial.

### *Vegetables, other than taro*

244 Yams are not cultivated to any great extent by the people of this district. There were none in any of the gardens belonging to the village of Kurtatchi. Some were obtained occasionally by barter. The people of Petats grew them, but they were not in season during the three months of my residence on that island, and I am not able to give any details as to the method of their cultivation.

The Petats people plant a variety of sweet potato, called *durun* in their dialect, which is tended in the same way as taro. A large stone, apparently an implement, was brought to me which its owner said he used to set up in the gardens to make the *durun* grow large. A hole is dug, and the stone is set upright in it. The owner was willing to let me have it because, having come under missionary influence, he did not intend to use it any more. The belief is that if this stone were not set up the *durun* would be small and unpalatable.

### *Rain-making*

789 Since it is in connexion with their agriculture that the people are most dependent on the weather, and particularly on rain, this is perhaps the most appropriate place to give an account of the means which they adopt for regulating rainfall.

791 In every village there is at least one man, and often more than one, who is in the possession of the carefully guarded secret of the
566 procedure for making rain. Though they are often *tsunaun*, the
562 knowledge may be possessed also by commoners, but it is restricted to men. With this goes also the regulation of wind. One very wet day was ascribed to the fact that a famous rain-maker had just died at Saposa; as his 'skin' died the rain came down.

791 In the village of Kurtatchi the man most renowned as a rain-

maker was Riamĕ, the brother of Matĕv. One day he wished very 791
much to accompany a party of us who were going to attend a wapi ceremony in a distant village. But Pinari said he must stay at home and make rain, because the taro was dying. So he did. It duly rained. He was teaching the procedure to his sister's son, Kakari, who would eventually take his place. Another man at Kurtatchi who had some reputation as a rain-maker was my next-door neighbour, Sobak. Both these men allowed themselves to be persuaded to let me into the secret, on my promising not to tell any of the other villagers. As the methods differ in certain important respects, and possess points of interest, the information obtained from both men is here given.

*Rain-making as performed by Riamĕ.*

Take five cleaned-out coco-nut shells. Pour some sea-water 789
into them. Scrape the skin of the roots of two kinds of *sisiŋ* (croton,
*Codiaeum variegatum*), and the root of *karawinoa* (*Acanthaceae*); 824
take also some of the leaves of *karawinoa*, and the leaves and root of *takuruts* (another croton). Add all these things to the salt water in the coco-nut shells. Then get some of the watery sap of the *wirtsun* (a species of wild banana, which has a thick stem from which liquid squirts when it is cut). Take also some fresh water. Shake it up with the water from the *wirtsun*, and fill up the coco-nut shells with the mixture. The coco-nut shells then contain salt water, fresh water, the sap of the wild banana, and scrapings from the roots and leaves of plants. The coco-nut shells must have lines of *oin* painted on them cross-wise. When you fill them, put two leaves of *ta'un* (*Cordyline terminalis*) one on each side of the hole, and pour the liquid between them.

These coco-nut shells Riamĕ kept covered with leaves, at the 789
roots of a big banyan a little distance from the village. Some distance from them, on the other side of the village, he had a box containing about a dozen stones, varying from about 3 inches to about a foot in length, roughly elliptical in section, and smooth-surfaced, as if water-worn, but not, I think, worked by hand. Outside the box were three very large ones, the largest perhaps 2 feet high, standing up on end, leaning against the box (Pl. 41*a*). He said he had found the three large ones himself on the beach of one of the islands in the bay. The others belonged to his grandfathers, and the grandfathers of other men of his generation,

789 Bunabuoie, Bunasom, Bunasobak, all famous rain-makers in their day. Beside the box containing these stones stood a kerosene tin full of the mixture of salt water, fresh water, and sap with which he filled the coco-nut shells, and another tin containing rain-water.

789 When he wants to make rain, he washes each of these stones with rain-water, in which he has put the leaves of two plants, 824 *tataboan* and *malias* (unidentified). He stirred up the tin to show me the leaves at the bottom, and poured a little of the water out and back again. As he did so there was a peal of thunder, which he attributed to his having touched the water. It was, oddly enough, the only peal that day. Having washed the stones, he rubs them with the mixture of wet leaves. Then he fills up the five coco-nuts, and puts them in a tree, resting them in one of the *topa* (elk-horn ferns, which abound on the trunks of trees in this region; their leaves are spread out into a kind of cup in which the coco-nuts could be lodged safely). If you want wind as well as rain, you choose a *topa* which is near the top of the tree, if you want rain only, you choose one which grows low down. After five days, come and take out the leaf stoppers of the coco-nuts. To stop the rain, take down the coco-nuts, pour out all the water, put back the leaf stoppers, and cover up the stones and other apparatus.

789 Riamē said he could not give me one of the stones, because they 431 belonged to the past, but he offered me one of the five coco-nut shells with the mixture it contained. The gift was entirely spontaneous on his part; he said I could make rain with it in my own country.

789 The place where the stones are kept is not hidden, but the other people are afraid to go near it. Before I knew what the queer- 778 looking group of objects signified, I once, when walking near the spot with some little boys, went towards it to see what it was. The [753] boys, very scared, called to me to come away, or I would get boils on my skin! So I did not pursue my investigations further at that time. When I was taken there by the appropriate person, he was most careful that no one should see us set out, and looked back several times to make sure we were not followed.

789 This form of procedure has not yet been taught to Kakari, but there is another method, not involving the secret of the stones, of which he is in possession. Riamē learned it from the Amun people, living some little distance away. Kakari has not yet become a very successful rain-maker. He told me one day that he thought some

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

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Kurtatchi

PLATE 41

789

*a.* RAIN-MAKING APPARATUS

291

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*b.* A SUCCESSFUL 'POSSUM HUNTER

[facing p. 314]

789 one who had a grudge against him was fastening the rain so that all his attempts should fail.

The first part of this second method is the same as that pre- [824] viously described, involving the mixing of fresh water, sea-water, and the sap of the *wirtsun* stem. To this is added a substance called *aguiv*, which was described as something that is found in pools in the bush; I could not ascertain whether it was a weed or merely the scum that appears on stagnant water. This mixture is then poured into a large piece of bamboo or other convenient receptacle and shaken about. As it is shaken the rain will come down and the wind will rise. Then the bamboo with the water in it is hidden among the roots of a banyan tree, and the rain-maker goes back to the village.

789 824 After three days he takes some leaves of the plant called *massi* (*Ocimum baselicum*), and a branch of the *tui* tree (a calophyllum). He scrapes some of the bark and mixes it with the *massi* leaves. Some lime is sprinkled over both, and the rain-maker must then go to the sea, and, standing in the water, wash himself with this mixture. Then he comes back to the place where he left the bamboo with the water-mixture in it, takes out the leaf stopper used to cover the opening, and shakes the contents about. Immediately a strong wind will rise.

When he wishes the wind and rain to cease, he takes up the bamboo from the roots of the banyan tree and pours its contents away on the ground. He brings the bamboo back with him to the village, takes it into his hut, and covers it up with leaves. He chews the stalk of the *massi* plant and the fruit of it, with the betel-mixture. The mixture in his mouth he must spit out in the direction from which the wind and the rain are coming, and they will then cease.

*Rain-making as performed by Sobak.*

789 The following procedure I learned by asking Sobak to make rain for me on one occasion when my water supply was getting low. In point of fact rain did actually fall on the appointed day—being long overdue. He plumed himself greatly on this success. But it went on raining till the whole place was flooded, and when I asked him to make it stop, he said he couldn't, because a much more powerful rain-maker than he was making more rain in another place!

Sobak's method is as follows: When a man wishes to make rain, 789 he first walks slowly through the bush and collects all sorts of different plants and puts them into a coco-nut shell with water. He goes on and goes on and goes on, and collects more plants and puts them in another coco-nut shell full of water. These he hides somewhere in the bush where they will not be found by any one. He climbs up a lot of trees to look for opossum. He must kill plenty of opossum. He goes back home in the dark. No one must see him as he goes; if any one does the rain will not come but [824] the sun will go on shining. The same evening he gets some leaves of the tree called *manasas* (a hard-timbered tree) and wraps up the opossum in them. He puts the packets down under a stone on the beach, and goes back home.

Next day he goes back, and takes out the packet of opossum from under the stone. He eats some of the opossum. Then he goes back to the bush and makes a fire. He puts some taro and a piece of opossum on the fire, and calls on all the *urar* appropriate for the making of rain, that is, the spirits of people who, when they were alive, were successful rain-makers. They are all men, since it is forbidden to a woman to know the procedure for rain-making. A dozen names of suitable *urar* were mentioned. They belonged to both clans. Some of them were 'grandfathers' (*tsubu-*, applied to a grandparent on either side and to any ancestor further back) of Sobak. The rain-maker may call upon as many as he wishes, in this manner: '*Bunasiken, en dī ma pit ni wamūts ia* (Bunasiken, you bring rain and make it come down). *Toras, en dī ma pit ni wamūts ia. Buntaderian, en dī ma pit ni wamūts ia*', and so on, till he thinks he has called on enough *urar* to produce the desired effect. Buntaderian was said to be the most important *urar* for rain-making.

789
824 Then the rain-maker gives the time when he wants the rain to fall, perhaps to-morrow, perhaps in three days, and so on. When the time comes, he goes again into the bush, pulls a leaf of the bush banana, and fills it with bits of the leaves of a large number of plants and trees, among them canarium almond, coral tree (*Erythrina*), coco-nut palm, and *tʃiniv* (the tree whose wood is used for making dug-out canoes). He gathers a quantity of aromatic plants and puts them in his hair and behind his ears, in his armlet and in his belt. He chews some of the mixture in the banana-leaf with the betel-mixture, spits the mixture on to the palm of his hand, and presses it on the skin of his arm. Then he will hear

789

the *urar* Kilok speaking up above (thunder), and the rain will fall. 824

When he wishes the rain to cease, he goes to the place where he hid the coco-nuts and empties out the water, then the rain will stop. 789

As is usual, Sobak, as a rain-maker, also knows the procedure for controlling the wind. The essential part of this is the same as that given me by Riamĕ and Kakari, i.e. the chewing of certain leaves with the betel-mixture and spitting it in the direction from which you wish the wind to come. But you must be careful not to spit too far or you will produce a wind so strong that it will blow down the houses and destroy all the canoes that are at sea. This is sometimes done on purpose, in order to injure some man against whom the rain-maker has a grudge.

The most important part of the rain-making procedure appears to be the filling of some receptacle with water, and pouring it out again. This occurs in all three of the methods here described. Furthermore, it happened that once, when I wanted to cross the bay at a time when a high wind was blowing, and Pinari told me to ask Riamĕ to fasten the wind for us, Riamĕ said he did not think he could, because he had given two of the coco-nuts away, one to me, and the other to a friend of his at Pororan, and had not yet prepared others to take their places.

It is quite certain that the rain-makers really believe in their powers, as do all the other natives. Since the rain-making ritual would not be carried out unless there had been some considerable period of fine weather, it is probable that rain follows more often than not, in view of the heavy rainfall of the country. This would, naturally, be looked upon as the result of their endeavours. On the other hand, as I experienced more than once, failures can easily be explained away by putting the blame on the more powerful magic of a rival.

## HUNTING

### *Pig-hunting*

The young men spend a great deal of time strolling in the bush with their dogs and spears, ostensibly for the purpose of catching bush pigs. The spear in use for this purpose is now usually a thin iron rod, but it may be still, as it used to be, of hard wood. No attempt is ever made to decorate these working spears, nor are they 224 411

411 furnished with bone barbs as are the spears formerly used in war, and now kept for ceremonial purposes.

224 When a large number of pigs is required for some feast, a drive
is organized in which all the men and boys of the village take part.
[462] Even quite little boys will be allowed to join, but the women do
not go. 'It isn't women's work', they said when I asked if the
women ever helped on these occasions. But, as usual, they made
an exception in my favour, so that I am able to give a first-hand
description of the procedure.

224 They use a series of long nets, made of heavy string, consisting
286 of a number of fibres of the plant used for string-making twisted
283 together. The form of knot is the same as that used in fishing-nets,
but the mesh is very large. It is measured round a wooden gauge
shaped rather like the business end of a spade. Not every village
possesses these nets; those who have none borrow from their
224 neighbours. A narrow path is cleared through the bush to allow
of the nets being fixed end to end. About six nets are usually employed, they stretch for a distance of several hundred yards. The nets are pegged down with bits of wood, and kept taut by means of canes and tree stumps. Through the top is threaded a stout cord, carefully fastened to a stump at the end of each section. The height of the net from the ground to this cord is about 3 feet. Men sit or squat at short intervals along the line waiting to catch and tie the legs of any pig that is stopped by the net. Behind the line of nets, at some distance, the rest of the party and all the dogs form a wide semicircle, and gradually close in upon the nets. They shout and slash at the bush with their knives, driving any pigs which may be within the enclosed area up to the nets. Frequently one of the animals breaks through and escapes. This inevitably leads to recriminations among the men watching at the nets, and arguments as to which of them ought to have been brave enough to have prevented this catastrophe by putting his spear through the pig. Wounded boars can be very ferocious, and I have known men to be badly hurt by them. It is said that sometimes men are killed. After each such drive the net is taken up and reset in another place farther on. This process may be repeated many times during a day's hunt.

231 It not infrequently happens that one of the pigs thus caught turns out to be some one's property, since the village pigs have the run of the bush. A domestic pig will be recognized by the

fact that it has been castrated and that its ears and tail have 231 been cut. It is always set at liberty. On one occasion a pig was caught which had not had its ears cut, although it had undergone castration. It was claimed by one of the men as his, a claim which no one questioned. A mark was cut in its ears and a piece of its tail was snipped off; it was then let loose again.

Pigs caught in such a drive are the joint property of all the men 224 who took part in the hunt. After being cut up and cooked the meat is divided between them. On one occasion I wanted some pig-meat for my servant, and being uncertain who was entitled to be paid for it, was directed to offer the appropriate stick of tobacco [565] to the *tsunaun*, which appeared to be satisfactory to every one concerned.

A pig killed in the bush is cooked and eaten the same day at the 264 evening meal. But when wanted for a ceremony, the pigs are, if 796 possible, brought back to the village alive, to be killed just before they are required. An enclosure of logs is put up on the outskirts [417] of the village in which to keep such pigs, and they are fed on coco-nut meat and odd scraps by the women night and morning, like the domestic pigs. But they do not live long in this confinement.

On one occasion the Petats people were anxious to secure a 224 number of pigs, but had hunted for two days in succession with 789 very poor results. Three pigs had been caught, but one had died, and one had been set free as somebody's property, leaving only one rather small animal to show for their two days' arduous labour. So they decided to make 'net medicine' (*tahaun*). The nets were piled up beside the road which runs down the length of the island. A group of men gathered round one of the older men, who was squatting near the side of the road chewing the betel-mixture. None of the others was chewing at this time. After a while he took a stalk of cordyline, and tied all the leaves together in a bunch with a piece of grass. Some powdered lime lay beside him in a pandanus leaf. He took a pinch of this and put it among the cordyline leaves. Presently he spat the red saliva out of his mouth on to the leaves in four places, and laid the cordyline stalk upright against a tree. Then there was an interval of several minutes, during which everybody present smoked and talked. Then, without warning, the principal performer snatched up the bunch of cordyline, and turning very suddenly, whipped the pile of nets with it. He struck

224 the pile six times, and then struck once at random into the bush, after which he threw the stalk of cordyline away among the under-
789 brush. The young men pounced on the nets shouting, and went off with them quickly. The man who had performed the ceremony went after them, and directed them where to put the nets. They were obviously hopeful and expectant, and, sure enough, the first time the nets were set up they were successful. But they caught no others that day, although they made several drives subsequently.

224 Dogs are an indispensable adjunct to pig-hunting, and are kept
231 mainly for that purpose. A good hunting dog is very highly valued. There is an elaborate ceremony for making dogs good hunters,
789 which was a speciality of Pinari, who sometimes paid visits to other villages for the purpose of performing it for the dogs of his friends. He learned it from a clansman at Baniu, now dead. The secret was imparted to him because pigs had been destroying the village taro-gardens, and their own dogs had proved ineffective. Pinari gave the details to his eldest son, Wasĕ, from whom I learned them, with Pinari's consent, the account being read to him and the details checked. As there are several points of interest in it, I give it in full, although it is somewhat lengthy. The ceremony is called *waʃip*.

*Magic for making dogs hunt well.*

231 If you want to make this magic, you must first scrape some of
789 the bark of the tree *managewan*.[1] While you are scraping it you must imitate the barking of a dog. Then scrape some of the bark
824 of *nes*, and bark again like a dog. Then scrape the bark of *katʃan* (*Caryota* sp.?), and bark again like a dog. Then cut a twig of *ko* (*Leea* sp.) and part of the stem of *owor*, and the bark of *gunasgu*. Bring these to the village, and there scrape some of the bark of *owor*. Put all these leaves and scrapings into a *kŏbă*, and put the *kŏbă* into the boys' house. Then get areca-nut, the fruit of the betel-pepper (the leaves will not do), and lime. The lime must be freshly made and freshly powdered or it is no good. Chew the betel-mixture, and spit on the leaves and scrapings in the *kŏbă*. This work is given to the smaller boys, the grown men do not chew at this time. Go on chewing till the *kŏbă* is full.

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[1] Where the botanical names of the plants used are not given, they have not been identified.

In the early morning, as soon as you get up, catch one of the 231
dogs, force his mouth open, and fix it open with a stick of *bõ*. Take 789
some of the mixture in the *kōbū* and smear the dog with it. Then
take the dog to the beach, mix some sea-water with the contents of
the *kōbū*, and make the dog drink some of it. Then put bits of the 824
stalk of *karamusis* up the dog's nostrils and blow upon them. This
makes the nostrils bleed freely, which clears the blood out of the
dog's nose so that he can smell the pigs better.

When you have done this to all the dogs, go back to the village, into the men's house, taking the first dog with you, and make the dog eat some of the chewed betel-mixture, without any sea-water mixed with it. Then hold the dog by the tail and swing him round several times, inside the men's house. Treat all the dogs in this way.

This is all that is done on the first day.

Another day, scrape *katʃan* and *managewan*, and scrape some 824
*arog* (coco-nuts, the meat of which is hard and firm and the milk
considered unsuitable for drinking). Take a piece of broken pot, put in the scraped coco-nuts and the bark of the two plants, and cook the mixture over the fire without adding any water to it. When it is ready, call for the dog who was treated first the day before, put some of the mixture into half a coco-nut shell, and make him eat it. Then do the same with the second dog, and so on till they have all eaten, in the same order as they were treated the first day.

This is the end of the work for the second day.

Next day, get up early and go and hunt pig. If the dogs kill one,
tie it up, call out for men to come and carry it in, take it to the
village and cook it in a pot (this is somewhat unusual, pigs are
generally roasted). At the same time the women must cook plenty
of taro. When the pig is ready, get some leaves of *gunasgu* and throw 824
them into the pot. If this were not done, and if it happened that
one of the men who shared the contents of the pot were newly 834
married, and had recently slept with his wife for the first time, or 843
if any of them had a wife who was pregnant, the magic would not
work, and the dogs would not be able to kill pigs. But if these
leaves are put into the pot, a man in such a case can eat of it without any ill effects. Then all the men of the village eat the pig.

The next day, go out hunting with the dogs again, and kill another pig. Bring it home and cook it in the village, in a pot as before. This pig belongs to the women, who all eat of it. No

231 leaves are put into the pot this time, but if a pregnant woman or
789 one who is newly married eats of it, no harm is done.

The next day go hunting again, and kill another pig. Bring it back to the village and cut it up and send a piece of it to every house. Then each house cooks its share in an oven, with hot stones (the usual native oven). Everybody eats a piece of this pig.

If on any of these days the dogs fail to kill a pig, nothing more can be done on that day, but you must go out again the next day, and keep on hunting until they kill one.

The eating of the third pig by all the people of the village concludes the ceremony. But if after this the dogs are still not successful in hunting, stronger magic is tried. The bark of *managewan*
[824] and *katʃan* are scraped again, and dry coco-nut meat cooked with it, and the dogs given the mixture to eat. But before they eat it, the fire is scattered, and the names of three *urar* are called aloud. These three are Pila, Wadi, and Tengnatchu, the names of men who in their lifetimes were good hunters. Then the dogs are made to eat the mixture. This is very strong magic, and after it has been done, when the hunter goes out, the dogs will go straight for a pig and kill him.

231 There is another kind of procedure, known to other men of the
789 village. It is much less elaborate, but none the less typical. It is called *masaro*, and is performed as follows: Take the leaves of
824 *puroa* and mix them with water. This mixture may be prepared beforehand. When the ceremony is to be performed, a fire must be made, and the *hŏbŭ* containing the mixture is passed round the fire (but none is spilled into it), while the names of certain *urar* who were once good hunters are called out: Garameaboa, Soawunum, Tawasing. Then the dogs must be made to drink the mixture. Another mixture is made with the leaves of the plant *tsu*, and given to the dogs in the same way. This is very strong and will make the dogs fierce. All the dogs must take some of both these mixtures. Then a stick of *karamusis* is thrust up each dog's nostrils; this will make him smell the pig.

It will be noted that *karamusis* is used for this purpose in both ceremonies, but that otherwise the plants required are different, as are also the names of the *urar*. Each person who specializes in this ceremony uses the names of dead relatives who have been good hunters, but without distinction of clan, since the son uses the same names as his father.

There are a number of variants of this procedure, current in 231
different villages, but all having for their aim 'to make the dogs
cross'. At the village of Tung I saw the lower jaw of a large marine 789
creature with sharp teeth hanging on the wall of the men's house.
I was told it was intended to be crushed up and mixed with the
dog's food, so that they would 'get very cross and hunt well'.
Another method involves putting special food for the dogs in an
ants' nest, so that when the dog tries to eat it the ants bite him,
'then he gets very cross and is ready to chase pigs'. The word I
have translated 'cross' is used of people in a bad temper, but I suppose in this case it means 'fierce'.

There is also a 'medicine' intended to act in the opposite way, i.e. to spoil a dog for hunting:

> If you want a dog and the owner won't give it to you, get some of the
> dog's excrement, put it in a coco-nut shell and bury it. Over the place
> where it is buried plant some of the plant called *wanis* (this word is used 824
> of several different plants, most of which seem to be varieties of *Eleusine*).
> When this grows tall the dog will not be good at hunting any more.

### *Opossum hunting*

[The Cuscus opossum, or phalanger (Pl. 41*b*).]

Opossum are hunted chiefly by boys and the younger men. 224

The method is to peer about in the foliage till one is seen curled
up on a branch, or to track the animal to its hole, and then to climb
the tree and pull it out (Fig. 10). If it has gone in so far that it
cannot be reached, the tree will often be felled. Quite large trees
are sometimes felled for the sake of one opossum, but as most of
them are soft-timbered varieties, this task is not as arduous as it
might appear. The boys like to go hunting for opossum at night,
using torches made of coco-nut palm leaves with their fronds
folded into a bunch and tied together. I used to be invited to
accompany the party, with the proviso that I should bring my 198
'shoot-lamp' (pidgin-English for 'electric torch'). The light not
only serves to locate the opossum, but also to dazzle it, when it is
likely to fall down and be seized by the dogs. The hunters try to
drive the animals by shouts and by making a noise with a leaf
adjusted between finger and thumb, which is then smacked sharply
with the other hand.

There are various 'medicines' which are used to aid the hunter, 224

224 their object being to make his eyesight keener so that he can locate his quarry. They are all similar to the following:

224 *Kuriwɔrots* (a creeper with a thick juicy stem)

824 Press out the sap from a piece of the stem, and rub it on your face round your eyes before you start out. This will make you see well.

[532]

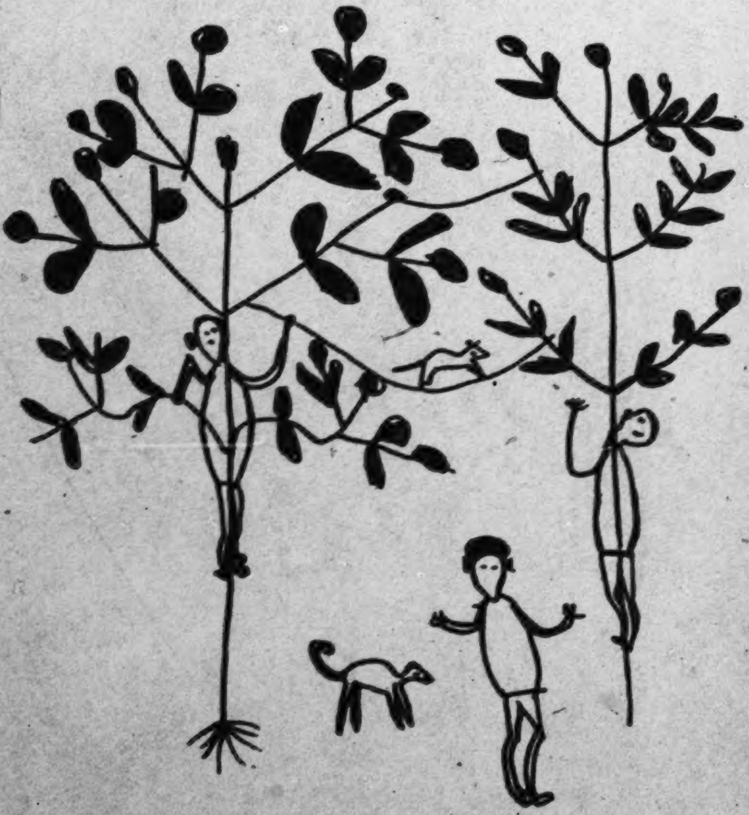

FIG. 10. An Opossum Hunt. The opossum is running along the branch; the animal on the ground is a dog. (Drawn by a boy.)

*Wamuriri* (a tree in which opossum like to live)

Take some of the leaves, squeeze them between your hands, and rub them over your eyes when you go out, then you will be able to see the opossum a long way off.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

Opossum are sometimes required for ceremonial purposes. 224
Large quantities of them must be caught before going out to cut 825
the *pa'i* (ridge-poles) for the long house to be used at the *watawatʃ* ceremony. They are necessary also to the performance of one of the rain-making ceremonies, where they are offered to the *arar*.

### *Iguana*

Men and boys go to the bush and look until they find an iguana 224
in a tree. Then one of the party climbs the tree and startles the animal, which probably either falls down or tries to escape; in either case it will be caught by other men waiting at the tree-foot. It is killed by blows from a stick.

I do not know of any magic connected with iguana hunting. Perhaps its absence, or relative unimportance, if it exists, may be explained by the fact that these creatures are not much desired as food, and are therefore but little sought after.

### *Birds*

Birds are shot with bow and arrows, the latter being made of 223
the mid-rib of the sago-palm leaf. The much larger and more 411
elaborate arrows formerly used for war are now reserved for carrying at ceremonies, and are never used for hunting. But the same bow is used in both cases. Some of the little boys are very skilful in the use of these sago-palm leaf arrows.

Birds are also taken with nets. A man and a boy will go out 223
before dawn; the man will climb a tree and stretch a net across 286
it, keeping it taut by means of a stick. As the birds fly across it they are caught in its meshes, and the boy goes up and brings them down.

There is also a form of trap or snare used for taking birds. It is 223
called *matri*. I have not seen it in use, but two of the men constructed one in the village square for me to see how it was done (Fig. 11). Two sticks are placed upright on the ground, about 18 inches apart. A sapling is chosen, or put in on purpose, about 3 feet away from them. Its top is bent over, and a piece of fibre tied to it. At the other end of the piece of fibre a small twig is fastened. Two sticks are placed horizontally one above the other, passing from one of the uprights to the other. These are not fastened, but are held in place by the tension of the sapling pulling

223 on the little twig which is placed against them, vertically, on the side away from the uprights. On the lower of these precariously held sticks there rest the ends of three horizontal sticks, the other ends of which rest on a log about a foot away, on that side of the uprights away from the saplings. A noose of fibre is laid on these three sticks, attached by a string to the small twig (the one attached by a string to the sapling) which keeps the two horizontals in position. Food is placed on or around these three sticks. If a bird alights on them, its weight dislodges the lower of the two horizontal sticks, thus releasing the twig tied to the sapling, which flies back, pulling the noose with it, and the bird is caught in the tightened string of the noose.

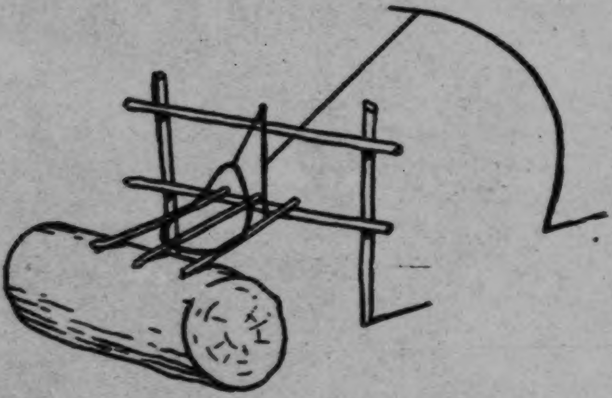

FIG. 11. Bird snare (*matsiti*).

### *Flying foxes, &c.*

224 Flying foxes (*tsubak*) and other varieties of bats (*puputu*) are taken from the holes in the trees in which they hide during the day. Boys climb a tree with likely-looking holes in it, and feel inside for the creatures, which they pull out. Or they will search in the hollow of a large tree.

## FISHING

226 Flesh food being none too plentiful, and at all times not very easy to get, by far the larger part of the necessary supplement to a diet of taro consists of fish. Both sexes are occupied for much of

their time in securing it, but the methods employed by men and women are, for the most part, distinct and separate, the latter confining themselves to the reefs and rock pools and the shallow water close inshore. The Buka men will venture some distance out into the open sea in the hope of getting a good catch, but the Kurtatchi people do not care to go too far away from the shore, even after the much-prized bonito. 226

As is to be expected in a matter of so much importance, there is a great deal of magic associated with fishing. The various kinds of 'medicine' are considered appropriate to special methods, and will be discussed in reference to these. I do not know of any which is applicable to fishing in general. There are also magical ways of calming the sea before starting out. Of these the following is typical:

> Chew the root of *pai'ukes* (*Pennisetum macrostachyum*) with the betel-mixture, and spit it on to the mid-rib of a coco-nut-palm leaf. Plant this leaf on the shore just where a big wave will reach it. The wave will then go back and calm the sea. [824]

The principal methods of fishing practised in this area will now be discussed in some detail.

### *Bonito fishing*

Of all their fishing activities, by far the most important, in the estimation of these people, is bonito fishing. The bonito (*Sarda* sp.) is called *atŭn*, a word current throughout all the dialects in this area, and clearly the same as the Polynesian word *'atu* used in Samoa (Hiroa, 1930, p. 124). Near every village along the coast there is a small clearing at a high point, from which a view over the open sea can be obtained. Here a look-out is kept, somewhat spasmodically, for the splashing of water and the circles of sea-birds which mark the presence of a shoal of bonito in pursuit of the small fish (*wobot*, *iŏ*, *talĕ*, *osa*, *manbul*) on which they feed. As soon as any one sees these signs he raises a characteristic yell, which is heard at no other time. The sound instantly sends all the available men and boys in the village scurrying to the place where the canoes are kept. They launch with all speed, and paddle hard to catch up with the shoal before it gets too far away. More often than not they seem to come home empty-handed, but if any fish [192] [202]

226 are caught, even if only a single one, there is great rejoicing. If the catch is a large one, the fish are shared by all the people of the village; a small catch is distributed among the men who went out; if only one fish is taken it belongs to the owner of the canoe.

The most important place in this region, in connexion with bonito fishing, is the island of Pororan. Men from other parts of Buka and from the north coast of Bougainville go to Pororan to learn the special magic required for it, and it is from there that the stone fish which play an important part in that magic are obtained. The men who were specialists in these matters at Kurtatchi said that they had learnt what they knew from the people of Pororan, who knew much more than they did.

226 Bonito fishing is the work of men exclusively; the women have
no part in the catching, but they are permitted to carry home,
462 clean, and cook the fish. The older boys take part in it while still wearing the *upi*, but I did not hear of any ceremony corresponding to the 'making *malaohu*' described by Ivens (1927, pp. 131 ff.) in connexion with a boy's first fishing expedition.

*Bonito hook and rod.*

227 Bonito are caught with a long flexible rod of bamboo, and a special hook, which is used for no other purpose.

227 This hook (*ayats* in the Petats dialect, *kanun* in the Kurtatchi
321 dialect) consists of a shell shank with a point made of turtle-shell.
For the shank, *Tridacna* (clam) is generally employed, but *Melea-*
825 *grina* (the black-lip oyster), *Conus* (the green-snail), *Turbo*, and *Cassis* are also used. If made of clam shell, the shank is flattened on the under side, in other cases it may be slightly convex, following the curve of the shell, so that in cross-section it may be either
227 ⌓ or ⌒. The proximal end has a small tang, behind which the
283 line is fastened. The line is never, so far as I know, carried along the upper side of the shank and attached near the point, as is described by Hiroa for Samoa (1930, p. 501). The distal end of the shank is cut so as to leave a projecting piece, or sometimes two, on each side; between and on both sides of this is twisted the lashing which secures the point. The lashing consists of native fibre-string, of different thicknesses according to the size of the hook, twisted round both point and shank several times, the arrangement differing considerably in individual specimens, but always very neatly finished. Tiny bits of wood are wedged on either side of

227

the point, and the string is twisted round these also, for greater 283 security.

The point is made of turtle-shell, generally of the 'green-back' 227 variety, which is not scarce. I do not remember ever having seen 321 a point made of anything else. The variety of shapes and curves can best be seen from the photographs of specimens I collected, but it is not apparent from the photograph (Pl. 42) that there is a series of grooves, three as a rule, on the back of the point near its place of attachment to the shank, round which the lashing is twisted. The hook has no barb. It is pointed out by Hiroa (1930, p. 508) that 'where every second is of importance . . . a barbed hook would be a drawback and not an advantage'.

The hooks vary considerably in size. Plate 42 shows a number 227 of them photographed with a scale. When I asked what was the reason for these differences in size and material, my informants replied that some fishermen liked one kind, some another. No mention was made of choosing hooks of a colour suitable to weather and water conditions, as reported by Hiroa (1930, p. 498) for the Samoans, or that one kind was used in the bow and one in the stern as reported by Ivens for the SE. Solomons (Ivens, 1927, [171] p. 134), so I am able to offer only negative evidence on these points.

One hook from Petats (the middle one on the left in Pl. 42) has a short string of trade beads, probably in place of shell disks, attached to the fastening of the point on either side. The man who brought it said these were to make it catch many fish. He was about to tell me more when another man came up, so he hastily said they were just put on for ornament. But later he came back and told me that when putting the beads on he spat on the hook and said (Petats dialect):

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *'Lū* | *hitaun,* | *lū* | *hitaun,* | *kokauat,* | *lū* | *ien.'* |
| 'Catch | quickly, | catch | quickly, | | catch | fish.' |

He could not explain the word *kokauat*, and as he asked me not to tell anybody in the village what the words were, I could not inquire further about it.

The rod is made of bamboo, about 2 inches in diameter at the [824] proximal end, tapering towards the distal end. The length seems to be a matter of individual taste, about 12 feet would be a fair average. The line is the usual fish-line of fibre, and is about the [283] same length as the rod.

226 *Method of catching bonito.*

Bonito fishing is usually carried on from a plank canoe (*mon*), the smaller ones, with three seats, being used for this purpose (Fig. 12). But I have seen men go out to follow a shoal in outrigger canoes, if there were no seats for them in the *mon* that were going. Two rods are taken in each canoe, one to be used from the stern and the other from the bow. The stern line is kept trailing behind the canoe, the bow line is cast. If there are more than two men in the canoe, the man in the bow does not paddle, but devotes all his attention to playing for the fish. The man at the stern must

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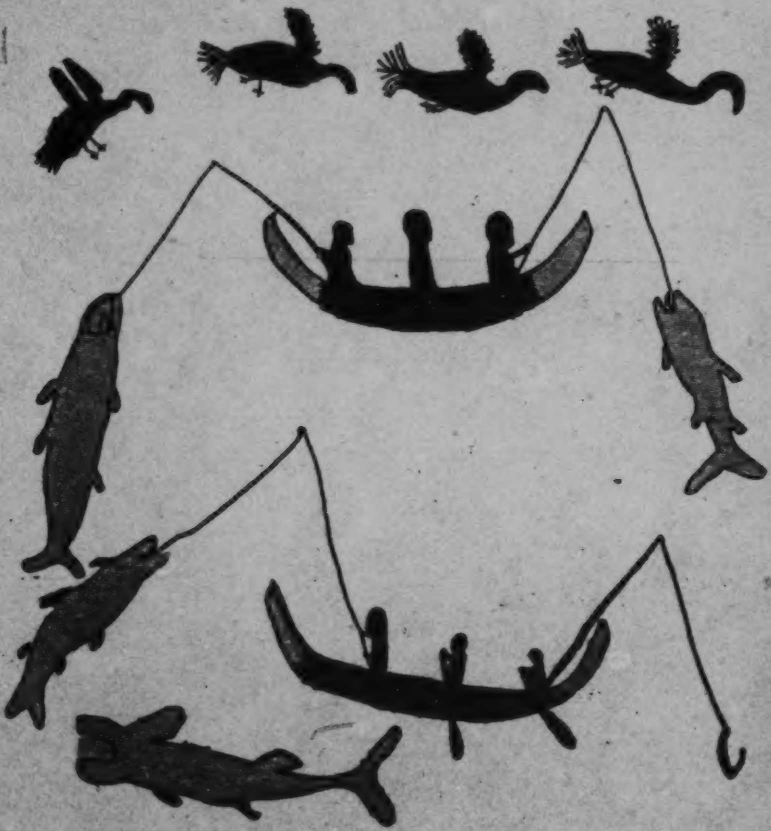

FIG. 12. Fishing for bonito. At the top are the birds who always follow a shoal of bonito, at the bottom is a shark. (Drawn by a young man.)

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 42

227
283
321
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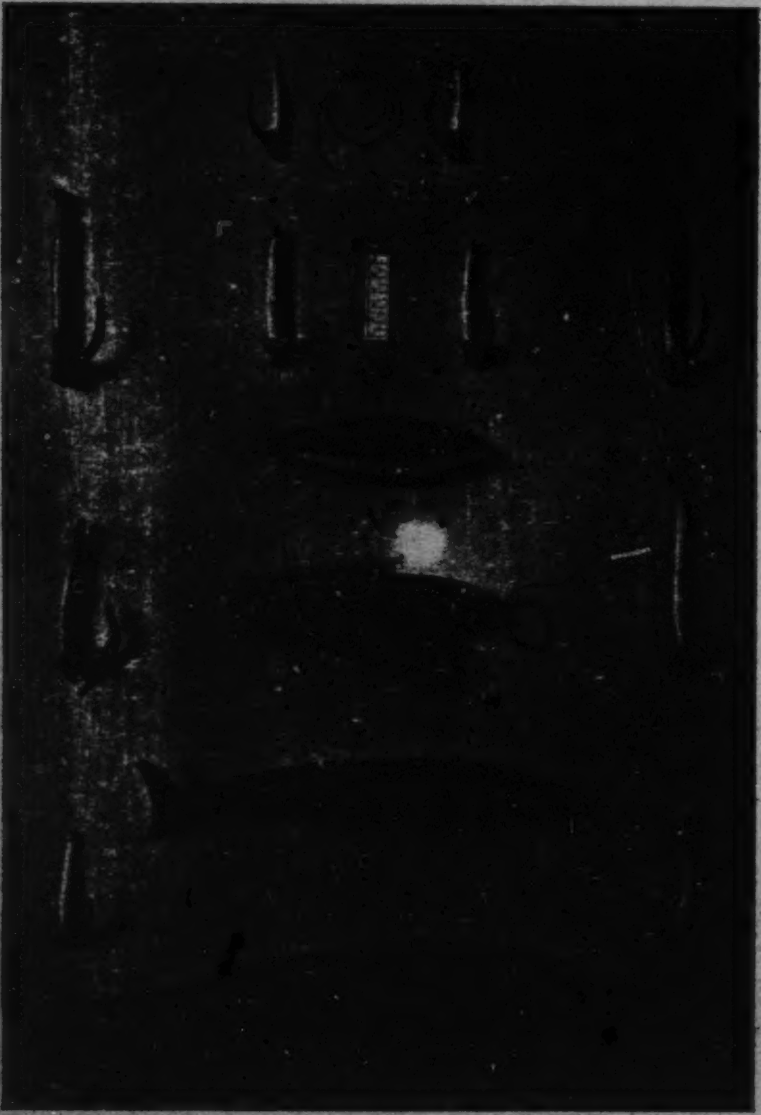

BONITO HOOKS AND MODEL FISH

[facing p. 330]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

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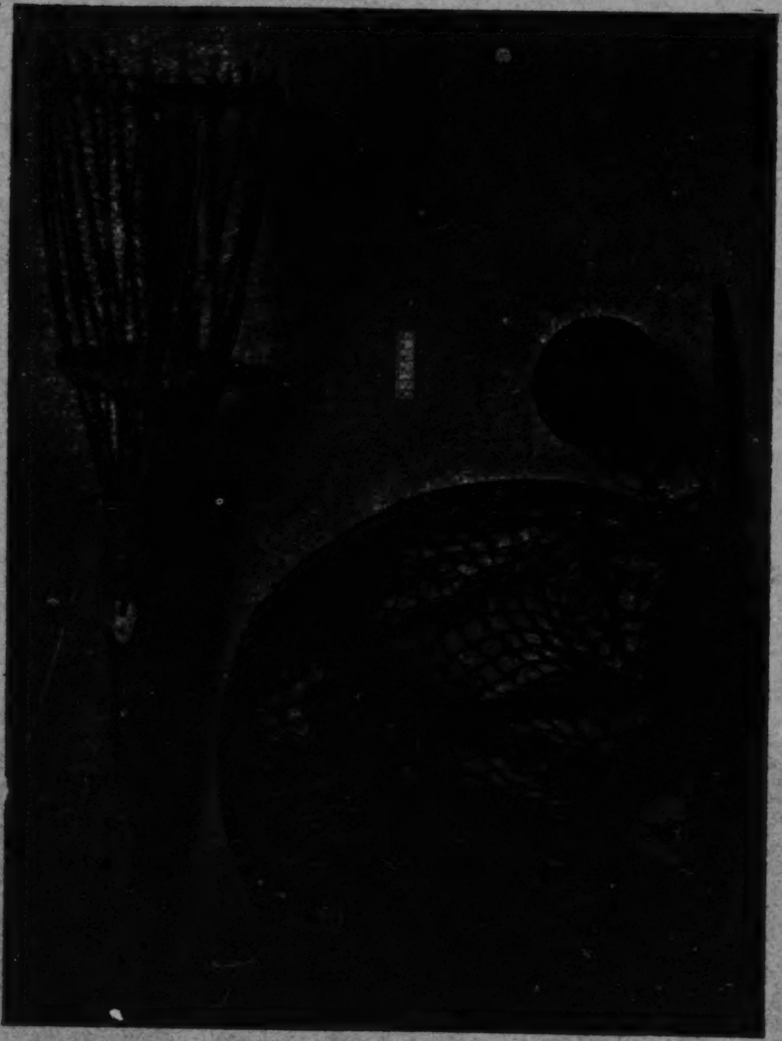

THORN-LINED FISH-TRAP AND LANDING-NET WITH BAIT BOX

[facing p. 331]

attend to the steering as well as to his rod and line. His rod is not 226 held in the hand, except when landing a fish. The proximal end of it rests against a small piece of wood with a groove in it, fixed in the centre of the canoe, it then passes between the man's legs and under his thigh, which holds it in place, leaving his hands free to wield the paddle. When a fish takes the hook, the paddle is thrown into the bottom of the canoe, the rod is caught up, and the fish jerked over the side. Only one hook is attached to each rod. No bait is used, the resemblance of the hook to the small fish on which the bonito feed being sufficient attraction. The first bonito caught after a period of bad luck is decorated with paint and put back into the sea. This is supposed to attract the other fish to the hook.

*Magical procedure connected with bonito fishing.*

In view of the importance attaching to bonito fishing in the native mind, it is natural that there should be a large number of 'medicines', and an elaborate ritual directed towards ensuring a good catch. Bonito magic is not common knowledge, usually only one or two men in each village know it. As a rule, one man belonging to each clan represented in the village is in possession of this information, which he should pass on to a relative of the same clan before he dies. The usual heir to the secret is his sister's son. I obtained two accounts of magical procedure for bringing the bonito into the neighbourhood. Both were given to me by a man named Minka, living at Kurtatchi, but belonging originally to the village of Hanahan on the east coast of Buka. While Minka was giving me this information, Sobak, who knows all about it, kept watch to make sure that no one could overhear. As they differ considerably in detail, I give them both in full. Both require [834] strict abstinence from sexual intercourse on the part of the operator.

*To bring bonito to your fishing grounds.*

When you do this you must get up early in the morning and go into the bush without eating. Look for a piece of white *kakariuk* [824] (*Selaginella flabellata*, a white variegation, occurs in deep shade, and is much prized for decorative purposes). You must not see or be seen by anybody while you are getting it; if that happens you must throw it away and look for some more. Then catch a *kurakum*

226 (a black insect that is found on certain plants in the bush, I think
[825] a species of ant). You must also get some leaves of the *papara* tree.
[824] (This tree grows only in the heart of the bush, involving a journey of considerable length to obtain it.) These leaves you must get at night, and you must not eat any food for some time before going out to get them.

226 Then take a branch of the *wakalō* tree and plant it upright on the
824 shore. Take some leaves of *wanep* (a plant with red leaves) and some *magor* (see p. 475) and areca-nut. Chew all these together, put all the other leaves, and the *kurakum*, into a bundle, spit the mixture into it, and tie it up, leaving the ends of the leaves hanging out.

226 Give this bundle to another man to hold. Then say:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| '*Rēs ma* | *atūn,* | *no ma* | *atūn* | *se no* | *bibiūr ma.* |
| 'Catch (*imper.*) | bonito, | come | bonito | let come | plenty. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Rēs ma* | *atūn,* | *se no ma* | *en* | *wānu pio.*' |
| Catch | bonito, | let come | to | village my.' |

Then put the bundle of leaves into a hole in the reef, at a certain place. For Kurtatchi the appointed place is on the shore just below the village which is on the top of the cliff. It is called Kaur. Women are not allowed to go near this place. A man takes the bundle and pushes it down into the hole; this will make the bonito come to the surface of the water. A number of men watch while this is being done; meanwhile some of them imitate the movements and
[825] cries of the birds that follow the bonito. The names of these birds are *kira*, *pupuluŋ*, *butuana*, and *aulas*. (*Aulas* is the frigate-bird; I think the others are gulls.)

The men then wash in the water near the place where the bundle has been sunk. This is done at night. Some men call out:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| '*Di* | *a* | *mon,* | *atūn* | *to en non.*' |
| 'Bring | out | canoe, | bonito | are feeding.' |

Then the men dive into the hole, and get stones and fasten down the bundle, so that the sea will not carry it away. Then you must fix a time when the bonito are to come, say five days. During that time you must not go to work, but must stay in your own village; you must not go to another village even for a visit, and you must not eat in any hut except your own.

When the time fixed comes, the bonito will be there, and the men get out their canoe. You must not go in the canoe, you must watch from the village. While all the men are paddling hard, take 226 out the stopper of your lime-pot and leave it open all the time the canoe is out. When it comes ashore, put back the stopper, then the bonito will stop feeding. If a canoe from another village comes up [186] to fish, don't take the stopper out, then they will not be able to catch any.

The bonito will be there for several days, and all the canoes will go out. The bundle that was sunk in the hole will now be rotten, and will stink. All the canoes must go ashore at the place where the bundle was sunk, and must clean the fish over the hole. The blood of the bonito will go into the bundle, and this will cause the fish to come in great numbers.

Suppose the men from another place boast about catching bonito, and say: 'We know how to catch plenty of bonito', you say: 'What do you mean? You know how to catch plenty of bonito? You can't talk like that.' If you want to prevent the people of a certain place from catching bonito, get the stalk of *bō* and chew it with areca-nut and lime, and then bury it in the place where they keep their bonito canoe. Then, even if your own canoe is catching plenty, they won't be able to catch any, and they will say: 'Why is our canoe not catching any bonito? What are we to eat?'

If you want to make the bonito go away, you have intercourse [834] with a woman secretly; there will be no more bonito. When you want them to come back again, you must refrain from sexual intercourse; this is very important. If you go with a woman, the bonito will go away. The other men will think they have gone of their own accord, they do not know about this rule.

When you want the bonito to come back again, you must get [824] a new set of leaves, *papara*, *wakalō*, *kakariuk*, to help the bundle you left on the reef before. Put this new bundle on the top of the old one, fasten it down strongly with stones, and set a new time, five nights, or ten, if you like. Wait for the bonito for this time, staying in your own village. When the canoe goes out, take out the stopper of your lime-pot. The canoe must come ashore again at the place where the bundle is buried, and the fish must be cleaned there, so that their blood runs down on to the bundle; then there will be plenty of fish. When the canoe comes ashore, put back the stopper of your lime-pot, and the bonito will stop feeding.

Minka told me that this procedure was very secret. Hardly

226 anybody knows it. He[1] learnt it at Pororan, from his *tua* (mother's brother, or some one standing in the same relationship according [604] to their system, see p. 60) Pulaget, now dead. He intends to show it to his sister's son, a boy now about sixteen, when he is older, if he wishes to learn it.

The same man gave me another form of procedure with the same purpose, i.e. to bring large shoals of bonito within reach, which runs as follows:

226 532 824 Get a stone, and carve it into the shape of a bonito. Give it an eye, and a mouth, and a tail. Go down to the shore and bring up some sea-water to your house, and wash the stone fish in this water, inside the house. Then get some leaves of the *haharib* plant, and put them into a *kōbū* (areca-palm spathe), and put the stone fish on the top of the leaves. Fasten up the *kōbū* and put it in the men's side of the house. Be careful not to put the fish's eye looking out to sea, but put it so that the fish is looking towards the bush, then the bonito will come up towards the shore. Fix a time for taking out the stone fish, perhaps after five nights. When the time comes take the stone fish and rub *magor* on it, get some *iwi* (see p. 417) and rub it on the mouth of the fish. That will make the stone fish very angry, and there will be plenty of bonito. If you want the bonito to finish, take the stone fish out of the *kōbū* and put it away very carefully in your house. Bury the leaves in the sand. Then the bonito will go away.

226 532 Minka said he learnt this method from his brother, Kiowali, who taught him when he felt that he was about to die. Kiowali possessed two stone fish, one entire, the other with a broken tail. The latter he threw away, the other is in Minka's possession and was shown to me, in great secrecy, when no one was about. It is particularly important that the stone fish should not be seen by women, or it will lose its power. He said he could not give it to me, because he [177] had no other. I subsequently procured one from a man at Ruri, who had used it, but on the advice of the native mission teacher had decided not to do so any more. It is made of a hard black stone, of a volcanic nature, apparently a species of diorite, very similar to other stones used in different kinds of magic. It has a string of trade beads in its mouth, and round its tail, to which is also attached a bunch of dried grass (Pl. 42 centre).

On the north coast of Bougainville wooden models of bonito are sometimes used instead of stone ones; these seem to be later

[1] [i.e., Minka.—Analyst]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

derivatives. They are not so highly valued, and less care is taken 226
to keep them from the sight of women. They are used in the same 532
way as the stone fish. One which I procured at Tabut (Pl. 42) had been set up in the shed in which the canoes were kept, with a hook attached to the mid-rib of a coco-nut leaf placed in its mouth. This was to make the bonito angry so that they would take the hook.

There is no mention of model fish in connexion with bonito fishing in the account given by Ivens for the SE. Solomons nor
in that for Samoa by Te Rangi Hiroa. Their use in albacore fishing [171]
in the Society Islands is described by Nordloff (1930, p. 159), who says there were formerly models for almost every kind of fish. As in Bougainville, the head of the model must be kept turned towards the land to bring the fish close inshore.

In view of the fact, previously mentioned, that the fountain-head 226
of the bonito magic was held to be the island of Pororan, I asked Mr. Gordon Thomas to investigate the matter there. He succeeded, with considerable trouble, in obtaining the following account, which he kindly gave me permission to incorporate here:

*Atūn* Magic. An account of the procedure adopted by the Pororan natives in order to bring the *atūn* fish into their fishing grounds.
By E. L. Gordon Thomas.

The *atūn* (commonly called amongst the white population the 'king-fish') travels in shoals and frequents deep water. Its presence is invariably known by the large flocks of sea-birds hovering over the shoals in search of food. It is a fish that is highly prized amongst the Buka natives for eating purposes. It has no other value.

The magic employed is worked by one or two men who have 226
been initiated into the mysteries by older relations, usually a cousin 791
or a brother. There is a magic stone and a magic mixture of herbs and paint, which is used by the workers.

Timas, of Novar (Buka Passage), is the first one of whom I can find any record of having used this magic. The Pororan natives assert that he was the first man to use it. His time would be about sixty to seventy years ago, so far as I can ascertain. From him Pineri, of Pororan, became possessed of the secret, and he, in turn, passed it on to Nahu, who gave the secret to Sowi. It was from Sowi that I obtained the information here given. Sowi is a man of advanced years, somewhere in the vicinity of fifty years of age. He

226 791 holds no official status amongst the natives, but is honoured for his ability to bring the *atūn* into the Pororan fishing-grounds.

226 532 The magic stone, called by the Pororan natives *tokamu*, which means 'not a long time', consists of a small replica of a fish, carved from a soft stone (somewhat similar to a sandstone) obtained from the mainland of Buka in one of the small rivers. It is usually about 6 inches long, 2 inches deep, and 1½ inches thick. Some of the stones are plain with no carving, others have a fish's mouth, eyes, fins, and tail carved roughly.

226 824 The magic mixture, *hirako* (which is the same name as that given to magic potions, whether love potions or mixtures used when on raiding expeditions to send their foes to sleep), is a red powder, and contains crushed grass seeds (*sa'i*), the scraped inside bark of a tree (*hakala*), another inside bark of the *maluba* tree, a small quantity of the love potion (which is obtained from Hahon; the ingredients are not known to the Pororan natives), and the juice of the wild sugar, which is used to dampen the herbs. The seeds and scraped tree barks, together with the sugar juice, are placed in a pot over a slow fire and heated until the juice of the sugar is thoroughly absorbed by the herbs. After heating, a small portion of red oxide of iron (which is obtained from the Timputs or Baniu districts) is added to the mixture and then the whole is placed in the sun to dry. When dried it is placed in small leaf packages and securely tied with native string. These packages of mixture are prepared with great secrecy in the depths of the bush, careful watch being kept that no other men than those initiated are able to witness the operation. Usually sufficient mixture for about ten packages is prepared.

226 Before the actual working of the *hirako* the medicine man and his assistant repair to the bush and there gather the necessary leaves and bark for the preparation of the magic. These leaves and barks are made into a bundle, and, while the medicine man seats himself upon the ground and calls upon the spirits of departed medicine men to assist him in his work, the assistant slowly moves down on to the beach carrying the bundle upon his head. Arriving at the beach, he places it beneath stones, the leaves pointing towards the sea, the roots towards the bush. He then walks slowly around the bundle, and then walks into the sea and splashes his hands about in the water, making a noise similar to that made by the *atūn* when they muster at sea.

During this performance the medicine man is chanting incantations to the spirits, the names of whom are: Timas, Nahu, Pineri, Sam, and Tolalu. He cries in a sing-song voice: 'Oh, Spirits! Come and help me bring the *atūn* to our fishing-grounds. Bring them from Petats and from Nissan, from Sĕlō and New Ireland. Let them come here, and when they come may their eyes be opened so that they may see the hooks on the end of the lines, and may their mouths hold fast the lines.'

Then the medicine man and his assistant begin the work of scraping the inner bark of the trees and preparing the herbs for the pot. The scraping is done on a fallen tree-trunk. When the mixture has been prepared, then the other men of the village are called and assemble about the place where the preparations have been carried out. The mixture is already carefully tied up in the little leaf packages and counted by the medicine man. Each man requests that he should be given his package. But the medicine man refuses, saying that in due time when the *atūn* are near, then will they each receive their packages. The men then scrape together with their fingers any remnants of the herbs that may be left on the fallen tree-trunk and lick their fingers clean with their tongues, and smear the red mixture on their faces and their foreheads.

Young drinking coco-nuts and cooked taro are then brought from the village and a small feast is held. The medicine man, however, is not allowed to partake of any food. From the commencement of operations he is forced to fast, chewing only betel- [785]
nut and pepper-stick and drinking young coco-nuts. During this [834]
time, also, he must not visit the village nor have any intercourse [276]
with his wife. He is allowed to smoke, but is not allowed to sleep.

After the feast the medicine man takes a small piece of the tree-trunk upon which the herbs have been mixed and eats it, then, spitting into his hands, he walks into the sea, dips his hands into the water, and, rising to his full height, sings out: 'The *atūn* from Petats and from Lontis and from Nissan shall come here to-morrow. When I arise in the morning the sea shall be white with their splashings.' As he calls out the names of the several places from which the *atūn* shall come, he faces in their direction. Returning to the beach he seats himself amongst the other men, and tells them they must also call out for the *atūn* to come. The men follow his instructions and call out in a similar manner.

While the men are calling, one man, usually the assistant, climbs

226 secretly into a calophyllum tree close at hand on the beach, breaks a limb of the tree, and calls out: '*I niga no ta ien naut mahū.*' ('It is well. The fish come to-morrow.') This is supposed to be a sign from the spirits to the men gathered there on the beach.

The men seat themselves again and chew betel-nut. While they are thus chewing, the assistant, or some other man specially appointed, comes up behind several of the seated men and steals their pepper-sticks. This is in imitation of the *atūn* stealing the fish-hooks of the fishermen.

The betel-nut chewing continues until late at night. Then about ten o'clock the medicine man tells the men that it is time for them to go. He tells them, also, to let every one know that it is taboo for [857] any one to walk along the beach with lighted flares, and small boys may not play on the beach spearing fish along the water's edge.

When the men have departed, the medicine man takes the *tokamu* (carved fish) and places it on his head. The fish's head must point to the bush. He holds it with both hands, and calls out to all the spirits to help him bring the *atūn* to the fishing-ground. He then buries the stone in the sand above high-water mark, allowing the head of the fish to protrude, pointing towards the bush. This is in order that the *atūn* may see the head of the fish and may copy its position by having their heads on top so that the fish-hooks may be seen and their mouths hooked. The medicine man then calls out the day when the *atūn* shall come. Sometimes it is five days from the time when the charm is buried in the sand; sometimes it is ten days, according to his intuition.

The place on the beach where the charm is buried is taboo, no one is allowed to approach.

On the day when the *atūn* is expected all the *mon* from the island are manned and are launched into the deep water. Here they form a line and await the advent of the fish. In each *mon* there are two fish-lines attached to bamboo poles. In smaller *mon*, where there are only two rowers, the bamboo pole and the fish-line is held by the steersman usually between his legs, to leave his hands free [227] for steering. The bamboo pole is about twelve feet long. The fish-hooks are made from clam-shell with a tortoise-shell barb. (Clam-shell, *ayats*; tortoise-shell barb, *nahits*.) Neither the steersman nor [834] the men holding the bamboo are allowed to have sexual connexion with their wives during the night previous to the expedition.

The first *atūn* to be caught is held securely by one of the steersmen

and its eyes cleared of any foreign matter, and a small portion of the 226
magic mixture is placed in its mouth. This is to ensure that their
eyes may see the hooks and their mouths hold the fish-hooks securely.

The steersmen and the men holding the bamboos chew the
mixture while out in the *mon*, mixing it with betel-nut. The [164]
chewing of the mixture has a deteriorating effect upon the teeth.
(Sowi's teeth appeared in a decayed state, as though an acid had
eaten away the enamel.)

When the catch is made all the *mon* converge to the spot where
the medicine man is seated, and he then counts the fish, taking one
from each *mon* for himself. With these fish he afterwards makes [574]
a small feast. Payment made to the medicine man for working the
magic is not retained by him but expended upon food for a feast
amongst his relations.

It is customary that one man of each totem in a village has a 226
knowledge of working the *atün* charm. At present on Pororan 791
there is only one man who has the knowledge. He is of the Kekeliau
totem. The Naboin man has died without passing his knowledge on.

All the *tokams* used in other parts of Buka come from Pororan, and the instruction is given by the man Sowi. His assistant is Hulaswat, who in turn will become the chief medicine man.

*Other forms of bonito magic.*

Besides the magic just described, which is intended to bring 226
shoals of bonito into home waters, there are also numerous 'pre-
scriptions' for obtaining a good catch for yourself or your own
canoe. A selection of those in my collection is here given. The
first comes from Petats, the others from Kurtatchi:

*Bai'is* (a creeper, growing in the bush). (Petats dialect.)

Go to the bush and get some *bai'is*. There are two kinds of *bai'is*; 226
only one of these will do, it is called *bai'is hihisi kolot*. Bring it to the 824
house. Stick the fishing-rod (*hiat*) into the ground in front of the house,
so that it stands up over the house. Get the leaf of a kind of betel-pepper,
not the same as is eaten with areca-nut but something like it. Chew it
with areca-nut and lime; it makes the saliva red just the same as the real
betel-pepper. Spit it out on to the *hiat*.

When you go to the bush to get the *bai'is* you must go straight to it, walking quickly; you must not linger by the way. You must not search for it, but go straight to the place where it grows, and pull it hard. As you pull it up, call out: '*Atün Pi*'.

226 824 Now skin an areca-nut, a small one, that is not really ready for chewing. Chew it, with the leaf of *pipinkura* and lime. Then chew some more areca-nut with betel-pepper and lime in the usual way, but chew the *bai'ia* with it, spit it out on to the palm of your hand, take your fish-line and rub the contents of your palm up and down it. Fasten a bonito hook on to the line. Pass your hand with the chewed mixture in it down the length of the line till it comes to the hook, but do not smear the hook. Then put back the rod and line in the house.

226 Next time there is a cry of '*Atĩn*', take your rod and go to the beach, there spit backwards over your shoulder into the water, and say:

'*Atĩn* *Pi*
Bonito (name of spirit of dead man especially concerned with bonito)
*ruk me* *wilala,* *areban* *baŋ me* *wilala*
go down rod, all the men (more usual form *barevan*) look rod
*tagoan* *ruk* *hitaun* *no.*'
my go down quickly (verbal particle).

(The word *wilala* is used only in formulae such as this, the usual word being *hiat*. Petats dialect.)

(i.e. 'Oh Pi, go down on to my rod. All the men will be looking, but you go down on to my rod quickly.')

Then take your rod and drop it on the ground, then go out to fish, and presently the bonito will go down on to your hook, just as the rod went down on to the ground.

[824] *Rakot* (a grass with a multitude of small seeds, not unlike 'quaking grass').

Chew the root with betel-mixture and spit it into the inside of your canoe just before launching. Call on the *urar* Pulaget, Soat, and Tsinong. The two former were men who were very successful at bonito fishing, the latter a woman who could carry heavy loads of bonito on her back. In calling on them the following formula is used:

'*Tar ma po* *hamon* *piar* *nen rīs ma* *atĩn.* *Tar nom po ma* *mon*
Look at hook our pull bonito. Look at canoe
*pa naban,* *nen rīs ma* *atĩn* *piar.*'
of all of us, pull bonito our.

(i.e. 'Look at our hook and catch bonito for us. Look at our canoe and catch bonito for us.')

[824] When you have done this, chew the leaves of *rakot* with betel-mixture, spit it on the rod and line and on your hands, and rub down the line until you come to the hook.

[824] *Buier* (*Fleurya interrupta*).

Rub the leaves between your hands; it will sting, but you will not mind that because you want to catch fish, and the sting does not last long. Mix some lime with the leaves, and rub the mixture on the line.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

*Konkon* (a creeper).

Chew the root with betel-mixture, spit on to your palm, and rub all over your skin before you start out; this will cause the fish to bite. 226 824

*Wagoguir* (a large tree which grows on the shore).

Pound some of the bark and wash it in sea-water. Drink a little of this mixture, and pour the rest over your head. Chew some of the leaves and spit them out into the sea where the tide will carry them away. Then go and fish for bonito and you will have a good catch.

*Manijij* (a sweet-scented grass of the *Cymbopogon* species used in India for making citronella oil).

If you have been very unsuccessful, chew the root with betel-mixture and rub your legs where the rod lies across them, then take another piece of the root and put it in your hair when you go fishing.

It is important that a man who goes fishing for bonito should not have sexual intercourse, either with his wife or with any one else, the night before. If he has done so, it is said that the fish smell the woman and will not bite. The disability may be overcome by chewing the root of *bariur* (*Crinum asiaticum*) with betel-mixture and rubbing the chewed mass on the outside of the thighs where the rod lies across them. This 'removes the smell of the woman' and the fish will then bite. A man whose wife is pregnant must on no account go out in a bonito canoe, neither must a man who is newly married and has recently slept with his wife for the first time. There is no 'medicine' to counteract this taboo. 226 834 824 843

### *Other fishing methods*

For fish other than bonito a variety of methods is employed, of which the following are the most important: 226 462

#### METHODS USED BY MEN ONLY

A. *Open sea and lagoon fishing.*

1. Net on frame.
2. Troll line.
3. Rod and line.
4. Fishing kite.

B. *Reef fishing.*

5. Bow and arrow.
6. Spear.
7. Line and hook.
8. Hand-plunging trap.

226 9. Thorn-lined trap.
462 10. Stunning and poisoning.
11. Drives.

#### METHODS USED BY WOMEN ONLY

12. Barricade of leaves.
13. Women's hand-net.
14. Basket.
15. Groping with hand under stones.
16. Collecting shell-fish.

#### METHODS USED BY BOTH SEXES

### C. *Freshwater fishing.*

17. Hand-net.
18. Dam made of leaves.

#### METHODS USED BY MEN ONLY

### 226 A. *Open sea and lagoon fishing.*

The outrigger canoe is used in these methods, and as a rule the fishermen do not go very far out, preferring the smoother water off the lee shore, though they do, in favourable weather, also [834] venture into the open sea. Women do not take part in these excursions, but there are none of the sexual taboos which are observed in connexion with bonito fishing.

#### 1. *Net on frame.*

227 286 283 [824] The net (*ū bean*, P.; *ēb*, K.[1]) is made of native fibre-string. This string is made of the tough fibrous layer underlying the skin of the stem of a running creeper called *karēb*, by rolling on the bare thigh. It must be made in short sections, as the creeper-stem is furnished with a series of nodes at intervals of six or seven inches, at which the fibre breaks off when stripped. The short lengths are joined by twisting the ends between the fingers. For the finer string, two strands of this fibre are sufficient. The action of rolling on the thigh is called *kanun*. This suffices for the finest nets for catching small fish. For lines intended for bonito and for nets for bigger fish several strands are twisted together on the thigh, and three sets of these are rolled (not plaited) over and over each other

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[1] P. = Petats dialect, K. = Kurtatchi dialect. The native terms given are in the Kurtatchi dialect unless otherwise specified.

with one hand while held between the first and second finger of 227
the other. The word for making string by twisting thus is *sē*. The 283
string is made in all the villages of Buka and the north coast of 286
Bougainville. The village of Hanahan has a reputation for making the finest nets.

Both string-making and netting are occupations for men only. [462]
In making a net, one end is tied to a pole or some convenient object, often the ridge-pole of a hut, and the netting is done from side to side across the width of the net, with the help of a netting needle consisting of a piece of cane about a foot long, split at both ends. The string is wound round this and the whole needle is pushed through the mesh. A short flat piece of cane is used as a gauge. The knot is similar to that used in our own fishing-nets.

The frame (*éviat*) is of bamboo, a stout cane for the proximal 227
end, with a smaller cane lashed to it at its distal end; this may be
followed by a still smaller one, till the required length is obtained. 286
When the net is fixed, the distal end of the frame is pulled over into a curve. The distal end is fixed first, the string at the outer edge of the net being caught in a slit at the end of the frame. The other corners of the net are tied on to the frame (Fig. 13*a*). In the larger nets a separate piece of bamboo fixed at an angle to the main part of the frame supports the proximal end (Fig. 13*b*). Some men also make small nets in the same way, and add a handle (Fig. 13*c*). To fix a net on to the frame is *nui u ēb*. It is done just before starting out on a trip; the nets are then placed in the canoe frame downwards, with the proximal ends protruding from one end of the canoe. On returning, the net is at once removed from the frame and stretched on branches or on the beach to dry; the frame, released from its curve, is put up in the lower branches of a tree.

These nets are used in pairs. They vary greatly in size; a large pair will be as much as a man can lift. I have seen quite young boys using small pairs. The longest net, used for deep-sea fishing,
is called *kabir*; many kinds of fish are caught by it. The names of [825]
some of them, in the Kurtatchi dialect, are *aunots*, *susui*, *metapusi*, *tamaget*, *nomno*, *mutul*, the last being described as a very large fish (about 4 feet long, as indicated by a gesture) with a square mouth. Another long net is called *kakawi*, and is used especially for catching *bari* (mullet) on the reef.

Fishing with the *ēb* is carried on either by a number of canoes 226
working in conjunction, or by single canoes, in which one man

226 paddles while another manipulates the nets. One of the pair, held by its middle, is also used without a canoe, the men walking along the edge of the reef at low tide and sweeping the water just beyond the reef.

Another method, which I have not seen, and for which the sea at Kurtatchi is unsuitable, is thus described by Mr. Gordon Thomas as he saw it off the island of Pororan: Each man holds

[227 [286] 284]

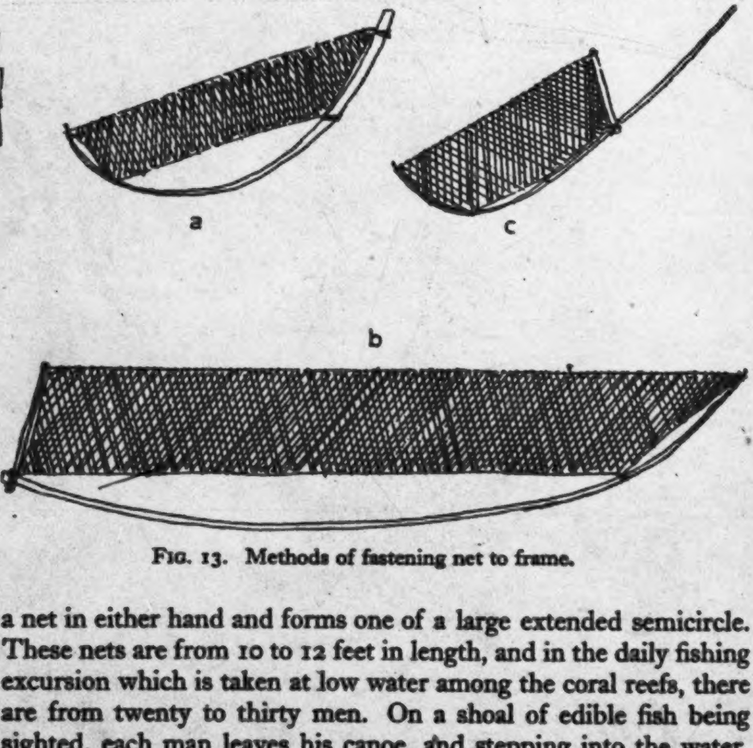


FIG. 13. Methods of fastening net to frame.

a net in either hand and forms one of a large extended semicircle. These nets are from 10 to 12 feet in length, and in the daily fishing excursion which is taken at low water among the coral reefs, there are from twenty to thirty men. On a shoal of edible fish being sighted, each man leaves his canoe, and stepping into the water, which rises sometimes to his neck, takes his place in the extended semicircle, the point of his net touching that of his neighbour; thus a complete semicircle is formed; two or three canoes then approach the opening of the half-circle, driving before them the fish, which become enmeshed in the nets.

Flying fish (*magalut*) are said to be caught with the *ĕb*. I neither saw nor heard of any floats for catching flying fish such as are described by Ivens in the SE. Solomons (1927, p. 384).

Dugong (*lium*, P.) sometimes come close in shore at night, at 225 high water. They are said to be caught with a kind of square drag net, fixed on to a pole at each end. I have not seen this procedure, or a sample of this kind of net.

There are numerous 'medicines' for ensuring a good result in 226 fishing with the *ēb*. The following are the most interesting of those in my collection:

Go to the bush and get some of the plants called *sō* and *gunasgu*. 226 Scrape off some of their bark, and mix it with *oin*. (Iron oxide, see 824 p. 416.) Wrap the mixture in a leaf of the fan-palm *win*. Put the bundle in the bottom of the canoe. Then get some of the bark of the trees *winoa* (canarium almond) and *karu* (Barringtonia). Scrape it. Take some *sisiwa* (see p. 475) and powder it into your hand, then sprinkle the scraped bark of the *winoa* and *karu* with it. You must do this while you are quite alone, no one must see you do it.

When you want to go and catch fish, put a dab of this mixture of scraped bark and *sisiwa* on your ears and nose. Take the bundle of *sō* and *gunasgu* and open it out. Lay it on the outrigger of your canoe, but if a wind springs up you must take it in quickly so that it shall not be blown away.

Then take your net and pick up a stone—any stone from the beach 226 will do—and throw it into the net; throw it hard. This is to test the strength of the net. As you throw, say: '*Wawan tsuk a ien arawa to no non nots.*' ('Look out for the fish here which is coming now.') That is, you make the net think a fish is coming into it. If the net breaks, you must make a new one; if it holds, you can go on. Then put the stone into your canoe and go out to sea.

Now your net cannot be lazy in catching fish. The other canoes may come back empty, but yours will be full of fish. It will beat the other canoes every time.

When you come ashore, put the bundle of leaves away with your two nets; hang them up in the rafters of your hut, and make a little barricade round the place where they are; no one must go inside it. When the bundle of leaves rots, make a new one in the same way.

Most of the 'prescriptions' are used without any formula, such as the following:

*Amowagan.*

This is a mixture of root and bark scrapings and dried leaves with *oin*, kept in a package tied up with leaves. It was highly valued by its owner, who said he got it from his grandfather at Timputs, and did not know exactly what was in it. He gave me a little of the mixture as a great favour. It is for dabbing at the outer corners of the eyelids; if this

226 be done just before setting out, fish will come to your canoe. If another canoe comes up to fish near you, it should be rubbed off, then the intruder will not be able to catch any fish. It is used especially in fishing for deep-sea fish, called *yaŋur*, *malaisa*, *taŋini*.

226 *Gotoin* (a small tree).

824 Rub the canoe with the leaves of this tree, and then a lot of fish will come to your nets.

*Pako* (a creeper).

Rub its leaves between your hands. Chew its root with betel-mixture. Rub both on the net. This is especially good for catching the large fish called *makō*.

*Wadodowo* (a large tree, which bears berries much liked by birds).

Chew a piece of a large root with betel-mixture, spit on to your palm and rub on net, then fix a piece of the root on to the net.

226 2. *Troll line.*

A heavy line (*palaŋon*) is trolled, without a rod, behind a canoe, for catching large deep-sea fish, of several varieties.

226 *'Medicine' for catching fish with* palaŋon.

824 *Katſian* (tree resembling an areca-palm).

Take the root and some leaves, rub them together in your hands with lime, and rub on to the line. Chew root with betel-mixture, spit on your hands and rub over line. No use for bonito.

3. *Rod and line.*

226 Deep-sea fish are also caught from outrigger canoes by means
227 of a rod (*ara*) of bamboo often in two or more sections lashed
[283] together, tapering towards the distal end. A strong line is made
by plaiting together four strands of rolled string. Hooks of thorn
[177 used to be attached to the line, but trade hooks (*unau*) are generally
439] substituted nowadays, when they can be obtained from planters'
stores. Small fish, or bits of octopus or trepang, are used as bait.
The rod and line is also used by men casting from the edge of the
[286] reef at low tide. (See Fig. 14.) A landing net (*totol*) is sometimes
used with it, consisting of a net of heavy string almost circular in
shape, supported on a frame of wood in one piece, a branch with
[415 a suitable fork being chosen. With this there goes a cleaned-out
824] coco-nut shell to hold the bait. (Pl. 43.)

226
824

The following are typical examples of the numerous 'prescriptions' suitable for use with rod and line:

*Gartan.*

Chew portion of the root with betel-mixture; spit on to fish-line.

[532]

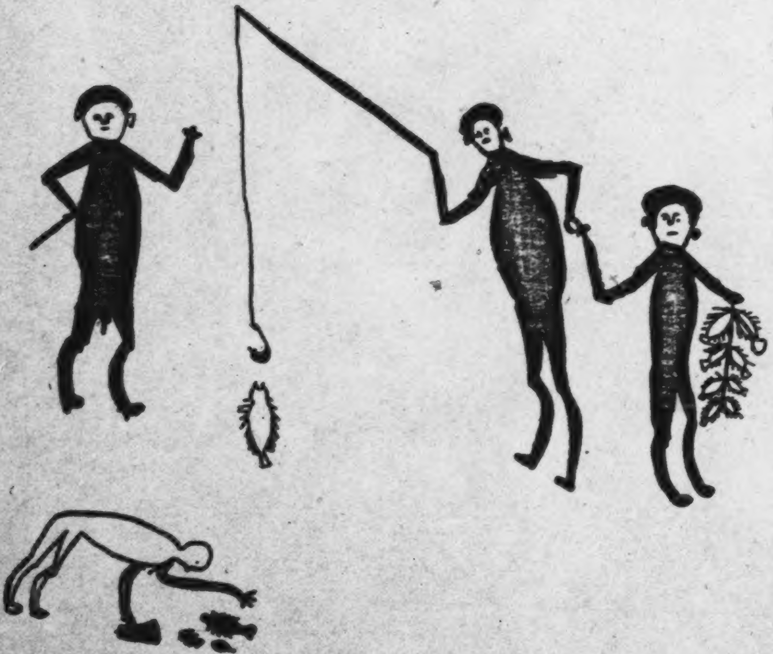


FIG. 14. Fishing. The central figure is a man fishing with rod and line; the boy on the right holds a string of fish. At the bottom on the left is a woman fishing on the reef with a basket. (Drawn by a boy.)

Fasten a small piece of the root on to the end of the line where it joins the rod, and you will catch many fish.

*Isui* (a mixture).

Mix a little of this with *magor* (see p. 475), chew with betel-mixture, spit on hand and rub on fish-line.

*Iwiy* (a hard-wood tree).

Take some leaves, rub hard between hands, add a small quantity of *sisime* (see p. 475) and rub on line.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

PLATE 44

227

501

FISHING KITE

[facing p. 348]

226 *Riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*).

824 Get some leaves; split them away from the mid-rib. Add a little *sisiwa*, and rub it on your hand. Then chew the root with betel-mixture, spit it on to your hand which holds the other mixture, and rub both on line.

4. *Fishing kite.*

226 133 While the three former methods are practised either inside or outside the reef, kite-fishing is generally confined to the smooth water between the reef and the shore, or in otherwise sheltered water. The term 'lagoon' is current locally to indicate any such stretch of sheltered water, not necessarily so fully enclosed as in the case of the lagoons of atolls, which are rarely found in this area. It is applied, for example, to the stretch of sea between the west coast of Buka and its fringing reef, from which rises the string of islands including Petats and Pororan, though the protecting reef is open at both ends and has gaps in it. In fair weather, this stretch of water is very suitable for kite-fishing, and it was there that I saw it being carried on. The people of the north coast of Bougainville are also acquainted with the fishing kite, but they use it less frequently, as in order to do so they have to go across the peninsula to the relatively sheltered water of Soraken bay, the open sea off their own villages being unsuitable.

226 171 *Distribution.* Kite-fishing is remarkable not only for its ingenuity, but also for its geographical distribution. This is discussed in a paper by H. Balfour (1913, p. 583), who traces it from a probable centre of dispersion 'somewhere in the eastern area of the Malayan Archipelago', as one of a series of cultural objects whose distribution can be followed over an area stretching from Singapore to Santa Cruz.

227 [824] *Construction.* The kite (*vavatoa*, P.) is made of five fronds of the sago-palm leaf, of which the two outer ones have the leaf stripped from one side of the mid-rib which thus acts as a stiff outside edge. The central leaf is turned back from its mid-rib for about a third of its length, which projects to form a tail to which is attached the string trailing the lure, towards the tip, and the string held by the fisherman, at the end of the split-off portion. This string is again fastened lower down the mid-rib, by means of a loose loop. The doubled leaf forms the central part of the body of the kite; two others, with the mid-rib stripped off, are stitched to either side of it,

**1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935**

**ON6 Buka ON6**
**Kurtatchi**

PLATE 45

226
227

GARFISH CAUGHT WITH KITE

[facing p. 349]

and turned back so that they are somewhat shorter than the central 227 leaf. Any gaps between these two and the central leaf or the outside leaves are filled in by stitching on separate small pieces of leaf. The whole is strengthened by three pieces of thin cane laid horizontally across the breadth of the kite, one at each end and one about a third of the way from the narrower end. The ends of the three mid-ribs are brought together in a point and securely fastened. The shape of the kite can best be seen from the illustration (Pl. 44). A typical specimen measures 34½ inches along the central mid-rib to the end of the body (the tips project 32¼ inches beyond this), and 22½ inches across at the top of the body.

The kite is flown by means of native fibre-string. It trails a lure 227 of spider's web tangle (species not yet identified), collected in the bush by twirling a forked stick in places where the tangle stretches 825 over the underbrush, till a thick mass of it is twisted round the stick. This is taken off and pressed into a wad about 3 inches long and half an inch thick, which is tied on to the end of the tail string, and played on the surface of the water by the movements of the kite. It serves both as lure and hook, the teeth of the garfish being caught in it.

This method of fishing is used only for taking garfish (*sosoa*, P.) 226 of which there are two kinds, one much larger and more highly esteemed than the other.

*Method of use.* Outrigger canoes are used, generally small ones, as a man will frequently go out single-handed, though two may go together. There should be a little wind, but not too much, and the fish bite better if the sun is shining and the tide low. The bait is released first, and is towed behind the canoe for a few moments; then the fisherman releases the kite, which keeps the bait moving just on the surface of the water. The kite-string is held in the fisherman's teeth, leaving his hands free to paddle the canoe; occasionally he uses one hand to pull in or let out the string. When a fish bites, he pulls the kite in first and puts it in the boat, then he hauls in the fish, its teeth fast in the tangle. He bends it double just behind its head, and puts a finger and thumb on each side of its head at the edge of its long mouth, thus wrenching the mouth open and pulling off the tangle (Pl. 45. This photograph was taken from the other end of the canoe). The tangle is used again and again till it is torn to shreds.

*Magical procedure connected with kite-fishing.* When a new kite

226 is used for the first time, the following procedure must be followed in order to make it effective, for, as my informant, a skilful kite-fisher from Petats, put it, 'the kite does not catch fish by itself'.

1 [824] Get the root of the plant called *sil* (Petats dialect; this is the betel-pepper whose leaves are used for chewing with areca-nut and lime), chew it with areca-nut, and spit it on to the part of the fish-line that has the lure fastened to it, and goes into the water. Then say:

*Seō, niknikō, botot me vavatoa.*

*Seō* and *niknikō* are the two kinds of garfish, *botot* means 'take hold of the line and shake it', *vavatoa* is the kite. That is to say, the words are an invitation to the two kinds of garfish to come and be caught.

Having done this, you can go out to fish. The first time you go out, you must catch ten fish, and then go ashore. You must not give any of the fish to anybody. If some one asks you for one and says he is hungry, you tell him: 'I can't give you any because I want to cook my new kite. If you want to eat you can come to my house.'

[252] Then you make a very large fire, get it flaming well, and cook the ten fish on it. You must not put them in a pot, or cook them in an oven, but lay them on the fire. When they are done, you must eat them, and you must keep a good look-out all the time you are eating, to see that the dogs do not eat any of the fish. If even one dog gets hold of the smallest scrap, the kite will be no good, and the sharks will get all the fish every time you try to fish with it. When you have finished eating, make the fire up again so that it flares well, and burn all the bones.

226 824 If, when you go fishing, you find that a shark is getting the fish, you will know that a dog ate a bit of those ten fish while you were not looking. Then you get the root of *aisam* (*Lygodium dichotomum*) to undo the harm. When you come ashore after you have seen a shark eat your fish, if your wife wants to cook some of the fish, you must say to her: 'Don't cook them yet, just make the fire first.' Then you go into the bush and get a piece of *aisam* root and put it in the fire. Take your fish-line (*karikon*) and hang it up in the rafters of the hut just over the fire, so that the smoke from the fire goes up on to it. Then cook the fish in the fire that you threw the *aisam* into, and as the smoke goes up and smokes the fish-line it will make

it good again, so that the sharks will not eat the fish that you are trying to catch with it. 226 824

Besides the procedure for the first use of a new kite, there is also a 'prescription' for ensuring a good catch on an ordinary occasion, which runs as follows:

*Karawinoa* (a shrub, probably belonging to the *Rubiaceae*).

Take some of the leaves, rub them in your hands, and put them into a coco-nut shell with a little sea-water. Lay the coco-nut shell on the outrigger of the canoe. Chew the root of the same plant with betel-mixture, spit on to your palm and rub on the string of the kite. When you catch your first fish for the day, pour a little of the mixture out of the coco-nut shell into its mouth and put it back into the sea. It will throw up the mixture; this will make the other garfish angry and plenty will come and take the lure.

### B. *Reef fishing*.

The remaining fishing methods are of less importance, being 226 regarded more in the nature of pastimes than as serious pursuits, though they make an appreciable difference to the food supply. They are carried out in shallow water near the shore, or on the reef at low tide. There is but little magical procedure associated with them, as they are not considered of sufficient importance.

### 5. *Bow and arrow*.

Small fish are shot with bow and arrow, the arrows made of the 226 411 mid-rib of the sago-palm leaf, as used for shooting birds. Pieces of the leaf are left attached to the shaft to feather the arrows. The fish thus obtained are generally used for baiting a line, such shooting being the preliminary to a morning's fishing. The arrow is not retrieved by being attached to a string, but the fisherman follows it on foot. The names of seven varieties of small fish were given to me as being shot thus for purposes of bait. They are also eaten, but chiefly when other 'relish' for the taro is not forthcoming.

### 6. *Spear*.

Small fish are also, and more frequently, obtained by the use of a spear (*alah*, P., *keruy*, K.). Those in use at the present time have prongs of heavy wire flattened at the ends, usually six in number.

226 411 In the olden days they were made of the wood of a species of areca-palm (not the edible one) which is very hard. Four spikes were set outside and a fifth in the centre. They say these spears made so much splash that they frightened the fish and so were much less effective than the present ones. The spear is plunged into the middle of a shoal of small fish (*silohon*, P.) resembling sardines, which come close in shore so that they can easily be reached by a man standing on a log or wading in shallow water. The spear is sometimes thrown and then picked up, or it may be tied to the end of a fishing line and pulled back after each throw. It is also used from a canoe (outrigger). I have seen boys use the spear to pole the canoe, much as we pole a punt; at the appropriate moment the spear is thrown, the boy picks up a paddle from the bottom of the canoe, and paddles the canoe, standing, until he can retrieve the spear.

226 373 This method of fishing is frequently carried on at night, with the aid of torches made of bundles of coco-nut-palm leaf fronds tied back on to the stem. The natives do not regard the light as a lure, but say it helps them to see the fish which are then speared. A number of canoes will go out together and fish in line, looking very picturesque with the sparks flying. If a spark ignites a man's loin-cloth or burns his skin he promptly jumps overboard. They would not let me accompany them on these expeditions for fear of my clothing catching alight.

### 7. *Line and hook.*

226 227 A simple line may be used without a rod, being thrown by hand. It is usually provided nowadays with a small trade hook, baited with a small fish caught by one of the two methods just described. If no hook is to hand, the fish is tied on to the end of the line. Sometimes a bit of wood is used as a float (*ta'oig*). By this means are caught the larger fish which prey upon the *silohon* (*kabeluk* in the Petats dialect, I think the trevally fish). A rod may also be used for these, wielded by a man standing on a rock or a log close inshore, and making a cast whenever the jumping of the shoal of *silohon* indicates that they are being pursued.

226 373 Line-fishing is also carried on by torchlight; I have the names of several kinds of fish usually caught in this manner. Here again, the natives say that they use the torches not to attract the fish, but to enable them to see where the fish are.

8. *Hand plunging-trap.*

226 The hand plunging-trap is used for catching small fish which come in shoals, chiefly the kind called *silohon* in the Petats dialect, resembling sardines. It can be used only in very shallow water.

*Construction.* The trap (*ĕvu*, P.) is made of a large number of 227
mid-ribs of coco-nut palm leaf fronds (*so'op*, P.) bound together
with fibre-string at regular intervals throughout their length, the
rows of ties being about 3 inches apart. When not in use, it lies
flat. In a specimen which I brought home the length from top to
bottom is 53½ inches and its width, doubled, is about 3 feet at the
bottom. It is prepared for use by the insertion of a circle of cane
mounted on a handle, all bound round with the tough creeper used [824]
for canoe-making (*aisam*). The cane frame (*hapirik*, P.) is thrown
into the wide end of the *ĕvu* with some force, so that the handle
falls through the narrow end, where the mid-ribs are fixed close
together. The mid-ribs are then gathered round the handle and
securely fastened, with a slight twist such as one gives when rolling
an umbrella. Thus prepared, the whole trap opens out when held
vertically by the handle. When expanded ready to be dropped
into the water, the *ĕvu* looks like an old-fashioned full skirt.

226 *Method of use.* A description of one man's method of handling it will indicate the way in which it is used. He started work early in the morning, about an hour after sunrise, because he saw the little fish making a commotion in the water close inshore. He stood in water up to his knees, about 6 feet from the beach. At first he held the trap horizontally, with the pointed end to the right, his right hand on the stick at its top, and his left on the upper edge of the bottom of the trap, which hung limp. Presently he turned it vertically, so that it opened out. He kept it suspended just over the surface of the water, remaining quite still for several minutes. Then he heard fish splashing a short distance off, so he went over to the place where they were and waited again. Presently he pushed the trap down into the water, and quickly bunched the ends together with his feet. Then, bending down, he caught up the ends in a bundle with both hands and pulled the whole thing out of the water thus. He carried it to the beach and opened it out on the sand. It held twenty-seven *silohon*; he said that was a poor catch.

I have also seen men sitting on the low branches of trees which overhung the water, waiting with the *ĕvu* ready poised, then, when the fish splash below them they drop the *ĕvu* on to the fish and jump

226 off the branch into the water and deftly push the bottom of the *ĕvu* together with their feet, enclosing the fish.

I did not see anything resembling the *ĕvu* in the Bougainville villages, but they have very little shore accessible to them on which they could use such an appliance.

9. *Thorn-lined trap.*

226 227 [824] There is also in use in these islands a fish-trap made of the leaf-stems of a thorny vine of the Calamus species, fastened, roughly in the shape of an elongated cone, on to a piece of wood pointed at the other end, by means of which it is fixed in position (Pl. 43). The cone is strengthened with two circles of cane. The thorns are set point inwards, to prevent the fish from getting out. I have not seen this method practised, but a specimen of the trap was procured for me by Mr. Gordon Thomas on the island of Pororan. I am indebted to Mr. Thomas also for the following particulars concerning it. The trap is called *lamlam* in the Pororan dialect (which is very similar to that used on Petats). The thorny vine of which it is constructed is called *kakūl*. The trap is baited with ureta (*la'ut*). The pointed end of the stick is set in the sand at diving depth or wedged between rocks at an acute angle, with the bait at the apex of the cone, and the top part of the trap is covered with certain kinds of leaves (*karian*) leaving nothing but the mouth showing. It is used exclusively by men. The fish usually caught [825] by it are a red fish (*taulō*) and a spotted rock-fish (*sinai*). It 'belongs to the olden days' and is not much used now.

171 227 *Distribution.* It has been pointed out by H. Balfour that the thorn-lined fish-trap occurs in the same areas as the fishing kite (*Man*, 1925, No. 21, and 1932, No. 77), and that 'owing to its almost completely linked-up distribution, it affords one of the most convincing chains of concrete evidence helping to prove an affinity between the culture of the Naga Hills at one end of the range, and Melanesian culture at the other end' (1925, p. 37).

10. *Stunning and Poisoning.*

226 824 The natives use a preparation for stunning fish, made from the plant called *t/ū*, a climbing plant growing up the trunks of trees, to which it attaches itself by means of suckers. To prepare it, the root of the plant must be taken from underground; the suckers attached to the trunk of the tree will not do. These roots are pounded into pulp with a stone. A handful of the pulp is taken

by the fisherman, who dives down and pushes it into holes in the rocks. He then goes back to his canoe. In a short time there is an 226
'explosion' which stuns the fish; the small ones come to the surface, 824
the large ones are dived for. I am not clear as to the exact nature of this 'explosion'. My informants said it was 'just like dynamite', with which some of them are familiar as it is used for killing fish by the planters, though there are government restrictions on its use by natives owing to the liability to accidents. I have not seen this plant used, but it seems clear from the description given that the fish are actually stunned or killed by the explosion, and not poisoned. Williams (1930, p. 58) reports among the Orokaiva the use of the vine *Anisi*, a species of derris, which goes by the name of 'New Guinea dynamite'. Unfortunately, the specimen of *tʃū* which I brought home was not adequate for identification, so I cannot say whether it is the same plant. Williams describes its action as poisoning. 'The root of the Anisi is pounded on a log. It exudes a highly poisonous milky fluid which permeates the water, and brings the fish stupefied to the surface.'

The actual poisoning of fish is also known to these people. They 226
use the fruit of *wapatsun* (a large tree which grows on the shore) 278
by pulping it on a stone and throwing it into the water. This does 824
not explode, but poisons the fish, which then rise to the surface and are picked up.

The poisoning of fish is a very widespread practice among primitive peoples. 171
Ivens describes a method of poisoning employed in 226
the SE. Solomons involving a preparation of the bark of the
Barringtonia tree 'heated in the fire to bring out its bitter qualities' 278
(1927, p. 389). The kernel of the fruit of a species of Barringtonia 824
is used for poisoning pools by the Samoans (Hiroa, 1930, p. 443), and the outer portion of the fruit of the same tree by the Fijians 'for stupefying fish for the purpose of catching them' (Maiden, 1889, p. 160, quoted from Seemann, *Flora Vitensis*). The plant called *wapatsun*, mentioned above, is not the ordinary Barringtonia, the kernels of which are eaten. This is called *karu* and is used for various medicinal purposes, but not, so far as I know, for catching fish. It may, however, be another species of Barringtonia.

### 11. *Drives.*

Under appropriate conditions, in places where there is a muddy 225
shore, such as that in a bay near Novar, on the western end of Buka

225 Passage, porpoises (*būs*) are caught by means of a drive using several canoes. These range themselves in a line, and all the men splash and shout, so that the porpoises are driven up into the shallows, where they stick fast in the mud by their heads and fins. The men then come and take them out. It is said to be not uncommon for canoes to be smashed and people hurt in the excitement of such a drive. This method was not practicable in the neighbourhood of Kurtatchi, and I have not seen it.

### METHODS USED BY WOMEN ONLY

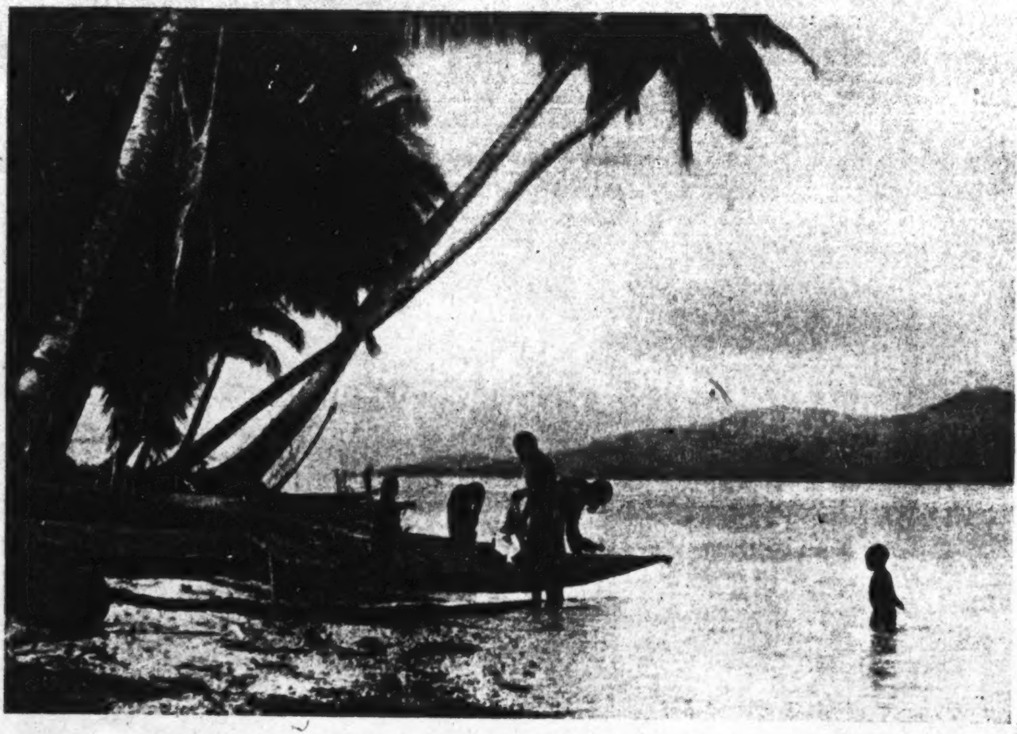
226 12. *Barricade of leaves.*

A long thick chain (*pilu*, P.) is made by binding together a quantity of leaves, ferns, and small branches of foliage, secured by ropes of creeper, much as we bind up evergreens to make festoons for Christmas decoration. At low tide, when there is a little water just covering the reef, a crowd of women and girls will take two of these chains down to the shore, and two or more of the assembled company will seize one end of each. While the other ends of both are held by others remaining at the edge of the water, these will start a few yards distant from each other, will run out into the water, trailing the chain behind them and curving towards one another, with much shouting and splashing, till the two parties meet a short distance from the shore, having laid the chains out in the form of a semicircle with the shore for its diameter. The rest of the party [285] line up along the outer side of this barrier, and put little stiff open-meshed baskets (*aunat*, P.) under the edges of the leaves and branches of the chain, holding them with the left hand, thumbs inside, with the mouths of the baskets turned inwards, and their lower edges touching the reef. When they see any fish, they flip the water with the finger and thumb of the right hand, in order to drive them towards the basket. The right hand is then placed over the mouth of the basket, which is picked up quickly, and any fish it may contain are tipped into another basket hanging behind from a cord round the woman's waist. Then the chains of leaves and branches are picked up and run out again at another spot, and so on. *Silohon* and a host of other tiny fish are caught in this way, at which the women and girls are very adept. It is not as easy as it looks. This method was frequently practised at Petats (Pl. 47), but I did not see it anywhere on the Bougainville coast, which has

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 46

[facing p. 356]



FISHING WITH NET: BRINGING IN THE CATCH. PETATS

226
501

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

226

PLATE 47

FISHING WITH *PILU*: PETATS

[facing p.357]

no suitable shore. The 'flipping' method is used to catch fish in rock pools (see Fig. 14, figure at left bottom corner). 226

13. *Small net.*

There is a small hand-net (*batsuts*, K.) peculiar to the women, 226
used to catch fish in rock pools left in the reef at low tide. In 227
shape it resembles the *ēb*, but is much smaller, and of finer string. 286
To ensure success with this, the following 'medicine' is used: 824

*Paparau* (a large tree).

Small pieces of the roots of this tree are chewed with the betel-mixture and spat on to the net. Men are not allowed to use this medicine.

14. *Basket.*

A certain form of basket (*bona*, K.) is in great demand among 226
the women of Kurtatchi for fishing the rock pools. Two are re- 227
quired, one is held in the hand and its mouth pressed against likely 285
crevices and openings, the other is carried on a cord round the waist to receive the result of each attempt. These baskets are different from the *aunat* used at Petats with the festoon of leaves, being much more closely woven, of softer material, apparently some kind of grass, and are very pliant. The shape is rectangular, and the two edges lie close together when the basket is not held open.

There is a 'prescription' for use with this method also:

*Marawoat* (a large tree).

Chew the root of this tree with betel-mixture, spit on to a small twig of the same tree. Put the twig into your basket and rattle it, the fish will then come into the basket. 824

15. *Groping under stones.*

The women do not need either net or basket in order to go fishing. They will never pass a likely looking hole or crevice on a reef without feeling around it to see if there are any fish lurking there, and are very skilful in pulling them out with their bare fingers. They also pile up stones into heaps on the reef in order to provide suitable hiding-places for the fish. These heaps are called *ma'ō*. A net is sometimes placed by them. This practice is prevalent in all the coast villages throughout the area. 226

16. *Gathering shell-fish.*

An account of fishing methods would not be complete without mention of the occupation over which the women spend more time

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

226 than any other, except for their work in the taro garden. This is the search for shell-fish on the reef and in the sand. Several hours of most days are spent in this way, which is a sure, if somewhat slow and laborious, method of providing a relish for the evening taro. A great variety of shells is collected; perhaps the most numerous are of the cowrie species, particularly a white variety with a blue patch on the back.

### METHODS USED BY BOTH SEXES

The 'Portuguese Man-o-War' (*Velella*) is esteemed a delicacy. Fig. 15 is a young man's drawing of a man and his wife collecting these creatures. The magic to bring them within reach is in the hands of the women. They go secretly to the shore, and call out the names of places from which the *tsuwaluŋ* are to come, starting [824] from Nissan. Then they rub lime over the leaves of the creeper *kurits tsuwaluŋ*; and holding these leaves in their hands, they say: 'All the women are waiting with their baskets and *kōbū*. To-morrow the place will be full of *tsuwaluŋ*.'

### C. *Freshwater Fishing*.

Freshwater fish are taken in the larger rivers. There were no rivers accessible to the villages in which I resided, so I can only record this from what my informants told me. Two methods were described, both of which might be used by either men or women, or by both sexes in conjunction.

### 17. *Hand-net*.

226 227 A net similar to that used in sea-fishing, and also called *ēb*, is used from an outrigger canoe, or from the bank. To fish with the *ēb* in fresh water is *wagan i ruin*. Either rivers or the large pools sometimes found in the bush will serve for this method of fishing.

### 18. *Dam*.

226 A selected area is fenced off by means of a dam made of the large heavy leaves of the bush banana or of plaited coco-nut palm leaves. This is called *pipiŋ a ruin si rakrak*, 'to barricade a river so that it is dry'. The fish left stranded on the portion from which the water is kept back are either speared or picked up.

[facing p. 358]

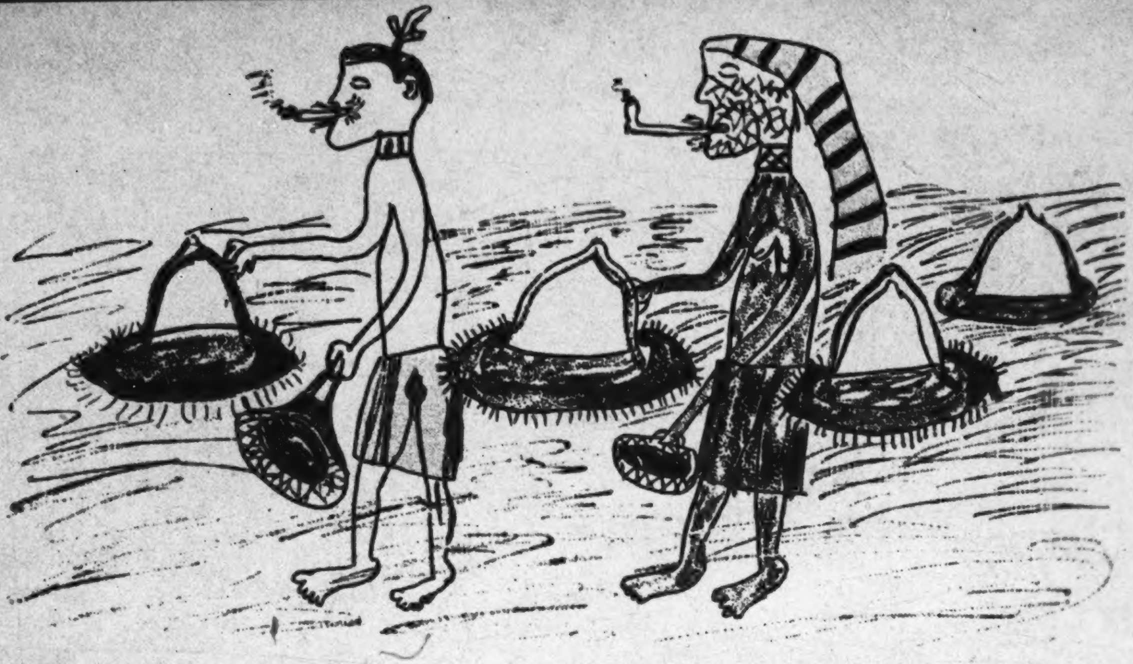


Fig. 15. Man and woman collecting *Tsuwaluŋ*

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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# X

# USEFUL ARTS

600 SOME of the objects manufactured by these people have been already described; others which have not yet received attention are grouped together for discussion in the present chapter.

Compared with other regions of the Pacific, that portion of the north-western Solomon Islands with which I am acquainted would seem not to be a very rich area, so far as material culture is concerned. The articles made are relatively few in number, and at the present time the workmanship is on the whole rather poor, though it would appear that more care may have been taken over the making of some of these things in the past.

462 As usual in a primitive community, a sharp line is drawn between handicrafts proper to men and those practised by women, a line seldom if ever crossed. I take this division of labour, therefore, as the basis of classification for my descriptions. For men the principal industries are canoe-building, house-building, fire-making, and, in the olden days, the manufacture of weapons; for women, the manufacture of shell-knives, pottery, baskets, and women's hoods. Some of these crafts are practised in certain parts of the area only.

## MEN'S WORK

### *Means of Navigation*

*The Raft.*

501 From numerous discussions with the natives it seems that the original form of navigable vessel in these parts was the raft (*u aminĕ*, P., *panots*, K.). Rafts are still used to a limited extent for getting about on the reef when it is covered with shallow water. They consist of a small platform of logs lashed together, and are paddled with a canoe paddle.

*The Dug-out Canoe* (*dʒini*, P., *tʃiniv*, K.).

For reef-fishing, and for short journeys in smooth water, a dug-out canoe with a single outrigger is used. This form of canoe seems to be confined to the north-western islands, as far as the Solomon group is concerned. Guppy (1887, p. 146) says that in the eastern

501 islands dug-out canoes are rarely to be seen, and finds the general absence of outriggers characteristic of the group. Ivens (1927, p. 149) says that all the canoes of Mala and Ulawa are plank-built; he nowhere mentions the dug-out type.

501 177 174 The people of my area told me very emphatically, on more than one occasion, that there was a time when canoes were unknown to them, and rafts were the only means of navigation. However distant this time may be, it seems certain that the outrigger canoe is not indigenous to this region, but was introduced from elsewhere. Haddon, in an exhaustive survey of the different types of outrigger canoe found in Indonesia, concludes (1920, p. 131) that 'the present focus of outrigger canoes is in the Moluccas, and it is legitimate to suppose that from Indonesia, if not actually from the Moluccas, migrations took place at various times, each with its special type of canoe or with some partial modification'. But Friederici (1912, p. 297) thinks that the Buka people inherited this craft from former Polynesian inhabitants of the islands who were conquered and became extinct.

501 The local legend of origin runs as follows:

773

### *Origin of the Dug-out Canoe*

539 At first all the people made rafts (*panots*); they were the first kind of canoes we people had. They all wanted to go and fish; they took their nets, they went to catch fish a long way off. Then one man, a man belonging to the Hahon people, watched them; he sat down on top of a mountain a long way off. He looked at all the people on the beach going fishing with rafts. He boasted, and said: 'Ah, what sort of canoe is this? When we sit down, the water comes up on to our skins all the time. I know how to make another kind of canoe that will hide our skins.'

Then he ran and got a stone axe, and cut down a *tſiniv* tree, and began to make a canoe. The next day he watched till all the men had gone away to fish with their rafts; he went back to the bush and cut the canoe again, he finished it, he carried it to the village, he put it to dry in the sun. He cut sticks for the *kikilil*[1] (outrigger booms), he cut the *woga* (outrigger float) and the *ki* and the *tapala* (portions of the attachment of the outrigger float) in one day, he let them dry for one day. Then all the people got up again and went to fish with their rafts. Then the man went and fetched *lau* (binding); he let it dry a little, then he fastened it; that took him one day.

Then he got some *mōmō* (seaweed used to make white paint) and

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[1] This story was obtained at Tabut; the terms are therefore in a slightly different dialect from those given on p. 367 from Kurtatchi.

rubbed it over the canoe; when it had dried the canoe was all white. 501
Then he took some red paint and black. He took *atʃitʃ* (putty nut), he 773
turned the canoe over and laid it upside down. He took the mid-rib of
a coco-nut palm leaf and made a straight line, he put a layer of putty 539
first and then paint.

Then he went to the bush and got some *win* leaves (the fan-palm), plenty; he made two bundles and put them inside a bamboo without any water, then he put them on the fire and cooked them, and put them in the sun so that they dried quickly. He took some roots of *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*) and boiled them in a pot with some water; then he put the *win* leaves into the water, the red water made the leaves red. Then he took some cane and fastened the red leaves (*kewara*) on to two sticks and set one up in the canoe and another on the *woga*, he decorated the canoe in this way.

He watched all the men who were going fishing with rafts. He said: 'My canoe is finished.' All the men were just going off. He said: 'You go and catch fish quickly, then come and look at my canoe.' They all came ashore, a long line of rafts. They had plenty of fish. They sat down to clean the fish. The man sat in his canoe on the top of a mountain. Now the canoe was just like a bird, it could fly. The *kewara* rustled, and all the people looked: 'Oh, oh, something is falling down from the mountain.' They all ran away into the holes in the stones in the bush, they left their rafts and their fish. The man took all the fish and put it into his canoe, and told the canoe to go back on top. Then the canoe flew back to the top of the mountain.

(*This episode is repeated three times.*)

Then the men thought: 'Some men had better watch while the rest go fishing. Some fellow is taking all our fish away from us without paying us.' Then one of them hid and watched. The canoe came down again. They all ran away. The canoe chased them. The man who was watching looked out; the canoe was resting on the sea. It took all the fish. Then all the other people came up. 'Oh, it is a real man, it is not a ghost (*urar*), it is a real canoe.' The man was sitting inside it. Then they went up to it, and were not afraid of it, and said to him: 'What is it you use to take away all our fish?' 'It is a canoe, it belongs to me.' Then they all began to pull it about. 'Don't pull my canoe about, how am I to get home? My home is on the top of the mountain.' 'No matter, we will have it, to pay for the fish that you took from us. You can make another for yourself. You show us how you make it.' Then he showed them all. They said: 'Teach us what sort of tree you make the canoe out of.' He was sorry about his trees, he did not want to show them, but he showed them a *tʃiniv* tree. They were all glad when they saw it. Then he showed them how to cut it with a stone axe. 'You cut it first

501 like this, then you cut the inside, then you get another stone and work it inside so that it is smooth.'

773 539 Then he went back to his home and fetched a spear and a bow and arrows. Then he went alone to the bush. He was sorry about his trees. He said: 'Oh, why should they all know about my trees?' He took an arrow and shot it into the tree; that is why the *tʃiniv* tree has many holes in it, so that people have to stop them with putty nut. The man wanted them all to have hard work to stop them with putty. The arrow stuck in the tree, presently it fell down; since then all the *tʃiniv* trees have holes in them, and now the people have to put putty into them.

396 824 *Materials.* Several different varieties of tree may be used. The one universally preferred, on account of the straightness and suitable size of its trunk, and the softness of its wood, making for ease in working, is that mentioned in the legend, called, in the Petats dialect, *uertsil*, and in that of Kurtatchi *tʃiniv*; in the latter case the same word is used for the finished canoe, which at Petats is called *dʒini*. The tree is tall and slender, with rather smooth bark, which strips off in large slabs. There is a milky sap under the bark when it is first stripped, and the same milky fluid exudes from the stems of the leaves when they are broken off. The wood is white and so soft that one man can fell a *tʃiniv* tree by himself, unless it is a very large one.

[413]

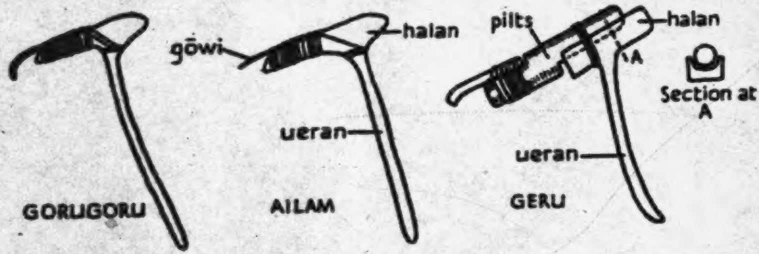

FIG. 16. Tools used in making a dug-out canoe.

413 [177 439] *Tools used.* (The native terms are in the Petats dialect.) In the olden days, stone implements were used. Fire has never been employed to hollow out the log. Nowadays the work is done with metal tools obtained from traders, rehafted in the native fashion, probably much as the stone implements were hafted of old (Fig. 16). They use, besides the ordinary trade axe, which they call a tomahawk, a straight-bladed adze (*ailam*) and an adze with a curved

blade (*gorugoru*). Both are hafted on to handles of which the *halan*, 413 i.e. the part supporting the blade (*gōwi*), is in one piece with the part held in the hand (*ueran*). This latter is long, fairly thin, and rather roughly straightened. The blade is bound to the handle with strips of the tough outside rind of the creeper *Lygodium* [824] *dichotomum* (*aisam* in the Petats dialect, the same as *asam* in the Kurtatchi dialect). The second form of adze has a curved blade, hafted in the same manner. There is another tool (*geru*) consisting of a curved blade fixed on to a piece of wood (*pilts*), which revolves in a groove cut in the handle, so that the blade can be turned round. The straight part of the canoe is trimmed roughly with the axe; the shaping of the ends, the keel, and most of the inside work is done with one or other of the adzes, and the corners and curved pieces with the *geru*.

*Method of Construction*. Dug-out canoes are very numerous on 396 the island of Petats, the position of which is favourable to their use. At one time during my three months' residence six were in process of manufacture simultaneously. At Kurtatchi they are less in evidence, the coast being much rougher, and are generally kept at the fishing hamlet of Tarongen, on the other side of the peninsula, in the shelter of the bay. Two were made by the Kurtatchi people while I was there. The method is the same in both places, but as I watched most carefully the process of manufacture at Petats, my description hails from that island. A job of this sort is usually [461] carried out rather spasmodically, and the time required varies a good deal. Possibly more than the usual amount of concentration was put into the work done on this canoe, at least during the initial stages, because its maker was anxious to show me what he could do. I have known a half-finished canoe to be left untouched for weeks at a time because the craftsman did not feel inclined to work on it. But with this proviso, the time is more or less representative.

*October 28*. Tree felled. The one selected as suitable had a trunk of 2 feet in circumference about 4 feet above the ground, where it was felled, and continued the same size for a considerable part of its height. The upper portion of the trunk was cut away, [804] leaving a piece which they said measured 4½ *ŋā* (*ŋā* = a fathom or span, roughly about 6 feet) to be converted into the canoe. My measurement made it a little over 25 feet.

*October 29*. The bark was stripped off, except for a piece on the keel. The outside was trimmed roughly to shape; the portion

396 which was to be the top of the canoe was cut flat. The log was chipped away to a width of about 10 inches in the middle, tapering to about 2 inches at each end, resting on its flattened sides during this operation.

*October 30.* More trimming was done on the outside; the canoe was then turned over and the inside cut out roughly for the greater part of its length. So far, one man worked on it alone.

[887] *October 31.* The canoe-builder's father, an old man of great skill, came to help him. The canoe was turned over again, the bark which remained was cleaned off, and the keel and both ends trimmed with some care. The knob at each end was roughly shaped.

[284]

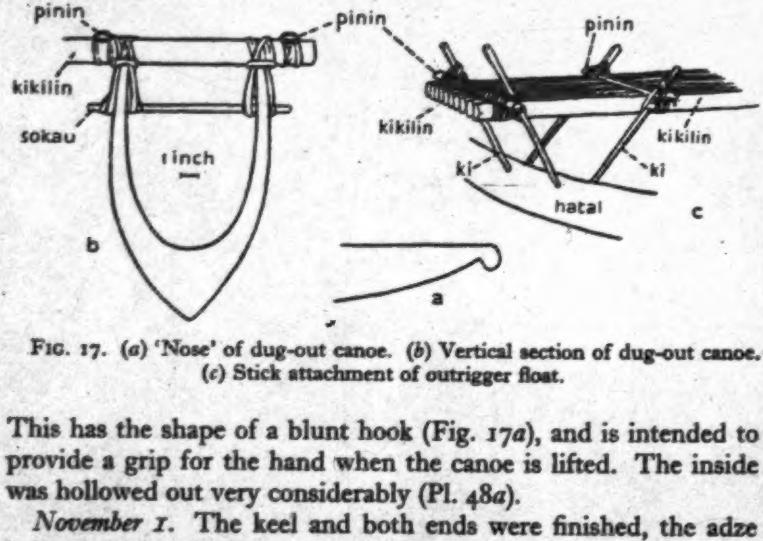

FIG. 17. (*a*) 'Nose' of dug-out canoe. (*b*) Vertical section of dug-out canoe. (*c*) Stick attachment of outrigger float.

This has the shape of a blunt hook (Fig. 17*a*), and is intended to provide a grip for the hand when the canoe is lifted. The inside was hollowed out very considerably (Pl. 48*a*).

*November 1.* The keel and both ends were finished, the adze being used for this purpose. More work was done on the outside, this with an axe. The inside was further shaped, using the tool called *geru*, which can be turned round.

*November 2.* More trimming carried on, both inside and out. The canoe now had one side shaped, the keel finished, and the bottom part of the inside trimmed. Crossed sticks were fixed inside, to prevent warping.

[527] *November 3.* Nothing done, it being Sunday.

*November 4.* Outside trimmed further, with the canoe turned on its side. The adze with the straight edge was used, with short, rather quick strokes, held near the far end of the handle with both

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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PLATE 48

396

*a.* MAKING A DUG-OUT CANOE

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*b.* FILLING IN THE HOLES

[facing p. 364]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

PLATE 49

501

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BOY WITH PADDLE

[facing p. 365]

hands, the right hand nearer to the tool. The hands were held at about the level of the waist. The sides were trimmed almost straight, not curving outwards with the contour of the tree. The thickness of the sides was tested by feeling with the hands one inside and one outside. A layer was taken off the whole length of the side of the canoe in about twenty minutes. Most of the day was spent on this trimming. 396

Up to now, the work had been carried on in the bush, just where the tree fell. This evening, however, the canoe-builder decided to bring it down to the beach. He dragged it single-handed for part of the way, and then left it for the night. [482]

*November 5.* The builder and another man carried the canoe to the beach and trimmed it, by turns, all the morning, improving its shape and smoothing its rims.

At this point he apparently became tired of the job; there were also several things going on in the village to distract his attention. Nothing more was done to the canoe until the evening of November 20, when he measured with a fish line the position for the holes for holding the cross-pieces to which the outrigger-booms are lashed. [804]

*November 21.* The holes were made with a modern brace and bit, the canoe lying on its side. Three holes are needed on each side. They must be exactly in the centre of the canoe, about 3 inches from the rim. [177 413]

*November 22.* Three sticks (*sokau*) were pushed through the three pairs of holes. The *sokau* pass right through the hull, and project about 2 inches on either side of it. Two outrigger-booms (*kikilin*), about 9 feet long, were laid athwart the hull and lashed to the outer *sokau* on each side, projecting a little beyond the hull on the starboard side, the greater part of their length being on the port side. The space between the booms was filled with tightly packed transverse poles (also called *kikilin*) of the same length as the booms. The centre pole was lashed to the centre *sokau*, forming a platform, about a foot wide, braced by cross-bars (*pinin*) running parallel with and just above the rim of the canoe on each side. The number of poles varies from six to ten according to the size of the canoe. In answer to my question, the canoe-builder said that the proper length for the booms was *gā sia pa lim*, a span and an arm (*alima*, shortened to *lim*, means either arm or hand). The length varies very little in the different-sized canoes (see [804]

396 measurements on p. 368). Lashings of *aisam* were put round each of the poles including the two outrigger-booms, and under and round the *sokau* and the *pinin* several times. The platform was thus securely attached to the hull.

*November 23.* Most of the day was spent in stopping up the holes made by insects in the wood. In the other canoes I saw made, this was done before the platform was placed in position (Pl. 48*b*). [824] For filling in the holes the resinous fruit of the 'putty nut' (*Parinarium laurinum*) is used. When first cut open, this has a pinkish colour and is of the consistency of putty, but on exposure to the air it gradually hardens and turns black. It is then completely waterproof. When all the holes had been filled, the canoe was left for the filling to harden, until

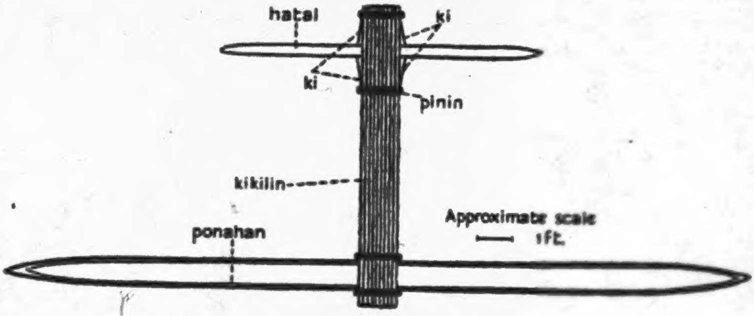

FIG. 18. Dug-out canoe viewed from above.

*December 7.* The outrigger float was fixed. The float consists of a pole cut to a point at each end. The points are charred to harden them. Each boom is attached to the float by means of two connectives (*ki*) set obliquely in holes made in the upper surface of the float, two on each side, carrying the sticks up at an acute angle in two pairs, one of each pair on each side of the platform. The outside pair is fitted almost at the end of the platform, the inside pair about a foot to the right of it. A cross-bar (*pinin*) is lashed to the platform at the point where each connective meets it, and the connecting sticks are lashed to it.

The fixing of the outrigger float is the last essential operation. The canoe may then be launched. At the worker's pleasure the whole of the outside of the hull is coloured white by rubbing it with handfuls of a species of seaweed, wet with sea-water, just as

**1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935**

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it is collected from the reef. This seaweed (*mõ*) is a calcareous 396
alga which Dr. Haddon tells me is used for the same purpose 824
from Matty Islands to Santa Cruz. A zigzag pattern (*bũn*) may [171]
be painted in red along each side at the upper or lower margin, [532]
or both.

No ceremonies accompany the launching of a dug-out canoe.

TERMS USED IN CONNEXION WITH DUG-OUT CANOE[1]

| *Meaning of Term.* | *Petats.* | *Kurtatchi.* | 501 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dug-out canoe with outrigger | *dʒíni* | *tʃinto* | 192 |
| Tree of which it is generally made | *uértsil* | *tʃinto* | |
| Keel | *habín* | | 197 |
| Rim | *pónahan* | | |
| Sides | *réhin* | | |
| Generic term for either end (same word as for 'nose') | *ũsũ* | *ɣíɣirus* | |
| Bow | *mũs* | *matóm* | |
| Stern | *tao* | *kápits* | |
| Hook on either end (same word as for 'hornbill') | *ɣóɣo* | *tʃitʃio* | |
| Slope of outline from keel to hook | *lámut* | | |
| Outrigger booms and poles forming platform | *kíkilin* (*kikilil*) | *wanár* | |
| Sticks (3) inside canoe, to which the outrigger booms are fastened | *sókau* | *tapár* | |
| Cross-bars bracing platform | *pínin* | *pínil* | |
| Stick attachment joining float to booms | *ki* | *ke* | |
| Binding fixing booms to canoe | *pílpil* | *lau* | |
| Creeper of which this is made (*Lygodium dichotomum* Sw.) | *alsam* | *ásam* | |
| Outrigger float | *hátal* or *halas* | *ag* or *waga* | |
| Paddle | *hos* | *owes* | |

*Size.* Three grades are distinguished by name, the actual 501
measurements varying slightly within each class: *dʒini kekerik*, a small canoe suitable for two people but manageable by one paddler alone; *dʒini kahal*, medium size, can be paddled by two, but will take a passenger or a third paddler if required; *dʒini dʒin*, a large canoe for four or more people; these are unusual as they are rather clumsy to manage.

My own table of measurements was unfortunately lost, but the following, kindly taken by Mr. Gordon Thomas on the island of Pororan, may be regarded as typical of the whole area.

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[1] Some of the Petats terms have been previously recorded by Friederici (1912, p. 295).

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

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*Measurements of Dug-out Canoes*

501

| *Measurement.* | *Small.* ft. | *Small.* in. | *Medium.* ft. | *Medium.* in. | *Large.* ft. | *Large.* in. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Max. length from end to end . . . | 19 | 9 | 23 | 9 | 24 | 5½ |
| Depth, rim to ground when flat on beach . | 1 | 3½ | 1 | 4½ | 1 | 6½ |
| Depth, rim to centre inside . . . |  | 10½ | 1 | 0 | 1 | 5 |
| Width of rim . . . . . . . |  | ½ |  | ¾ |  | ¾ |
| Width of canoe from rim to rim (inside) . |  | 6¼ |  | 7¾ |  | 8 |
| Length of outrigger booms . . . | 8 | 3½ | 9 | 4 | 9 | 3½ |
| Length of outrigger float . . . . | 8 | 9 | 10 | 3 | 9 | 8 |
| Circumference of outrigger float . . |  | 9¾ |  | 10¼ | 1 | 0½ |

Further details concerning the medium-sized canoe are as follows: there are nine poles in the platform, including the two booms; they average 4 inches in circumference, and are braced by four cross-bars, each about 1 ft. 1 in. in length, projecting slightly at either side over the width of the platform, which is 12 inches. The height of the platform above the float is 10½ inches. The four stick attachments fastening the booms to the float measure 2 ft. 5 in., and extend 11 inches above the top of the platform.

483 In moving a fair-sized half-finished canoe from the bush where the initial stages of its manufacture have been carried on to the beach where the outrigger is fitted, a rope of twisted creeper will be fixed to one of the ends, and a number of boys, or sometimes [401] women, will pull it along, small logs being used as rollers. A small half-finished canoe, without outrigger, can be dragged along by one man, or carried, with some effort, on his shoulder. A man will not attempt to carry a complete outrigged canoe alone. If no help is available he holds it by the outrigger-booms near the hull and drags one end along the ground. Usually two men carry it, each taking one end, the outrigger being left free, or held by a third. The outriggers are frequently damaged in use, and require replacement. 501

*Method of use.* Although both ends of the canoe are identical in shape, one end always serves as bow and the other as stern, because under ordinary circumstances the canoe is paddled on the right-hand side with the outrigger on the left. But exceptionally I have seen men poling canoes with a fish spear, in which case they have used the spear in the interval between the canoe and the outrigger float, keeping the outrigger on the right.

The paddler sits athwart the canoe, his buttocks resting on both

rims. It does not seem to occur to them that it would be more 501
comfortable to put a board across to sit on. The smaller canoes are so narrow that the feet must be placed one in front of the other in the bottom because there is no room for them side by side. If there is only one paddler he sits near the stern, if a second, he occupies the bow; any others will distribute themselves in between. The shape of the paddle can be seen from the photograph (Pl. 49).
It is frequently ornamented with a design either incised or cut in 531
very low relief, picked out with paint. If there is no design, the whole paddle is often painted white by rubbing with the seaweed *mō*. In use, the ornamented side is directed towards the paddler. One hand is placed over the top, the other grasping the handle near the blade, as in paddling a Canadian canoe. The stroke is rather short, and a good deal quicker than that used by Canadian Indians, probably because these canoes are used on the sea. The paddle is lifted right out of the water at each stroke. The steering differs slightly from that of a Canadian canoe, owing to the outrigger.

Cargo is piled up on the platform over the hull of the canoe, which is the driest place in the boat. Anything laid in the bottom is certain to get wet, as a good deal of water is shipped even in a
smooth sea. Baling is done with half a coco-nut shell (why do they 415
always seem to bring the half with the eyehole in it?), or, nowadays, often with an old tin can. I once saw a wooden baler being used near Soraken, but I did not come across any of these in the villages with which I was acquainted. In rough water a considerable amount of skill is required to avoid swamping. Even if filled with water or overturned, the canoe is prevented from sinking by the outrigger, and if hard put to it, the occupants will jump overboard and swim, pushing the canoe along with them.

Sails are sometimes seen, but they are not of native workman- 177
ship, and their use and technique has been learned from white men. A favourite device when running before the wind is to hold up one of the large leaves of the coco-nut or the sago palm, which acts as a very efficient sail, if there is just the right amount of wind. I have never seen canoes sailed close to the wind.

*The Plank Canoe.*

The most elaborate of all the articles manufactured in this area 501
is the plank canoe, called, as in all other parts of Melanesia where 171
this form of craft is known, mon.

501 this form of craft is known, *mon*. Like the dug-out, it appears not
to be indigenous. The first place in this region to make such canoes
seems, if the native accounts are to be trusted, to have been the
Lontis coast, on the north-west of Buka, since the Petats people
and the inhabitants of the villages on the coast of Bougainville all
say that they learnt the art of making them from the men of Lontis.
501 In certain portions of this latter area the natives still remain igno-
rant of it. The people of Tiop, an island just round the north-east
184 corner of Bougainville, told me that they had no *mon* and did not
know how to make them, and I was given to understand that the
people farther down the east coast had none either, though I had
no opportunity of verifying this statement personally. Friederici
(1912, p. 303) saw them at Teperoi, near Numanuma, still farther
down the east coast. At the other corner of the north coast of Bou-
gainville the people of the Saposa islands certainly do not make
them, and they account for their ignorance by saying that Morena,
who taught them all their crafts (see p. 39), did not teach them
[438] how to make *mon*, saying that when they wanted any they could
buy them from Lontis or Hanahan, and must pay for them with
spears and ceremonial currency. The people of Kurtatchi and the
[177] neighbouring villages were unanimous in saying that such boats
were not made by them until after the introduction of white men's
tools, which are largely employed in their manufacture. The
[412] Petats people, however, say that their fathers used to make *mon*
with stone tools, and to use a sharply pointed shell for boring the
necessary holes by means of which the planks are fixed together.

501 Friederici (1912, p. 292) derives the Buka *mon*, on the evidence
of similarity of technical construction, from the *orembai* of the
177 Moluccas. He gives a comparative list of terms for the different
174 portions of its complex structure which, he says, is sufficient to
prove with absolute certainty that the *mon*, with its name, came
from the east and north coasts of Buka by way of Nissan, Anir,
and Tanga to South New Mecklenburg (the present New Ireland)
(pp. 290 ff.).

396 *Material and tools*. C. M. Woodford, in his account of the canoes
of the British Solomon Islands (1922, p. 508), pertinently remarks:
'It is difficult to understand how the natives were able, before they
became acquainted with iron tools, to adze down the canoe planks
to the requisite degree of thinness and shape them with the aid
only of stone implements.' But he cites the evidence of the early

travellers, beginning with Mendaña, showing that they undoubtedly 396
did so, and, as mentioned in the previous paragraph, the Petats people were doing so not very long ago. It is interesting to note that the Kurtatchi people, who apparently learnt the method of manufacture after the introduction of white men's tools, said most emphatically that it would be impossible to make them without. [412
Nowadays, the tools employed include axes, metal adzes, gimlets, augurs, sometimes a brace and bit, and occasionally a plane. 177]
In the absence of a brace and bit, pieces of wire or nails, which can be obtained from the Chinese stores, are heated and the requisite holes are burned with them. [439]

For the main planks of the *mon* a tree called *panots* (the same as that employed for rafts) is used. 396
A large tree will provide five or six planks for a medium-sized *mon*. The tough outer skin of *Lygodium dichotomum* (*asam*) is used for binding them together, and the seams are caulked with *Parinarium laurinum* (*atʃitʃ*), the 'putty nut'. 824

*Method of construction*. The technique employed in the manufacture of *mon* in this area differs very considerably from that practised in the British Solomons as described by Ivens (1927, pp. 149 ff.) and Woodford (1922, pp. 508 ff.), as does also the appearance of the canoe when finished. I watched the procedure both at Petats and at Kurtatchi, but as I did not see the early stages at Petats, I take the description which follows from my Kurtatchi note-book, and shall use the Kurtatchi terms. The Petats terms are given by Friederici (1912, p. 290), who does not, however, give details of the construction. 396

The first business is to cut the planks. Those for the bottom of the *mon* are about 6 inches wide in the middle, and are tapered off to points at each end. They are planed with an adze (*turarar*) to a thickness of ¼ to ⅓ inch. The outside of each plank is charred by being held over a fire of chips (Pl. 50*a*). It is then rubbed smooth in the sand, and 'set' by being dipped in the sea. This is said to make the planks seaworthy, 'the same as tar', as one man said. (The men who have worked on plantations have seen white men tarring their boats.)

There is no sharp keel. The plank (*watēn*) which forms the middle of the bottom of the *mon* is laid on the ground, and a plank (*pāl*) is placed on either side of it. The adjacent edges of both, which have been bevelled slightly, are then pierced by a row of

396 holes, made with a hot wire, or a gimlet, if one is available. The holes are placed at intervals of about 3 inches unless the wood is defective, when they will be closer together. Care is taken to make them opposite to each other, on each side of the central plank, and exactly paired with those on the side planks. The three planks, still lying flat side by side, are then fixed together by a series of fastenings of *asam*, split till it is in strips of a breadth of about ¼ inch. This is threaded through the corresponding holes in the two planks to be joined. It is first put through the centre plank from the inside outwards, back through the hole in the outer plank, carried right round and threaded through again, so that there are two thicknesses of *asam* in the tie. A twist is then put twice round the middle of the tie, between the two planks, one end is tucked in, and the other put through the band thus formed, from below upwards, and cut off short on the inside. During this process frequent injunctions are heard, '*Kits a pots ia!*' 'Fasten it very firmly!'

[284]

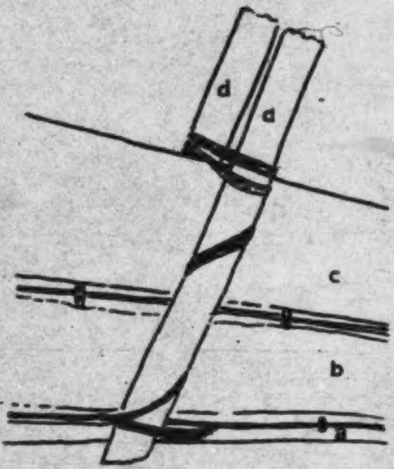


FIG. 19. Planks of bottom of *mon* before opening out. (*a*) *watĕn*; (*b*) *pdl*; (*c*) *bdtawa*; (*d*) supporting sticks.

When the two planks have been thus fastened, one on each side of the centre one, the side planks are bent up so that they stand upright at right angles to the middle one. Another plank (*bdtawa*) is then put on at each side, carrying on the upright line, and likewise fixed with *asam*. For a large *mon*, a third pair of planks (*wagin*) would be added. Pieces of wood are then tied in couples, one each side of the now upright planks, and lashed securely together at top and bottom (Fig. 19). One pair is fixed on each side of the canoe towards one end, and a similar pair on each side at the other end. The canoe now consists of a bottom plank, lying flat, and on each side of it two planks fastened edge to edge, standing up at right angles. A *mon* intended to have two seats, i.e. a small one, measured 17 feet along the bottom plank, from point to point.

396

The whole thing is then turned upside down, and a long, curved stick, made of the root of a tree called *tɔ̄to*, is fastened on at each end, down the join, as far as the tip of the middle plank (*watĕn*) by lashings of *asam* passed through holes in the stick and the planks on each side of it (Fig. 20). The other end of this end-keel (*lamut*) projects for several feet, curling down over the canoe. The point of junction with the tip of the *watĕn* is bound round with several turns of *asam*, great care being taken to make it secure (Fig. 21). The *lamut* is used on both ends of the canoe, which are identical on the outside. Inside, the difference is that the stern is furnished with a single seat for the steersman, while the bow usually has a small space without seats, used for cargo.

[284]

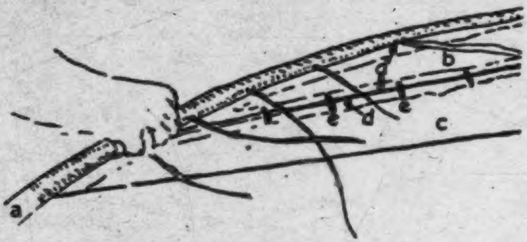


FIG. 20. Fastening of *lamut*. (*a*) *lamut*; (*b*) *pāl*; (*c*) *bátawa*.

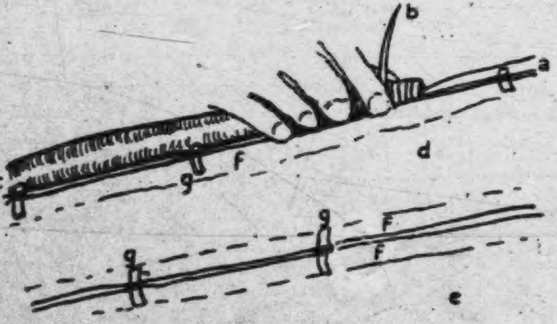


FIG. 21. Method of fastening end of *lamut*. (*a*) *watĕn*; (*b*) fastening; (*c*) *lamut*; (*d*) *pāl*; (*e*) *bátawa*; (*f*) bevelled edge of planks; (*g*) ties of *asam* fixing planks together.

In this condition the canoe is usually left for a day or two. Up to now the work may have been done on the beach, but it is necessary after this to work in the shade, so it is brought into a shed,

396
417

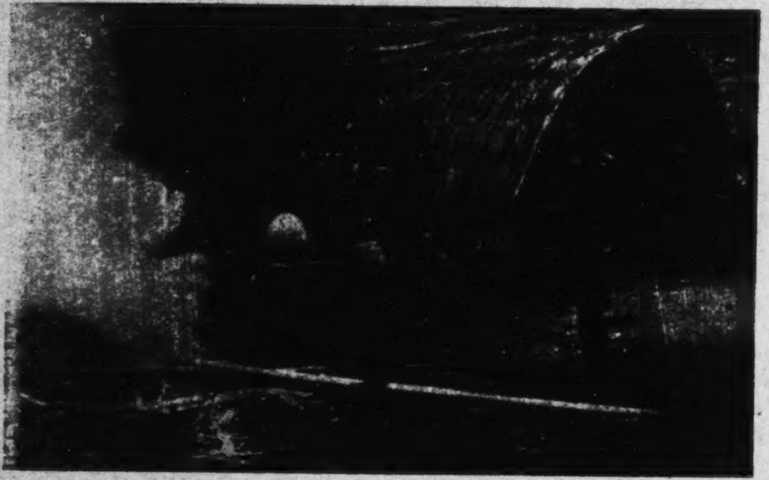
396 and put on a stand consisting of logs (*papan*) resting on forked
[417] sticks (*atōn*) at a height convenient for working. It is now turned
over again, so that the end of the *lamut* curves upwards. Some
[824] strong creeper (*wawal*) is tied round the bottom plank, threaded
through between the two adjacent planks, and fastened round the
*papan*, so as to fix the canoe securely to the stand. Lengths of
creeper are also passed through between the side planks. These
side planks are now pressed outwards by pushing between them
[401] a couple of stout sticks about 2 feet long, pushing against one side
while resting the other end of the sticks against the other side.
Suddenly the whole thing opens with a cracking noise. The outer
planks are then pulled down and tied firmly to the supporting logs
by means of the strings threaded between them. This pulls them
still farther apart, till all five lie almost in a flat plane. Some considerable
pressure is needed to pull down the second side after
the first side is secured. Both ends of what are now the outer planks
are then tied firmly round their tips, binding them together and
to the end-keel.

386 Women or boys are now pressed into service for grinding up
the 'putty nut'. This is done on lumps of brain coral. When
396 freshly ground it is of a pinkish-yellow colour, but rapidly turns
824 red. In a few days it has become dark red, and in a few weeks
quite black, and very hard. It must be used when freshly picked
and freshly grated, and must be put on rapidly in the shade, as
it begins to harden very quickly. It is thickly plastered over all
the seams, on both sides, by means of the worker's fingers (Pl.
51 *a*, *b*). There is then an interval of several days to allow the seams
to harden.

396 When work is resumed, the supporting sticks are removed, and
the holes which were left because of their presence when the seams
were 'puttied' are filled in. In cutting the third pair of planks
(*bátawa*) a ledge (*bĕbĕkil*) is left running inwards for about a foot
from each end. Holes are made in these ledges opposite one
another, the distances between them, about 2½ inches, being carefully
measured with a piece of fibre. Short, stout braces (also called
*bĕbĕkil*) are wedged in between the planks, and tied into place
through these holes. After being placed in position, the *bĕbĕkil* are
served with *asam* over their whole length. Six is the usual number
for a small or medium-sized *mon*. Their object is to strengthen
the canoe at its slender, pointed ends.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 50



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*a.* CHARRING PLANKS FOR *MON*

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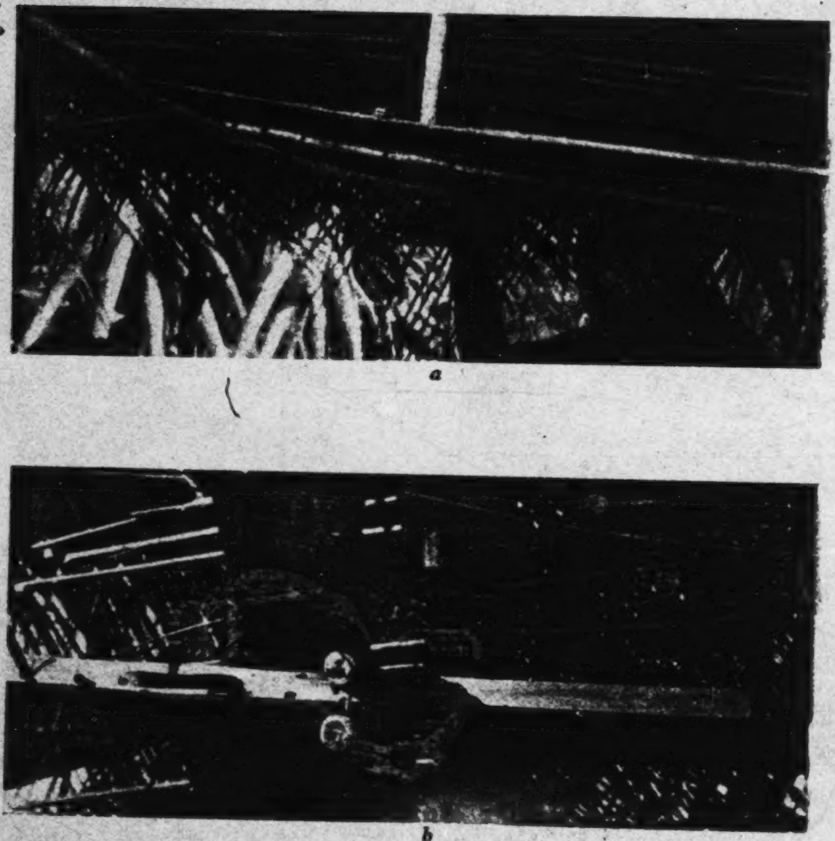
*b.* PARTLY BUILT *MON*

[facing p. 374]

PLATE 51



MAKING A *MON*. *a*. FASTENING THE *LAMUT*.
*b*. CAULKING INSIDE AFTER OPENING OUT

[facing p. 375]

The two large planks (*warin*) which are to form the sides of the 396 canoe are then trimmed, also with ledges at either end. Ledges are also left in the appropriate positions for fixing the seats. These ledges are called *kutĕ*. They are not disconnected cleats, but ridges all of one piece with the plank. The *warin* are about 12 inches wide in the middle. Several men hold one of the *warin* against the side of the canoe while others mark, with a piece of charred wood, the places where the ledges are to be left, at a certain distance from the end of the canoe. Sometimes each *warin* is measured against the [804] canoe, sometimes only one is thus held, the other being laid on top of it on the ground and marked to correspond.

The top edge of the *bátawa* and the bottom edge of the *warin* are bevelled thin with an adze, or with a knife held like a plane. This is done after the outside has been charred, so that there is a white line running along the length of the canoe at the place where the two planks are joined. The holes for the *asam* ties are made about half an inch from the edge, at intervals of about 3 [804] inches, the length of the worker's index finger, which he uses as a gauge. They were made, in the case of the canoes whose manufacture I watched, with a bit of pointed wire set into a wooden [412] handle. Some of these implements consisted of large nails ground down to the appropriate thickness. Four people were engaged in boring the holes in the *bátawa*, two on each side. The *warin* are then held in position, almost at right angles to the *bátawa*, which, when released from the supporting sticks, curve only very slightly upwards from the flat plane in which all five of the original planks had been fixed. Holes are made in the *warin* corresponding in position to those in the *bátawa*. The *warin* are fixed on both sides of the canoe simultaneously, several men holding them in place, one on each side making the holes, and another tying each pair of holes with *asam* as soon as they are ready. The method of fastening is the same as that used for the other planks which I have previously described. Another row of *bĕbĕkil* is fixed at each end of the canoe, just above the first row. [284] The ends of the canoe are bound round with *asam*, which is twisted round several times and fixed in a notch cut in the end of the *warin*, threaded through a hole in the end-keel (*lamut*), and pulled tight. This lashing is subsequently covered up with a liberal application of 'putty'.

When all the ties joining the *bátawa* to the *warin* have been

396 put in, the seams are caulked with putty and the canoe is left for several days to allow this to harden. A stick carefully cut to a size that can just be wedged in is put across the inside to prevent warping. This stick is called *tŏkon*; it stays in its place until the putty is thoroughly dry (Pl. 50 *b*).

396 531 The next procedure is to cut and trim the four wash-boards (*watsinan*). They are carefully measured against the *mon*, and the sides of the *warin* are cut away to fit them, special attention being given to the fit at the points. The *watsinan* are then charred by holding them over the fire, as the other planks had been. A man skilled in cutting the design is then commissioned to decorate them. He first makes an outline by scratching on the blackened side with the point of a knife, then he cuts away the background of the design, exposing the white wood beneath the charred surface, which leaves the black portion uncut standing out clearly (Pl. 52). I have also seen the design burnt on with a pointed stick glowing at the end. Some of the designs are given in Fig. 26 (p. 435). They are sometimes very elaborate, though not so much nowadays as formerly. That at the bow is often more elaborate than that at the stern.

Above the *watsinan* is fixed a short plank (*tariom*), with a slightly upturned end, fitted to the curve of the *lamut*. It is cut square at the other end, and does not reach to the end of the pattern on the *watsinan*. The prow and the stern are finished off with a pointed board (*bibian*) fastened to and running up the length of the *lamut*, but cut away from the top of it at an acute angle, to terminate in a sharp point slightly longer than the end of the *lamut* (Fig. 22). This is made of the wood of the *tʃiniv*, the tree used for dug-out canoes. The *tariom* and the *bibian* are painted white by being rubbed over with the seaweed, *mŏ*. Two coats are put on in the shed, and a third after the *mon* has been for its first trip. *Tariom* and *bibian* are, as a rule, without design, but the *tariom* at the bow may, in a large canoe, carry a simple decoration.

396 It is said that the people of Lontis first made *mon* without any *bibian*, leaving the *lamut* bare, but a man of the Hahon people said this was not a good way, they should put the *bibian* on to strengthen it. It seems curious that a Hahon man, from the mountain district inland, should be credited with the introduction of this modifica-
[173] tion, but the same thing was told to me first at Kurtatchi, and again several months later at Tabut, so it would appear to be traditional.

The rib-frames (*mapŏ*) on which the seats will rest are fashioned

out of a solid piece of wood, in one piece. The pattern is always 396
the same, varying only in size (Fig. 23). The seats themselves
(*poan*) consist of planks merely laid on the top of the *mapō* without

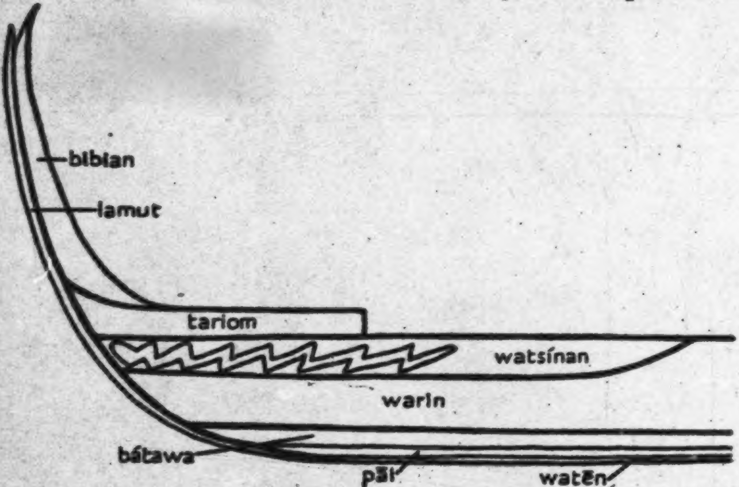


FIG. 22. Names of parts of a *mon*.

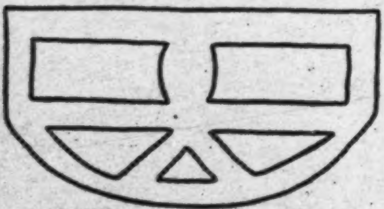


FIG. 23. *Mapō*, rib-frame of *mon*.

being fastened, which has the disadvantage that they are continually slipping, and having to be readjusted *en route*, to the great discomfort of the paddlers. At Tabut, while I was there, one man decided, on his own initiative, that it would be an improvement to make the seat in one piece with the *mapō*, and this was done on one canoe as an experiment.

On gala occasions both ends of the *mon* are decorated with 531
streamers of grass, coloured a reddish-purple with a dye made 386
from the roots of *Morinda citrifolia* rubbed on a piece of coral
and mixed with lime, and then boiled with the grass it is desired 824
to dye. These streamers (*kiwar*) are fixed to the *lamut*.

396 TERMS USED IN CONNEXION WITH MAKING OF PLANK CANOE

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| *Meaning of Term* | *Kurtatchi dialect* |
|---|---|
| Canoe | *mon* |
| Bow of *mon* | *matom* |
| Stern of *mon* | *kapits* |
| Planks, collectively (lit. 'wood (of) *mon*') | *nŏ'òn mon* |
| Middle plank of bottom | *watén* |
| First plank on either side of it | *păl* |
| Second " " " " | *bátawa* |
| Third " " " " (in a large canoe) | *wagin* |
| All these lie nearly flat and are submerged when the canoe is in the water. | |
| Side plank, above the water | *warin* |
| Charred outside of *warin* | *rau* |
| Plank let in at end of *warin*, carrying ornamental pattern cut or burnt on it | *watsínan* |
| Plank above *watsínan*, painted white, occasionally with pattern | *táriom* |
| End-keel curving up from bottom at both ends | *lámut* |
| Pointed boards fixed along end-keel | *bibian* |
| Bevelled edges of planks in which holes are bored for attaching next plank | *pits* |
| Ledges with holes for fixing cross-pieces at bow and stern | *bĕbĕkil* |
| Cross-pieces, served with *asam* | *bĕbĕkil* or *kowara* |
| Ledges for fixing rib-frames | *kutĕ* or *kortĕv* |
| Rib-frames, carved in traditional pattern | *mapŏ* |
| Holes forming integral part of pattern (lit. 'eye (of) *kutĕ*) | *matan kutĕ* or *matan kortĕv* |
| Planks laid (without fastening) upon these to serve as seats | *poan* |
| To caulk the seams with 'putty nut' | *asin ta atʃitʃ* |
| Platform on which *mon* is fixed during construction | *papan* |
| Forked sticks on which platform is raised to height convenient for working | *atŏn* |
| Tree of which planks are made | *pánots* |
| Coloured grass used on end-keel for decoration | *kíwar* |
| Shed in which *mon* is kept when finished | *kek* |

501 *Size.* The size of a *mon* is reckoned according to the number of its *poan*, i.e. seats, each accommodating two persons, except that at the stern, which is for the steersman only. The largest were those used in warfare, and now that the days of fighting are over, they have no function and have ceased to be made. These war-canoes frequently held thirty or forty men, but at the present time a *mon* with ten *poan*, holding eighteen paddlers and a steersman, is considered a large one. Most of those I saw in process of construction were for use in bonito fishing, for which three *poan* is considered the appropriate size. But each group of adjacent villages likes to have one with eight or ten *poan* at the disposal of

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

PLATE 52

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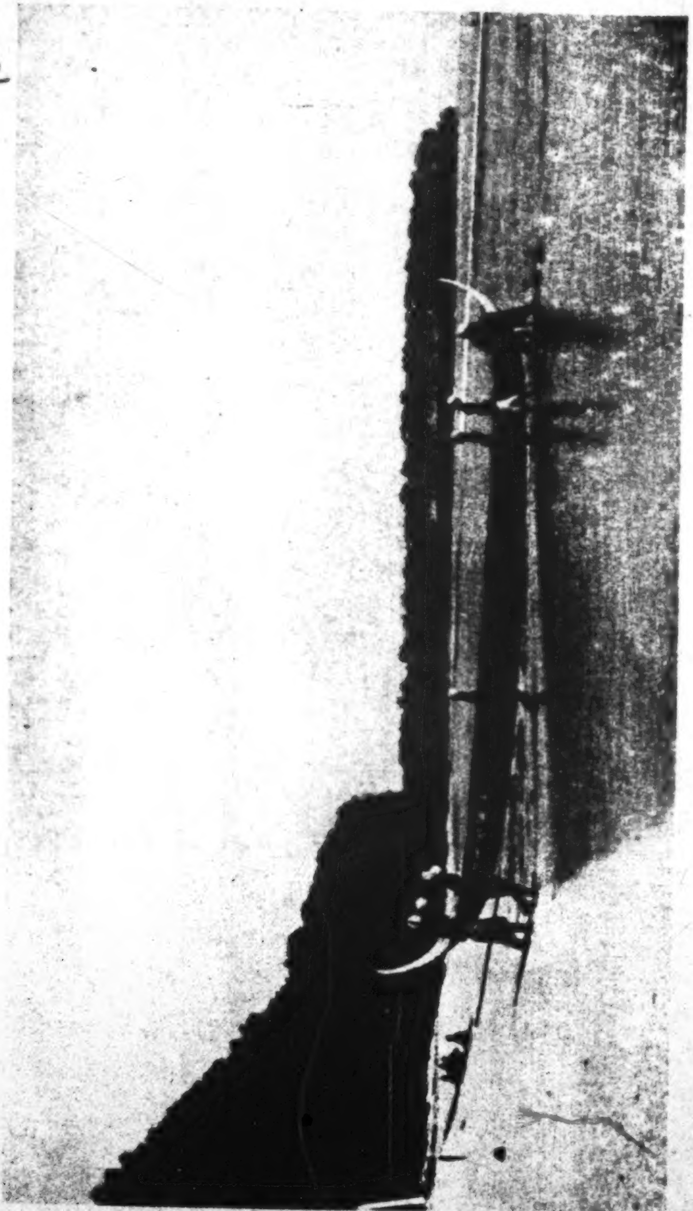
CARVING *WATSINAN*

[facing p. 378]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 53



LAUNCHING *MON*

[facing p.379]

its head men when they require to visit the Government Station at Buka Passage, as they are called upon to do on the occasions of the annual visit of the Administrator (see Pl. 1 *a*). 501

There is a special series of terms for designating the size of a *mon* according to the number of *poan*: 501

*koak*, small *mon* for children to play with, or large enough for one man. 192
*poboak*,[1] *mon* with two *poan*, i.e. suitable for two paddlers and a steersman. May be used for bonito fishing.
*pokukan*, *mon* with three *poan*, the size usual for bonito fishing.
*potana*, *mon* with four *poan*.
*potonim*, *mon* with five *poan*.
*potonom*, *mon* with six *poan*.
*posawun*, *mon* with ten *poan*, the largest now made.

Dimensions of *mon* with three *poan*

Length, 27 ft. 4 in. from bow to stern. 501
Width, 3 ft. at widest part, in the middle (inside edge of *warin*).
Width of planks, about ½ in.
Depth of side plank (*warin*), i.e. total height above water, 1 ft.
Length of *waisinan*, 6 ft. 9 in., of which pattern extended for 3 ft. 6 in.
Floor, 5 planks each about 6 in. wide.

*Launching of mon*. Canoes are never given names. When a new [552]
*mon* is put into the water for the first time, it is carried down to the
shore, from the shelter where it has been during the later stages of [482]
its construction, on the shoulders of some of the men who have
worked upon it. I have seen a small one (with three *poan*) carried
on the shoulders of two men. A crew of men and boys man it, and
it is taken out a short distance, paddled round for a while, and then [343]
brought in and put into the shed which has been prepared for it
on the shore. The men concerned in the making of it then meet [574
in the men's house and eat ceremonial pudding which the owner 476]
of the *mon* and his friends have previously prepared. If there is
any over when they have all eaten as much as they wish, they send
it to their womenfolk, who eat it in their own quarters. The men
who have helped in the making of a *mon* receive no payment other
than this feast, but when they wish to make one for themselves they
would call upon the owner for his help in turn. Any man may own [422]
a *mon*; I never heard of a woman doing so. As the labour of making 501
426

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[1] These words are made up of *po* (for *poan*) prefixed to the ordinary numerals.

501 [426] a large *mon* is very great, and there is not much occasion for its use, such canoes are sometimes lent to other villages when required for a special occasion.

[343] The *mon* is used for long journeys, or for bonito fishing. It is kept in a specially built shed (*kek*) on the shore near a place convenient for launching. It is always carried down to the water, several men or boys helping on each side (Pl. 53), and must never be dragged along the ground like a dug-out, or it would suffer injury. At the edge of the reef, if the tide is low, or at the edge of the water if it is high, the canoe is laid down, and its crew watch carefully for a break in the surf-waves through which they can run with it, shouting in their excitement, and jumping in as soon as it reaches deep water. To watch for a favourable time to get through the surf is *warēn ia*, to take advantage of a pause in the rollers to launch it is *wasiaro* (*siaro* also means fair weather).

*Paddling*. Except for the seat at the stern, which is occupied by the steersman only, two paddlers sit on each *poan*, the width of which necessitates their sitting so close to each other that one wonders their movements are not hampered by the proximity. If the number of people available is insufficient, some of the *poan* may be occupied by one person only, in which case he paddles on alternate sides, otherwise there is no possibility of changing over, an amenity which they do not seem to miss. The paddle is the same as that used in the dug-out canoe, which has been described on p. 369. The paddle used by the steersman does not differ from that of the others. They take one strong stroke, with the paddle held upright, close to the side of the boat, alternating with a short stroke with the paddle held in a more sloping position and slightly away from it. Women paddle as well as men, and with equal facility. But there are certain *mon*, decorated with one particular design, which women may not enter (see p. 433), and they may not possess or use paddles ornamented with the conventional figure (*kokorra*) shown in Fig. 27 (p. 435). With a following wind, a large leaf may be held up to act as a sail, supplementing, but never replacing, the efforts of the paddlers.

502 484 439 *Voyages*. The people of the North Bougainville coast are not great sailors, and seldom venture on trips more than a few miles from the shore. Those of Buka, particularly the men of Lontis and Hanahan, are more venturesome, and go, on occasion, as far as the island of Nissan, a trip involving little short of a hundred

miles, mostly of open and sometimes stormy sea, to buy the pigs 502
for which Nissan is famous. One such expedition, about two
years—so far as I could interpret their vague ideas as to time— 484
before my arrival, met with disaster, two canoes and about forty 439
men being lost. No trip had been made since. While I was there the Hanahan people were talking of making another, but it seemed doubtful whether it would materialize. I obtained from a Hanahan native an account of such a trip, which I give, in spite of its length, because it contains several points of interest. Unfortunately I have no record of the time of year at which this voyage is supposed to have taken place, so it is not possible to identify the stars which serve as guide.

### *A Voyage to Green Island* (*Nissan*)

When people go to Green Island, they start in a *mon* about sunset. 502
When they get to the open sea it is dark. A star called Ton comes into
sight, straight in front of them, in the direction they want to go. Then 484
another comes up, it is called Data. When Data has risen completely, they pick up another star, called Seiposa. When Seiposa has risen, there is another called Totoŋolo (that is the name of a big fish which has a large mouth and two hands). When it has come up, Reki (flying fox) comes, then another star, Wisiessi. When they are nearly there they see Kulu (a pigeon which has almonds in its mouth). Then they pick up Kuri (big freshwater crab). When it has risen they pick up Ienatchena (big fish). Then comes Tonlan (the morning star). When they see Tonlan, one man stands up, he looks, and looks, and looks. As soon as it is light enough he sees land a long way off. It is called Haputan. Then he says: 'Come on, paddle, you fellows, paddle the canoe, I think we can see Haputan.' Then they all paddle hard, and come up closer, and all the trees look big now. That is Green Island.

Then one man, who knows how to make rain, takes a drinking coconut, and sings a song. I do not know what it is, only the *tsunaun* know it. Then all the men drink one coco-nut, they drink all of it, then they eat taro. They do not stop to eat on the journey, in case a big wind comes and catches the *mon*; then they would all be lost. When they have finished eating they all wash in the sea; then the canoe goes ashore on the island. When they have all gone ashore, the man who knows how to make rain talks, and a big wind comes up at Hanahan, and breaks branches off the trees belonging to the people of Hanahan; then they know that the canoe has arrived. They say: 'The canoe has gone ashore at Green Island, it is not lost.' When the canoe gets back they do the same, they make a big wind blow on Green Island, so that the people there know that it has got home safely.

484 The people of Hanahan go to Green Island to get *beroan* (shell currency) and fish, because the fishing at Hanahan is not good. They also
439 buy pigs, because the pigs of Green Island are bigger than the pigs at
Hanahan. The people of Green Island are the same people as those of
197 Hanahan, and talk the same language, but the people of Green Island
talk very slowly, it sounds as if they were sad and wanted to cry. (Here the speaker gave an imitation, in a high-pitched voice with a whining tone and a drop at the end of every sentence.) They pay for the *beroan* and the pigs and the fish with taro, pots, and paint, which they get from Tiop.

484 They stop two days, and fish; there are plenty of fish at Green Island.
[789] When the men are ready to come back, a man of Green Island takes hold of the canoe and says some words to make the canoe run quickly and come back to Hanahan. The people of Green Island know these words, the Hanahan people do not know them. They leave at dusk, and come back to Hanahan in the early morning. They do not take so long as they did to go to Green Island, because the sea pushes the canoe.

502 Here the narrator ceased, but further inquiry elicited the information that they steer by the same stars, watching till they are high enough in the sky to be seen in front of the canoe. When they get near home they look for the point called Hanapan (the most northerly headland on Buka) and for the highest mountain on Buka, which they call Langono (I am not sure just where this is). When they get closer to the shore they must steer away from the island or else they would be carried round the northern edge of the island on to the Lontis coast. They beach the canoe at sunrise.

### *House-building*

361 From the plan and description of the village given in Chapter I, it will be seen that the huts (*inu*) are always set up in lines. When a new one is to be added to the line, the position of the front is determined by stretching a piece of creeper or fibre string along the line of the houses already in position, and continuing it farther to the site of the new one. The backs of the huts are not alined, as some are much longer than others, owing to the fact that increase in size is always obtained by adding to the length at the back, the width remaining practically constant in all.

342 The first procedure in house-building is to put in pieces of stick to mark the corners, using the string as above described. Along the sides, uprights (*kurik*) are set up in double rows, just wide enough apart for the insertion between them of the slats which they are

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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Kurtatchi

PLATE 54

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*a.* FIXING THE *OROR*

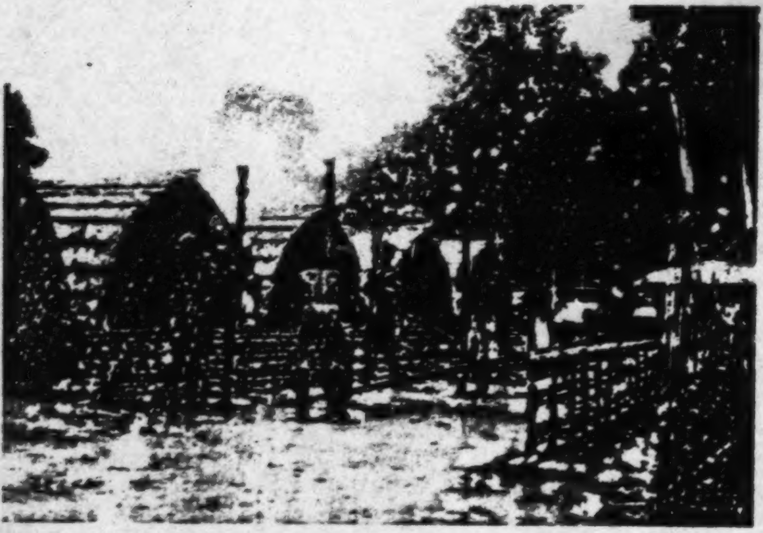
*b.* CARVING THE *TOAN*

HOUSE-BUILDING

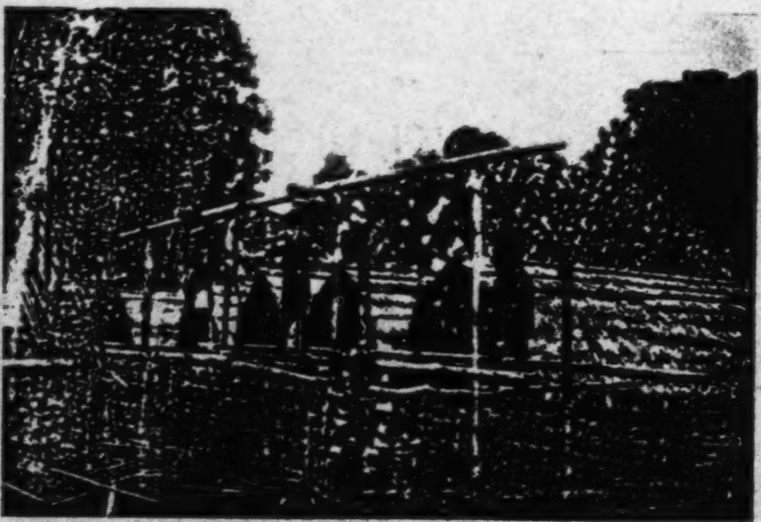
[Facing p 382]

342

PLATE 55



*a.* SETTING UP THE *TOAN*



*b.* PUTTING ON THE *PA'I*

HOUSE-BUILDING

[facing p. 383]

intended to support. These uprights are set up about 2½ to 342 3 feet apart; they vary in number according to the length of the house. Narrow slats, flat on the inside, but left slightly rounded on the outside as they came from the tree, are inserted between the two rows of uprights, and held in place by being tied with rattan to the uprights between which they are supported. These slats are obtained from the areca-palm or one of its numerous wild varieties. The two lines of slats thus arranged edge to edge form the side walls (*oror*), the height of which is about 2 feet (Pl. 54 *a*). The *kurik* are cut off just above these.

The house-posts (*toan*) must then be set up. Holes are made for them by pushing a pole into the ground. One man stands in position beside each hole, and all the posts are set in at the same time (Pl. 55 *a*). They are grasped in both hands and raised high in the air, and then thrust into the ground with all the force at the worker's command. This is repeated several times until the hole is deep enough, and adjustments are made so that the height of each post is correct. If the men cannot drive the posts in far enough they will sharpen the point, if this does not suffice they will cut a piece off. They do not take the trouble to drive them in far enough to be really steady. The structure holds together in its entirety, but each individual post will probably be shaky. The number of posts varies with the length of the hut, three for an ordinary living house and four or five for a men's house is the usual number. The principal [565] house of the *tsunaun* also has four or five, owing to the addition of a porch in front of it. The posts are in three rows, one row along the middle line and one on either side. The posts are made of hard wood, and as they are, on this account, somewhat laborious to fashion, they are often brought from an old house to serve in a new one. They are carved at the upper end in a simple design which does not vary much in different posts (Pl. 54 *b*). Any one may carve them. The top is shaped into a shallow curve in which to rest the long horizontals which they are intended to support. The posts for the centre of the hut (*gus*), supporting the ridge-pole, are slightly higher than those on either side (*wal*).

The horizontal supports for the roof (*pa'i*) consist of the aerial [824] roots of the banyan, which are of uniform thickness throughout their length. They are selected some time before they are required, and laid out to season, kept from the ground by resting upon logs. Several men are required for putting them into position on the top

342 of the *toan*, and every one manifests great anxiety till they are pronounced suitably placed (Pl. 55 *b*).

[824] Thin, flexible strips of the wood of a tree called *ariko* are prepared; the upper end of cach is split and inserted into a second
strip, forming an arch. This arch is lifted by a man at each end of
it and fitted over the *pa'i*, so that the apex of the arch, formed by
the crossed split ends, rests on the ridge-pole (Pl. 56 *a*). These
form the rafters (*walwal* or *tartaras*) to which the thatch is to be
fixed. They are tied firmly to the top of the *oror*. After a single
pair has been put on in front, another at the back, and one at the
level of each row of house-posts, the others are put on in groups
of ten or more. Laths (*papom*) are then laid along the length of the
824 house, and each of these rafters is tied to every lath separately,
where they cross each other, by means of a tough fibre taken from
the inner bark of a tree called *riŋto*. The fibre is passed over the
top, up from below, and over the top again, the ends being tucked
under. A large house will have six laths on each side. The one
nearest the ridge-pole is fixed first, then the next below it, and so
on. The lowest one has to hold the lower ends of the rafters down
over the edge of the walls; it is difficult to fix owing to the amount
of spring in the rafters, which are held taut with logs rolled against
their free ends while they are being tied on to the lowest pair of
laths a little higher up. The ends are left projecting, but are cut
straight, leaving enough to overlap the walls about 6 inches. Another *pa'i* is laid upon the crossed ends of the rafters where they
rest upon the ridge-pole, and tied down to it by fibre twisted round
between the rafters. This is finally covered by a piece of bark or
by a matting made by plaiting together the fronds of two coco-nut
palm leaves, forming the apex of the roof.

The house is now ready to be thatched. The thatch is made of
824 the leaves of the sago palm. In some places, where sago palm is
scarce, the long, narrow leaves of a species of river reed (*manob*)
are used instead. The sago-palm leaves are brought to the village
tied in great bundles. When required for use, the mid-rib is first
removed, and leaves are then folded over a long strip of bamboo,
412 generally two, sometimes three, together. A slit is then made
825 through all the layers just below the cane by means of a pointed
implement made of the bone of a porpoise or a dugong. These
are preferred to European knives, which are liable to split the
leaves too far. Holding open the slit by means of the same im-

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
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PLATE 56

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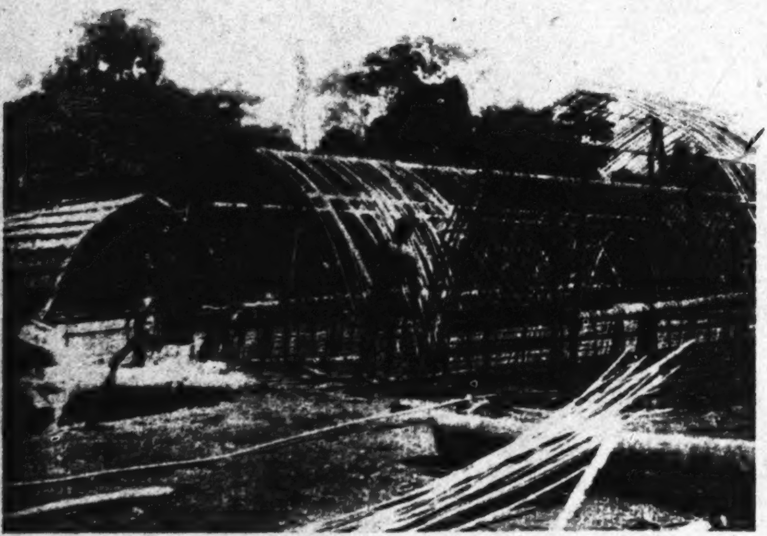
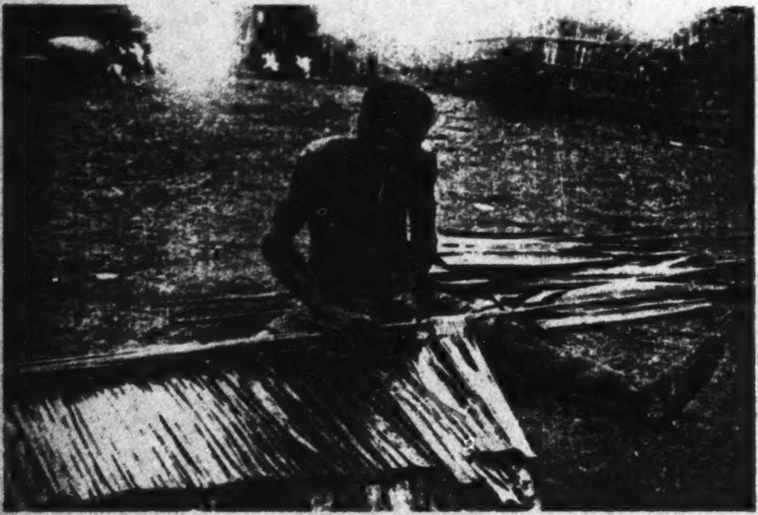


*a.* PUTTING ON THE *TATARAS*

[516]



*b.* MAKING THATCH [facing p.384]

HOUSE-BUILDING

342 plement, the worker then slides a thinner strip of cane through it, thus fixing the leaves down firmly (Pl. 56 *b*). This process is continued along the length of the supporting cane, some 6 or 8 feet.

A number of these lengths of thatch are prepared, men, women, and children all lending a hand. They are put on in layers, beginning at the top of the roof, each succeeding layer being tucked underneath the one above it. Ties of the outer rind of the stem of a plant called *nin* are used to fasten the thatch to the rafters, the ties being placed at intervals of about 2 feet. If the lengths of thatch are made to overlap closely, a very good watertight roof is the result, but the work is often hastened at the expense of efficiency by making them overlap only a little, forming a roof which is very liable to be blown out of place by wind.

342 [177] The two ends of the long, narrow hut are filled in by sheets of bark tied together and to the house-posts. Nowadays, when metal tools are available, planks are more frequently used for this purpose, provided the owner of the house can obtain nails. A space is left, usually not more than slightly over a foot in breadth and rather under 2 feet in height, to serve as a door (see Pl. 33). There is a door at each end of the hut. Planks are placed against these openings at night, secured by propping a log against them on the inside. A few people have now procured hinges or staples and have constructed doors which can be opened and shut, and are sometimes fitted with a bolt. Entrance and exit by these small apertures is a matter requiring considerable agility to the unaccustomed. To enter it is first necessary to climb upon a platform about 3 feet high, which is fixed in front of the end wall, and is made of areca-palm planks resting on three stout poles firmly fixed
[517] in the ground. This verandah is much used as a place to sit, sleep, and eat.

342 562 Both ends of the house are exactly alike, but the front end with its verandah (together called *tagoan*), which faces the cleared space used for dances, is reserved for the men, women being allowed to occupy it only on certain ceremonial occasions. The women's end is the back (*babots*), and here most of their time is
[882] spent while they are at home. The men may join them, but all the women's side of the line is strictly taboo to the boys wearing the *upi*.

342 565 The house belonging to the man of greatest importance in the village (*tsunaun tʃan*) has a porch between the end wall and the

342 565 verandah, which is covered by the roof but is open in front. This is called the 'eye' of the hut (*matan pi inu*). It serves as a gathering-place for the men for informal discussions of matters of importance, as well as for social chats. In it are kept the slit-gongs belonging to the *tsunaun*, one at least, and possibly two.

342 476 All the able-bodied men and boys in the village are expected to help in the building of a house, but most of the work will be done by the owner and his more intimate friends. The workmen are not paid, but can count upon similar assistance when they require it. The old men say that the younger ones are now no longer willing to help in this way, they only want to go off into the bush or to laze on the shore. Even in the case of the men's houses, much exhortation on the part of the *tsunaun* was necessary before the requisite amount of labour was forthcoming.

*Dimensions of Huts in Kurtatchi Village*

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| | ft. | in. |
|---|---|---|
| Total length of principal hut | 46 | 2 |
| Open front portion ('eye') of this hut (under roof and included in total length) | 11 | 0 |
| Length of ordinary hut varies, average about | 30 | 0 |
| Total width, the same for all huts | 11–12 | 0 |
| Height, from ridge-pole to ground | 10 | 0 |
| Height of side-walls (*oror*), approx. | 2 | 0 |
| Height of platform, front and back, approx. | 2–3 | 0 |
| Height of a typical doorway | 1 | 9 |
| Width of a typical doorway | 1 | 4 |

342 184 *Variations.* In some of the hill villages, the front and back of the huts, instead of being closed with sheets of bark or with planks, are constructed of bamboo twisted and plaited into elaborate patterns, or laced together somewhat after the manner of a Venetian blind. Where this is found in the coast villages, as it sometimes is, e.g. at Saposa, it is done in imitation of the practice of the hill people, on the suggestion of the mission, as an improvement on the usual type of coast house. 342 177 [797] On the islands of Petats, Pororan, and Hitau, the missionaries are encouraging the building of houses of an entirely different style, raised on piles, with high walls and a pitched roof (see Pl. 3 *b*). These are rapidly replacing the old-style huts, and the innovation is gradually spreading. On Petats hardly any of the old-style huts remain. There is no doubt that the raising of the house on piles, necessitating the construction of a plank floor in place of the bare ground, and the additional air and light obtained by

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

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Kurtatchi

the heightened walls, with a space between them and the roof, 342
render the new style of houses an improvement from the point of 177
view of hygiene. It involves some readjustment of native habits,
if only for the reason that fires cannot so readily be made inside the [354]
house, though this difficulty is being met by the provision of an
earth hearth in one corner.

## TERMS USED IN CONNEXION WITH HUTS

### (*Kurtatchi dialect*)

342
192

| *Term* | *Explanation* |
|---|---|
| *inu* | hut. |
| *a oror* | the two side walls. |
| *kurik* | the uprights supporting the side walls. |
| *kōbū* | the planks of areca palm of which the side walls are made. |
| *u bē* | rattan, with which the *kōbū* are tied to the *kurik*. |
| *toan* | general term for all the carved posts which support the roof. |
| *taras a toan* | to carve the house-posts. |
| *pepets* | very hard wood, red when cut, of which the *toan* are made (? a species of mahogany). [824] |
| *gus* | the taller posts in the centre, which support the ridge-pole (three or more along centre line of hut). |
| *wal* | the posts on either side of these. |
| *pa'i* | ridge-pole and two side poles, resting on the *toan* and running the length of the hut, to support the rafters. These are made of the aerial roots of the banyan (*o ō*). If it is required to distinguish the ridge-pole from the side poles, the former is called *gus* and the latter *wal*, corresponding to the verticals on which they rest. |
| *walwal* or *tataras* | arched lathes forming rafters of roof, supporting thatch. |
| *ariho* | tree from which the *walwal* are cut. (*Cordyline ferrea.*) [824] |
| *riŋto* | tree (with large yellow flowers) the inner bark of which is used to tie *walwal* to cross-slats. |
| *papom* or *hikimot* | slats running parallel to side of house at intervals on both sides, keeping the *walwal* in position. |
| *taktok* | poles laid across the structure to serve as scaffolding, afterwards removed. |
| *watakụs* | upper ridge-pole, laid on the top of the actual ridge-pole after the *walwal* have been put into position, resting on them where they cross each other. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 342<br>192 | *pirpo* | lower of two cross-pieces at ends of hut, and across at each house-post. Any kind of wood may be used for these. |
| | *tokoman* | upper of two cross-pieces at ends and at house-posts. |
| [824] | *a tõ* | sago palm whose leaves are used for thatch. Thatch also called *a tõ*. |
| | *nin* | outer bark of stem of plant of that name used to tie sheets of thatch to the *walwal*. |
| | *gerom* or *girum* | mid-rib of sago-palm leaf, used to fix leaves together in lengths to make thatch. |
| | *tʃir a tõ* | to prepare the sago-palm leaves by taking out the mid-rib. |
| | *kisib* | to make the holes for fixing the leaves together. |
| | *tʃiku a tõ* | to fix the leaves together into lengths ready to put on. |

*The men's house.*

342 The men's house (*tobár*) is made in exactly the same way as the ordinary huts of the village; the size varies according to the number of people who are likely to use it. Besides serving as the sleeping apartment for the boys wearing the *upi*, the *tobár* is the men's club; its front verandah is seldom without a group of men sitting or
[485] standing round talking and chewing the betel mixture. To it male
[614] guests from other villages are taken on their arrival, each to the *tobár* of the clan to which he belongs.

The *tobár*, two or more, as the case may be, are sometimes placed just outside the main line of huts, from which they may be screened by a hedge of trees or a bit of uncut bush. But often they are placed in the centre of the village, abutting on, or actually in the precincts of, the central space where dances are held. The three
[487] *tobár* of the original village of Kurtatchi were a little to one side of the village, and had special paths leading from them to the shore, which might not be used by women, who avoided their vicinity altogether. The two which were constructed after the moving of the village of Gomen to join that of Kurtatchi, were built at one end of the central space, between the two lines of huts added by
[768] the Gomen people. The hut of a man who had died was taken down to make room for them, the boys who had shared it with him being afraid to go on living there. Even in that prominent position, the *tobár* were strictly avoided by the women, who always made their way round by the back of the lines of huts.

342 *Ceremony on completion of tobár.* The completion of a new
574 *tobár* is signalized by a feast involving the killing of several pigs,

342 574 and if subsequently it is desired to enlarge its capacity by adding further sets of house-posts and thus increasing its length, a feast is held for each set of house-posts put in. A very large *tobár* may have as many as ten sets of posts. A man who wishes to build a *tobár* of his own must put up at least ten pigs, which form part of the feast on its completion. He may then invite youths and unattached men of his own clan, at his pleasure, to occupy it.

Beyond the preparation and eating of a quantity of ceremonial pudding, no feast was held for the two *tobár* erected at Kurtatchi during my stay, because they were not really new ones, but reerected from the old site on the removal of the people from Gomen. I was, however, invited to be present at a feast made for a new men's house in the village of Tung, on the island of Buka, soon after my arrival in the district. As I had not then any working acquaintance with the language, and was a stranger to the village, I was not able to hold much discussion with the natives about the procedure, and can do little more than describe it.

[197] On my arrival at the village, I found three pigs lying on the floor of the new men's house (called *dʒuhan* in the Petats dialect, which closely resembles that spoken at Tung). They were tied to the house-posts. A fourth was brought over from Petats in a canoe and likewise tied up. Then the slit-gong was beaten; four single beats in slow time, indicating the number of pigs that were to be killed, and a large number of quick beats said to indicate the number of taros available for the feast. Nothing further transpired till after dark, when there was a *kōma* with slit-gong but no Panpipes. It lasted till a short time after daybreak.

302 342 574 The next day, several children, all belonging to the Manu clan, whose house it was, had their hair carefully trimmed and painted, with a broad band of red in the centre of the forehead running to the back of the head, a band of black on either side of this, and a narrow line of white outlining the edge of the hair on the forehead.

342 574 533 Meanwhile, several men came in from the bush blowing a conchshell and carrying poles. One pole was very long and a tuft of leaves had been left growing at the end of it. This was stuck into the ground opposite the centre of the front of the men's house. The men stood in a circle round this, each holding one of the other posts. One man beat the slit-gong in a series of slow, distinct beats, and at each beat the men thrust the poles they held into the ground, till holes had been made deep enough to keep them upright.

342 upright. They were then dropped into these holes and the earth
574 pushed up round them. A band of rattan was passed round the circle of posts about half way up them. The posts were much longer at the back of the circle, nearest the house, than at the front, ranging from about 3 feet out of the ground at the back to about 1 foot at the front.

The four pigs which had been lying on the floor of the men's house since the previous day were now untied from the house-posts. Their feet were tied together ready for carrying, and a dab of red was put on their backs, just behind the head. Then for a long time nothing happened. Finally, it appeared that they were waiting because they had not enough men to carry the pigs. I asked if they would like my servant to help them, and this offer was accepted with pleasure, although he did not belong to the village. Two men went to each pig and took it up on a pole in the usual way. They lifted the pigs out of the house, carried them round outside the circle of sticks once, and then laid them down inside it, one between each post, the poles to which they were tied for carrying resting on the cane which encircled the posts, so that the backs of the pigs were touching the ground and their heads slightly raised above it, owing to the greater length of the posts at the back.

The children whose heads had been painted were now called, and told to stand on the front platform of the men's house, looking down on the pigs. There were ten of them, six boys and four girls, all under the age of ten or thereabouts. The smallest, a girl, looked hardly more than two; her mother stood below the platform holding her hand. Unfortunately, I have no information as to
[183] what was the reason for the appearance of the children, or why girls were included in a ceremony for the men's house, from which their sex is excluded.

Gonu, the old man who was responsible for the building of the house, then came up with some red paint in a coco-nut shell and put it on the pigs, round each leg and along the stomach, pulling at the skin as he laid it on. It was in the form of dry powder, not mixed with oil as it is when used on the head. A spear was then thrust into each pig in turn, entering its near fore-leg, not far enough to kill it, but enough to make it squeal. The four poles with the pigs tied to them were lifted off the cane circle and thrown on to the ground near by. Then they were picked up again one by one and thrown on to the ground at the four corners of the space

in front of the men's house. One was put much farther away than 342
the others: this was intended as a present to the next village, Pokar,
and would be reciprocated on the next occasion at which pigs were 574
killed in that village.

Three of the pigs were then killed and partially cooked, in the usual way (see p. 283). The joints were piled up on the back verandah of Gonu's own house, not the new men's house. In the afternoon some men from Pokar came and fetched the pig reserved for them away—alive—in a canoe.

A crowd of guests from other Buka villages then arrived, in-
cluding a number of women with their babies. All were decorated [302]
with red paint on their hair and some with dabs on their faces.
As soon as it was quite dark there was a *kōma* with slit-gong, *mabu*,
and Pan-pipes, with much more excitement than there had been 342
the day before, and more people dancing, including the visitors, 535
both men and women. Most of the women wore bands of plaited 574
fibre round their waists, from which were suspended tails of grass
or pith, which they manipulated with their hands while dancing.
The men had red paint and white cockatoo feathers in their hair, [302]
and bits of phosphorescent fungus on their cheeks and on the ends
of the *mabu*. There were three of these instruments. I was told
they had been borrowed from the neighbouring island of Mat- [426]
sungan, as the village of Tung did not possess any.

The *kōma* went on till after daybreak, in spite of a heavy downpour of rain which made their finery look very bedraggled, but did not seem to abate their eagerness to dance. When it was over, the players of the Pan-pipes threw them on the ground and stamped on them, breaking them all to pieces.

Baskets of taro had been distributed in the intervals of the dance, 342
but the pigs were not eaten till the following day. The joints had 574
been distributed among the various houses to be cooked; these
were all brought out and laid on the platform which ran the whole
length of the men's house, together with a large quantity of taro,
all in baskets made of plaited coco-nut leaves. The display was of [556]
great importance, and my attention was called to the quantity pro-
duced, which I was clearly expected to admire. All the members
of Gonu's clan, Manu, sat inside the house, on the floor and on the
platform, where I was also given a seat. Separate baskets of pig-
meat and taro were put in front of each little group, who ate the
contents at their leisure. Baskets were sent to members of the

342 574 [562] other clan resident in the village, but these were not allowed to eat in the house. The women of the Manu clan ate on the back verandah, outside the house. This is the only occasion on which women may come to the men's house. When all the provisions had either been eaten or packed up to take home, the people dispersed.

[304] In accordance with the practice of making the most of an occasion, this feast, which was primarily intended for the new men's house, was also made to serve for the burying of the pillow belonging to Gonu's father, and for the piercing of the nasal septum of four boys who had reached the appropriate age. Both of these proceedings are described elsewhere (pp. 492 and 425).

### *Fire-making*

372 Fire is made by the stick and groove method (Pl. 57). A stick of hard wood, whittled to a point—now by a trade knife, but formerly by means of a black-lip oyster-shell or with the teeth, is rubbed along a larger piece of soft wood, held down firmly, on the ground or on a log, by a second person. The person rubbing crosses his fingers over the rubbing-stick and moves it up and down using considerable pressure, till a groove is formed in the softer wood below. The dust rubbed away is pushed into a heap at the far end of the groove by means of a splinter. No other tinder is used. The time required varies considerably with the skill of the performer, but a spark is usually produced in a few seconds. The spark is then blown very carefully until the sawdust at the end of the groove ignites.

[824] Several kinds of trees were named as being suitable for both the rubbing-stick and the grooved stick. It is essential that one should be hard and the other soft, and that the wood used for the grooved stick should have a straight grain.

372 192

#### TERMS USED IN CONNEXION WITH FIRE-MAKING

| *Term* | *Explanation* |
|---|---|
| *tsura* | fire. |
| *io to iun no tsura* | I make fire by rubbing. |
| *wakō* | to hold the stick on which the other man is rubbing. This stick has no special name. |
| *wenium* | the pointed stick with which the rubbing is done. |
| *kawu* | the sawdust produced by the rubbing, which becomes the tinder. |

1. Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

Fire-making by this method is practised by men and boys only. 372
It is resorted to if easier means of obtaining fire are not available. I have seen it done in the bush, but only when we were some distance from a friendly village. The usual plan is to borrow a glowing stick from some one else's fire. One of the first and most frequent commands a child hears from its elders is '*Di ma ta tsura!*' 'Fetch fire.' [857] The youngster, possibly an infant hardly able to walk, toddles off to the nearest hut and returns with a burning stick or a small portion of a smouldering log, with which a new fire is started. When on a journey, either walking or by canoe, [484] lengths of smouldering log are carried, with which to rekindle the inevitable pipe. In an outrigger canoe the log is usually laid across the platform, and many canoes bear blackened marks where it has been allowed to burn down unnoticed. Serious accidents caused by this seem, however, to be rare.

A fire is kept smouldering in the huts all through the night. Any one who happens to wake up when it is low will stir up the embers or throw on another piece of wood. If it chances to go out, the woman to whom the house belongs will rekindle it as soon as she wakes, getting a smouldering ember from a neighbouring hut. The fire serves several purposes. It keeps the place warm—for nights even on the Equator can be distinctly cold, relatively speaking. The smoke serves as some protection against the mosquitoes. It is very likely that any one waking in the night will want to rekindle a pipe. The presence of a fire, however small, is also held [775] to be a safeguard against a visit from one of the *urar*, the spirits of the dead, who are never very far away.

Torches are made by bending the fronds of a dry coco-nut 373
palm leaf towards the distal end, where they are tied in a bundle. They burn for a long time. I am not sure whether any resinous substance is ever put into the bundle, but if so, it is not invariably the case, as I have seen many torches made and burned which had none. Even quite small children make these.

In their handling of fire these people exhibit a degree of casualness 372
which frequently caused me, accustomed to the meticulous care exercised by American Indians, no little anxiety. Yet it is remarkable how little damage to person or property occurs through fires. Probably the extreme humidity of the climate is their salvation, but their escape seems to be rather the result of good luck than good judgement.

*Origin of fire.*

372 Two distinct stories of the origin of fire are found in this area,
773 each with several minor local differences. I give in full one told
539 by Maravin, an old man of Kurtatchi.

Once people had no fire, they ate taro that was dried in the sun. When the sun rose they put the taro in the sunlight and the sun burned it, the taro dried. When the people came home from work they ate the taro that had been drying in the sun. When they went to work they said to a woman: 'You look after the place; if it rains you bring the taro inside the house.' The woman turned the taro. The people came home and ate it; then they slept, and slept, and slept. When dawn came they peeled some more taro and put it into a basket, and put the basket in the sun. Then they said to the old woman: 'You take care of the village and the taro.' Then they went to work.

[825] Now a little bird, *wowo'ia* (a small bird that we like to eat because it has a lot of fat), was on a tree in the taro garden. Its excrement was fire. It dropped some excrement, it fell on the leaves of the tree and they flared up. Now one of the women, who was weeding in the garden, saw the smoke, and called out to a little boy: 'You go and see what that is over there, something is light, it looks like something good, presently we will cook our food at it.' The boy said: 'Mamma, you come and look, it is something very good.' He took a banana and put it on the fire, the fire cooked it. Then he said: 'Oh, this is something to cook our food with.' Then he ate some of the banana, and gave some to his mother. 'Oh, you eat this banana, it is good.' 'Yes, presently we will cook our food with this thing.'

Then they went to the village, and took the fire with them. It lit up the road as they went. They went to the village, and asked all the women: 'Where is your taro?' 'It is up in the rafters.' Then they went and cooked it in their house, they lit a fire. They said to the people: 'Here is something to cook our food with.' They all cried out: 'What is it?' 'It is fire, I cooked a banana with it, it tasted very good, it was not strong.' 'Come on, let's try with some taro in a pot.' The pot boiled. Then they took a basket and emptied out the taro; then they ate it. 'This thing makes our food very good. When the sun cooks it, the taro is strong, when the fire cooks it, it is very good.'

Then they gave fire to every place, and all the people asked them: 'Where did you get it?' 'I got it from a bird, it is the bird's excrement.' 'What bird?' '*Wowo'ia*.'

372 At Saposa they say that Morena, who gave them all their know-
773 ledge, took the outer shell of a coco-nut and laid it in the palm of
her hand; she stretched her hand out towards a bird; the bird

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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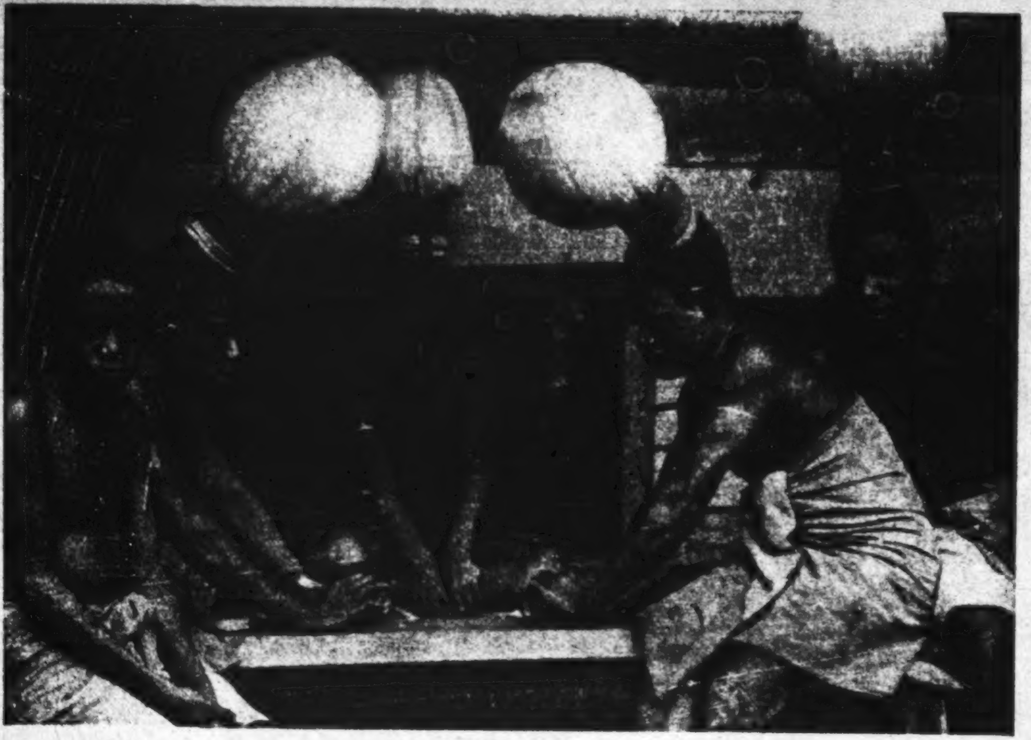
PLATE 57

[facing P. 394]



MAKING FIRE BY THE STICK AND GROOVE METHOD

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372 dropped some excrement on to the coco-nut shell, and it flared up;
773 this was the first fire.

It will be noticed that neither of these versions account for the process of making fire by rubbing. But the second story, which I heard at Tiop, tells how a man and his wife, while drying their taro in the sun, saw two branches which were being rubbed together by the wind. They tried it for themselves, and first smoke came from the sticks and then flame. Then they brought wood and made a big fire and cooked their bananas on it. At first the other men were afraid, but presently they came and asked where the two had found this thing. They said they had found it in the bush. Then they showed all the people how to make fire and how to keep it alight.

## WOMEN'S WORK

### *Pottery*

323 There is only one place in Buka and North Bougainville where
184 pottery is made.[1] This is the group of six small hamlets, three on the cliff and three on the shore below, which make up the village of Malasang, on the east coast of Buka towards its southern end, about six miles from the entrance to Buka Passage.

462 All the women of Malasang know how to make pots; they teach the craft to their daughters and to the wives of their sons. A novice
323 starts by making small pots, increasing the size of her products as
438 she grows more skilful. Only a few of the women can make the very largest pots. There seems to be no standard of skill except as regards size. I did not hear of any woman noted for making especially fine or well-shaped ones. They are made in large numbers, far in excess of domestic requirements, since there is a market for them over the whole of Buka and North Bougainville.

*Materials.*

317 There are two ingredients in the mixture from which the pots
323 are made. The bulk of it consists of a greenish clay called *petako*. It is quite plentiful in the bush, and is uncovered by the pigs in their search for water. The other ingredient is called *mēmia*, and

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[1] Pottery is also made on the east coast of Bougainville, near Kieta, where the technique is similar, but the shape slightly different, and at Buin on the extreme southern end of the island; the manufacture of the latter I have not seen (Pl. 61*a*, no. 4).

317 is described as being of a reddish colour and resembling sand. It
323 comes from a big hole in the side of a mountain some little distance
from the village. The women told me that if too little *mēmia* is mixed with the *petako* the pot is not strong, if too much, it is brittle. They could not explain the right proportions, but judge by the feel of the mixture as they knead it in their hands. The two ingredients are not kept separate till required, but large quantities of the mixture are prepared and kept in baskets of woven coco-nut leaves.

323 When a woman goes to get the *petako* for the first time, she must
not go close to the place, or the *petako* will be spoiled. She stands
317 some distance off, and the other women go first, and sprinkle the
789 ground with pigs' fat. Then they bring back a handful of *petako*
and give it to the newcomer, who may then approach and take her share. As far as I could learn, there is no ceremony connected with the getting of the *mēmia*.

*Technique.*

323 The potter works at her craft in the early morning and in the late afternoon. The sound of the tapping is heard almost at dawn. When she is not working, the half-finished pots rest on a low platform of thin logs placed slightly apart, between which the pots are set, the logs providing sufficient support to keep them upright. The platform runs down one side of the hut, and the small girls of the family are kept busy fetching and carrying pots for the worker who sits at the far end. There may be a couple of dozen on the platform at one time, with very little space between them. Setting them up is a ticklish business, but woe betide the child who lets one fall over, injuring its delicate edge. I watched one unlucky little girl to whom this happened trying, with more optimism than judgement, to repair the damage with her own unskilful fingers. The result was disastrous. All the operations, except the firing, are carried on indoors. If the work is done outside, the sun spoils the clay. As a very special favour, one potter brought her work outside so that I could take photographs.

323 The potter sits on the ground, but some women prefer a low
516 stool, made by fixing a plank upon a couple of small logs. Her legs
are stretched out in front of her, with the knees slightly bent, the pot resting on them.

323 In beginning a new pot, a lump of the mixture is taken in the hand, and worked into a ball about the size of a tennis ball. The

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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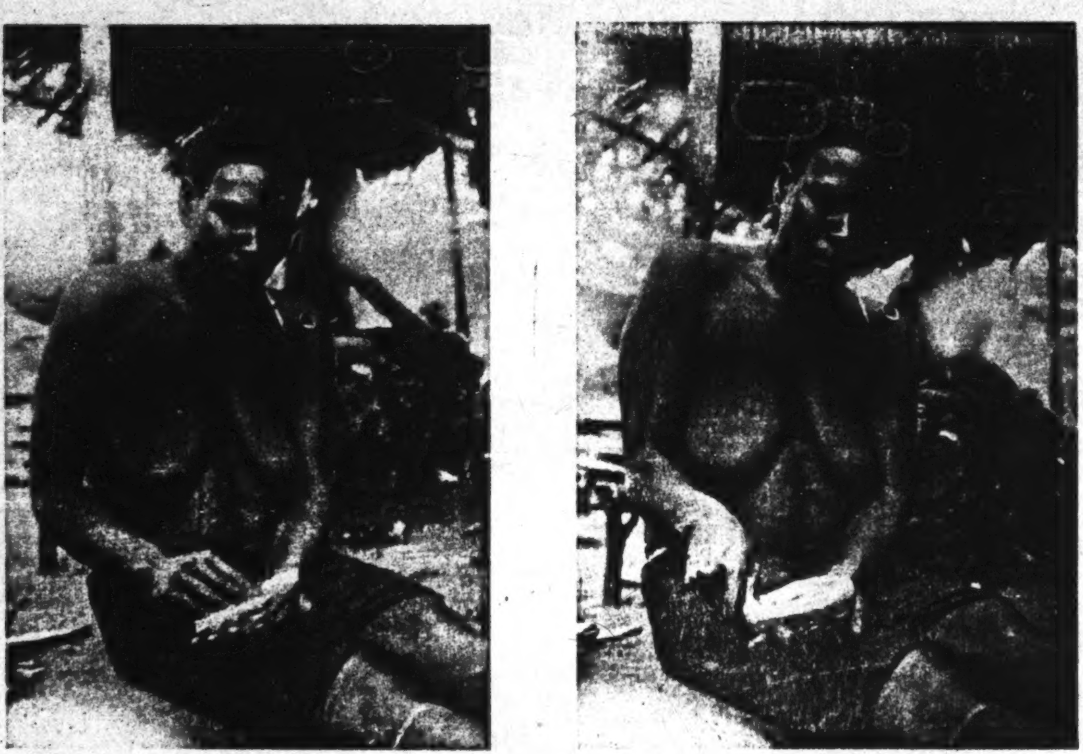
PLATE 58

[facing P.396]



*a.* MAKING THE BASE

*b.* PUTTING ON A COIL

POTTERY

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323
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PLATE 59

*a.* SMOOTHING A COIL

*b.* DECORATING

POTTERY

[Facing p. 397]

potter then lays it in her palm, takes up a smooth flat stone (*rako*) in the other hand, and holding the stone with her four fingers on the inside of the lump, and her thumb on its outside, she hollows the ball into a bowl shape with quick, short sweeps of the stone, turning the clay in her hand as she runs round the edge (Pl. 58*a*). This base is then put aside to dry, and another is begun.

At the next session the potter takes a handful of clay in her wet

[413]

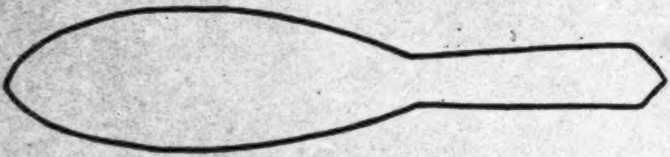

FIG. 24. Spatula used in pottery making.

palm, and kneads it with the fingers of the same hand. One of the bases prepared at the previous session is then picked up, and the clay very quickly and deftly applied all round its edge, adding about an inch to its height (Pl. 58*b*). No attempt is made to construct a sausage-shaped roll before applying it to the pot; the amount required is squeezed out between thumb and first finger. The thumb is kept inside the pot, and the four fingers curled round the outside. The first finger is pressed down as the clay fits round the pot, leaving a crinkled appearance which is afterwards smoothed out with the hand dipped in the broken pot full of water which stands by the worker's side. One handful of clay went round a pot about 12 inches in diameter. On a larger pot, if the first handful is not enough to go round, a second lump is taken, the ends are made to overlap the first strip for a couple of inches or so, and the joins completely smoothed out. The result of this process is to provide the pot with an edging about an inch deep and from ¼ to ½ of an inch thick at the top, projecting slightly on the outside and smooth inside, like the rim of an ordinary flowerpot. The pot is then put aside again to dry. The potter will keep a dozen or more going at once, at two or three different stages of construction, putting another layer on each in turn.

At the next session the potter takes up the pot and lays it across her knees. She then takes the flat stone in her left hand, and in her right a small wooden spatula or beater *saksak* (Fig. 24), which she dips into the pot of water beside her. With quick light strokes she flattens out the rim of clay, holding the stone underneath and [413]

323 beating the clay down on to it, turning the pot round as required (Pl. 59*a*). After every few strokes the beater is dipped into the water, and a tap is given to the stone with the wet beater before the beating is resumed; this has the effect of keeping the stone moistened. The work is done very rapidly. A band which when first applied was about an inch in height and ½ to ¾ of an inch thick, adds, when flattened out, between 2 and 3 inches to the height of the pot, and has a thickness of about an eighth of an inch. It is very flexible, bending under the hand of the woman as she smooths it over after the flattening with the beater is finished. It is then put aside again. Both inside and outside are now perfectly smooth, with no sign whatever of the joins between the layers.

Special care is taken with the last layer, which is to form the rim of the pot. After it has been flattened out, the potter runs round it with first finger inside and thumb outside, pinching off tiny pieces to make it even, and then smoothing the edge with thumb inside and all four fingers extended on the outside. During this process she will stop several times to look at it, and when she has finished she will ask the opinion of those standing by as to whether it is symmetrical. Not till every one has expressed satisfaction does
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531
she proceed to the next process, which is to put the ornamentation round the edge. This is done with the fluted edge of a shell (*katsibélo*, a species of *Arca*). The pattern is not intended simply as an ornament. It was carefully explained to me that it also serves as a mark of identification, so that a woman would recognize her pot if any one stole it. There are several designs in general use, differing slightly from each other, but a potter will put the same one on several pots in succession. On the pot I saw being made, a line of diagonal scratches was put on nearest the rim, extending about three inches down the sides of the pot. These were made with the fluted edge of the shell (Pl. 59*b*). Over these lines, about an inch from the rim, a horizontal line of wavy marks was made with one corner of the shell. The edge of the pot was then very lightly fluted by a succession of quick impressions made with the edge of the shell. Frequently, however, the edge is merely pricked, or it may be left smooth.

323 The pot is then put to dry in the sun. Apparently it does not matter much whether it stays a longer or shorter time in the sun before being fired. The firing is always done just before dusk. A layer of hot ashes is laid down and carefully spread out with a

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PLATE 60

323

*a.* PREPARING TO FIRE

*b.* FIRING

POTTERY

[facing p. 398]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 61

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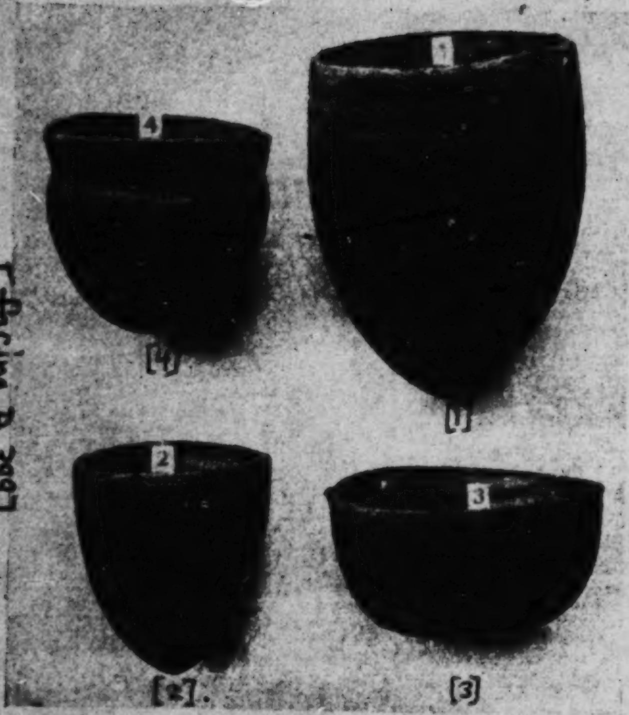

[facing P. 399]

*a.* TYPES OF POTTERY
1. *Tabeli* 2. *Kolo*
3. *Kepa* 4. Pot from Buin

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*b.* CARRYING POTS HOME FROM MALASANG

stick. A piece of smouldering wood is laid on the top of the ashes, 323
and a few sticks across the edges, forming a rough rectangle. The pots are laid on the ashes almost horizontal, but with their rims propped up against the outside sticks (Pl. 60*a*). Four pots face one way, four the opposite way, their pointed bases alternating in the middle. Sticks are then laid upright against the pots, making a kind of fence all round. Other sticks are laid lightly on the top of the pots, but they are nowhere completely covered. The fire from the smouldering wood left inside soon makes its way through. The sticks are dry, and of a wood which catches fire easily, and the whole structure is soon a mass of flames (Pl. 60*b*). It burns down to ashes in about ten or fifteen minutes. The pots are then taken out with the aid of a long pole, and left in the air for a short time, care being taken to put them inside the house before darkness falls. The next day they are fired a second time, in precisely the same manner, and are then stored in the rafters of the house until required. It is said that the smoke of the cooking fire going up on to them makes them strong. When freshly fired they are of a yellowish-brown colour, except where the sticks have touched them, where they are burnt black. No care is taken to avoid this, as it does not show when they have been smoked for a time in the rafters; they are then uniformly black. In this condition they are sold. No glaze or slip is used, neither is any attempt made to burnish or polish them.

*Shape and size.*

There are two shapes. One is circular at the top, with sides 323
nearly parallel till near the base, when it tapers to a point. This 415
point is fixed in a heap of ashes when the pot is in use, firewood being then piled around the sides of the pot. Pots of this shape are called *tabeli* and are used for the ordinary household cooking, which consists chiefly in boiling taro (Pl. 61*a*, no. 1). One of about the average size measured 15 inches from base to rim when held upright on the ground, 11 inches in diameter at the rim, 36 inches in circumference at the rim, and 37 inches at the widest part, about 4 inches below the rim. I saw no very large ones, but I was told that they are sometimes made to stand as much as 3 feet from the ground, with a diameter which I estimated at something like 18–20 inches (both measurements indicated by gestures). A large pot such as this is called *alowon* and is used for cooking pig, but is

323 not often in demand. A very small pot is called *kolo* (Pl. 61*a*, no. 2).
415 The other shape is elliptical, with a lip at each end for pouring. It
is called *kepa* (Pl. 61*a*, no. 3). Its main use is for boiling the squeezed oil of grated coco-nuts to be added to pounded taro in the manufacture of ceremonial pudding (see p. 274) by the men.

*Barter of pots.*

438 Natives from all over Buka and the north-western end of Bou-
436 gainville make trips to Malasang to trade for pots, and the Malasang people also bring them, sometimes, in canoes to other villages for barter. Their subsequent exchange for other goods carries them still farther afield. A medium-sized pot can be bought for three sticks of tobacco (the equivalent of one shilling) or an equal value in paint, cloth, &c. A large pot is worth four or five sticks, a very small one may be had for two. They are packed up very skil-
482 fully in the areca-palm fibre carriers (*kōbū*), and are taken to their destination on the backs of the women, piled so high that it seems almost impossible for them to arrive intact, yet they do (Pl. 61*b*).

201 Pots are broken ceremonially by their owners as a sign of anger
765 or grief. The pots of a dead woman used to be broken by the mourners, but this custom is dying out.

323 I have not discovered any use that is made of potsherds. They lie about in large quantities in every village and on the sites of deserted villages. They are not broken up fine to serve as grit in the making of new pots, as is done by some primitive people.

323 The most careful inquiries failed to elicit any legends or tradi-
773 tions connected with the origin of pottery-making, the first potter, or the discovery of the clay. All they could tell me was that the craft had been practised for so long that nobody knew how it started. It is exceedingly flourishing at the present day, and there seems no likelihood of its dying out, or even being modified by the introduction of European tools, for some considerable time to come.

## TERMS USED IN POTTERY-MAKING

### (*Malasang Dialect*)

323 *Materials and tools.*

192

| *Term* | *Explanation* |
|---|---|
| *pétako* | a greenish clay, obtained just below the surface soil in the bush. |
| *mémia* | substance said to resemble reddish sand, obtained from a hole in the side of a mountain some distance inland. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *sáksak* | wooden beater. | 323 |
| *ráko* | round flat stone used to beat on. (*Rako* is the generic term for 'stone'.) | 192 |
| *hatsibélo* | shell resembling a cockle, used to scratch the pattern on the rim of the pot. | |

*Operations.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *tápo* | knead ball of mixture of *petako* and *memia*. |
| *pósala* | hollow out ball of mixture with hand and *rako* to make bottom of pot. |
| *bṓnōna* | put on a coil of clay round the edge of an unfinished pot. |
| *sak* | beat down the coil with *saksak* and *rako*. |
| *sáhi* | smooth over with wet hand. |
| *katahamátsko* | (lit. 'make good') pinch off bits of the edge to make it even after putting on the last coil. |
| *nṓnoa* | put on the ornamentation round the edge. |
| *tsíntsin* | fire the pot. |

### *Women's hoods* 6

The hoods (*tṓ* or *dʒíllṓ* in the Petats dialect, *tákop* in the Kurtatchi dialect) are worn by the women of Buka and the north coast of Bougainville (but not on either east or west coasts of that island) in accordance with the rule of avoidance of the relative called *halis* in the Petats dialect and *waris* in the Kurtatchi dialect, i.e. the husband of a daughter or a sister's daughter, and his brothers (see p. 73). The women carry their hoods with them whenever there is the least chance of coming across one of these taboo relatives, and put them on at his approach. They are worn in any case on all special occasions, such as a ceremonial visit or a ceremonial *hṓma*. The women also find the hoods useful to keep off rain or the heat of the sun, and are careful to protect the heads of the babies they carry on their backs while working. When not in use, the hoods are folded up along the joins of the leaves of which they are made. To put on the hood is *uwa takop*. 292 602

The hoods are made of pandanus leaves. The strong mid-rib is first stripped off, and the prickly outer edge of the leaf is cut away with a knife made of the black-lip oyster shell. The leaves are then left for a little while to dry in the sun. The next process is to rub them with sand very thoroughly, to clean and smooth them. They are then rolled up tightly and laid on the ground, where they unroll a little. There they remain till thoroughly dry, being turned over 294 824

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PLATE 62

285
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*a.* MAKING BASKETS AND WOMEN'S HOODS

*b.* PLAITING COCO-NUT-PALM LEAVES FOR A SCREEN

[Facing p. 402]

294 824 occasionally. They are by this time bleached to a pale greenish-grey, which goes yellow with use.

294 386 In the finished hood, sections of these leaves, left in this state, alternate with sections covered over with the leaves of another plant, coloured red. The dye is made of the roots of the tree *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*), which are first washed in the sea, then crushed on a stone, and then boiled. After they have boiled for a long time the water is drained off and the leaves dipped in it. The dye is not permanent, but fades in a few weeks. These leaves are not rolled up like the pandanus leaves, but are folded, and then hung up to dry in the shade.

294 [412] [283 824] When making the hood a woman starts with one leaf doubled. Another leaf is then sewn on to one side, and a third to the other side. They now use needles, but formerly made holes with a sharp fragment of shell and threaded the fibre through them. The thread is made in the same way as a man makes a fish line, by rolling on the thigh. Each worker makes her own as she needs it. It is made from the fibrous inner sheath of the stem of a creeper (*lok* in the Petats dialect, not the same one as is used for making string at Kurtatchi as described on p. 342). The leaves are joined with a running stitch; when it is finished the work is turned over and the join pressed out. When a piece of the required length has been made, it is put aside till another is finished. The two are then fastened together along the two long sides, a piece of thread being laid along the edge of each, and the joining stitches passing over and over it, showing on both sides. Or one length may be made, twice as long as the hood is intended to be, and doubled so that the doubled edge has no sewing. The worker is now handling a flat piece of material consisting of two layers of leaves, sewn together, the whole being about 2 feet broad and varying in length from 2 to 3 feet or more. Some women like their hood to come just over their shoulders, some wear it hanging almost to the ground.

294 531 The hood is then completed by being doubled and joined at the top with stitches in a wavy line (Pl. 62*a*). Some women are very skilful in ornamenting the leaves with a pattern of stitches made with flat strips of fibre dyed red and black, but most hoods are left plain, except for the red leaves, which are stitched on over the others when the two layers are joined up.

184 436 438 The Petats women make large numbers of these hoods, and trade them to the people of the hill villages of Buka and to the

I: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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PLATE 63

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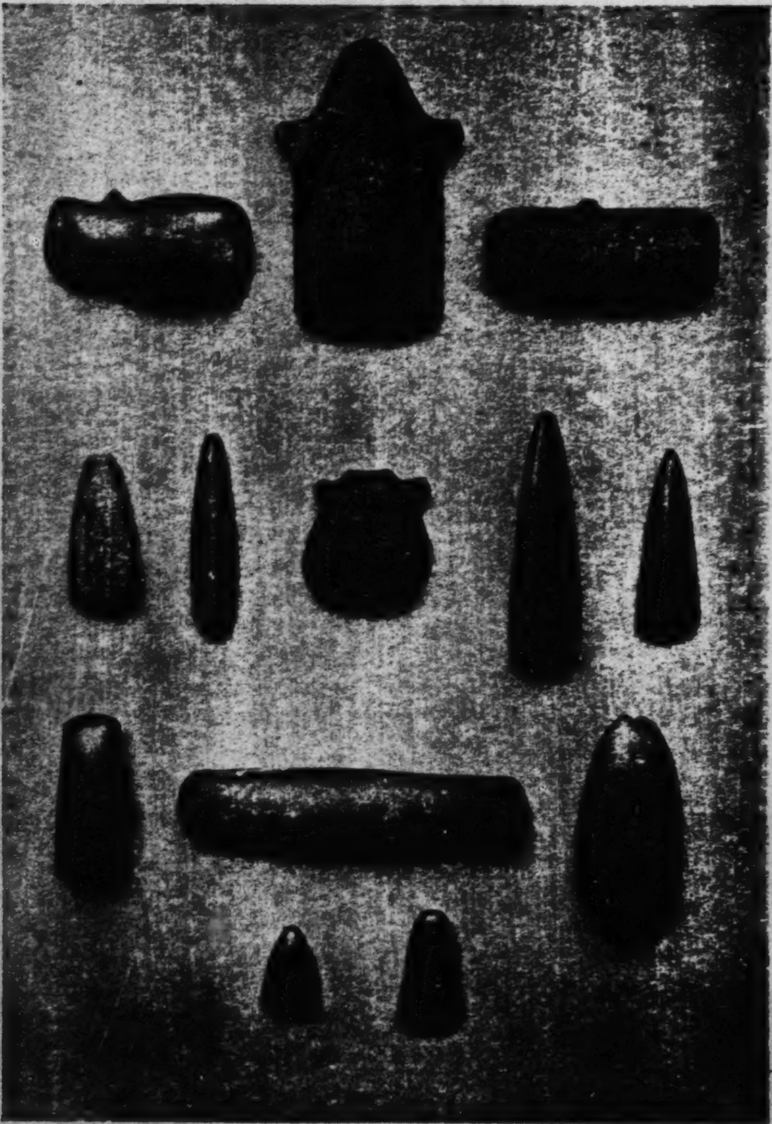


SOME TYPICAL STONE IMPLEMENTS

[facing p. 403]

184

people of North Bougainville, who never make them. They are 435
paid for in pots or taro or other goods, to the value of about 3*s*. of 438
our money for a plain hood and 5*s*. or 6*s*. for an ornamented one.

### *Sleeping Mats*

Sleeping mats (*pópolat* in the Petats dialect) are made in exactly 285
the same manner as the hoods, except that they are left as a flat 513
piece, composed of two layers of leaves. They are generally used
for lying upon, but sometimes also as a covering on cold nights. [184]
I did not see any of these in use in the villages of Bougainville; there the people sleep on bare planks without mats or covering of any sort either above or below them, except for their loin cloths, which they ordinarily retain at night.

### *Baskets*

A basket made of grass is used by the women when they go 285
fishing for tiny fish in the rock pools on the reef at low tide, or 226
collecting shell-fish. They are usually made in pairs, one slightly 227
smaller than the other. The women tie the larger one round their waists, to serve as a storing-place for the catch. The smaller one they hold with one hand in front of holes, between stones, or at other possible hiding-places, and with the other hand they shepherd into it, in a most skilful manner, the fish that come out. I did not see these made, so am unable to describe the process.

At Petats another kind of basket is made for this purpose, and 285
is used also in fishing with the *pilu* (see p. 356). It is circular in [227]
shape, very stiff, with an open mesh, and is made of the outside rind of the stem of a plant, trimmed with a black-lip oyster shell into long strips about one-fifth of an inch wide. Both ends of two pieces of these are fixed, one end generally being tucked into the folds of the loin-cloth, the other being held between the toes. The two strips are thus held taut, parallel to each other, their length being that required for the basket. Two pieces are then threaded through, one under both these two straight strips, the other over both. These second strips are then crossed over each other, their ends being left free. Two more are threaded in the same way below them, and every alternate cross-over is tied with a bit of rind. The width of the basket is added to by placing parallel strips on either side of the original two; the free ends of the cross-over pieces are then threaded in the same way over and under

285 them. The result is a basket with a very open mesh, with the holes
in the shape of large polygons in even rows. It is called *aunat* in
[184] the Petats dialect. I did not see anything of this kind at Kurtatchi.

*Plaiting, done by both sexes.*

285 A third kind of basket is made by both men and women, by the
415 simple method of taking a length of the leaf of the coco-nut palm, cut to the size required, splitting its mid-rib to form the brim, and plaiting the fronds together for the sides (Pl. 62*a*). The bottom consists of the ends of the plaited fronds knotted together. These baskets are intended for temporary use only, and are thrown away when done with. The women use them chiefly for putting cooked taro ready in the rafters or other convenient place so that members of the family can help themselves when they are hungry. The men use them to carry their pipes, tobacco, and the ingredients for chewing the betel-mixture. For this purpose the men make them with a hole in the middle of each side, near the top, through which they thrust their hands and wrists, for convenience in carrying.

342 The fronds of coco-nut palm leaves are also plaited together to make a covering for the ridge-pole of the huts, to block an opening, or to make a partition or a screen from the wind. The fronds on the left side of one leaf and the right side of another are stripped off, the leaves laid side by side with the sides on which the fronds still remain turned towards each other. The mid-ribs, laid bare on the other side, then form the outer edges of the matting, which is made by intertwining the fronds of one leaf with the fronds of the other (Pl. 62*b*). If a very wide piece of plaiting is required, three leaves may be used, the fronds on both sides of the extra one being intertwined with those of the two others, which are placed one on each side of it, the edges of the finished article being formed of the mid-rib of the outer ones.

### NOTE ON STONE IMPLEMENTS

412 The stone implements of the olden days have now been entirely
324 superseded by trade knives, axes, and adzes, which can be obtained
177 from the planters' stores, or are brought back by men returning from indentured labour at Rabaul or elsewhere. But the use of these latter has been general only for about two generations, and numerous specimens of stone implements are still lying about the villages, some being used to grind the blades of their modern

412 324 177 equivalents, others to crack nuts, or as weights, &c. The people know very well what they are, though I do not think any one now living has actually used them. They affect to despise their forefathers for using such awkward tools, but they admit that they themselves could not do with stone axes the work their forefathers did.

412 324 773 The only legend of origin in my collection referring to these stone implements comes from Saposa, where it is said that Morena gave them to the people when she taught the other crafts, teaching them at the same time to make more for themselves, and to make them also of the shells of the small clam and the giant clam.

412 324 The most typical shapes can be seen from the photograph (Pl. 63). The usual material is of a volcanic nature, such as is to be obtained in the centre of the island. They are called simply by the generic word for 'stone', *rako* in the Petats dialect and *wats* or *watʃ* in the Kurtatchi dialect; sometimes *wats pa ta kana*—'stone of times past'. I do not know of any special names applied to the different shapes, but as these differences have no longer any significance probably any such names as once existed are now forgotten.

At Petats I saw a few specimens of stone pestles (*akon*) similar to the larger of the two examples figured by Parkinson (1907, p. 498, Fig. 79). These are still used for cracking almonds, but the people say that they are too lazy to make them nowadays, but use any heavy stone instead.

I saw no hafted stone implements in Buka or North Bougainville, but in the Kunua mountain district of west-central Bougainville some are still to be seen, hafted with cane like those figured by Parkinson on p. 501 (Fig. 81). They are still valued by the people [583] of the interior and form part of the ceremonial payments made in respect of a wife. When not required they are kept carefully wrapped up in fibre tied round with native string and packed away in the rafters or other place of safe-keeping.

# XI

# AESTHETIC ARTS

## MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

*Slit-gong* (*tui* (P.), *garamuts* (K.)).

534 [202 171] THE slit-gong is the most important of the sound-producing instruments known to these people. It serves not only for dances, but also for conveying information. It is used over the whole of Buka and Bougainville. Those made in the southern parts of Bougainville differ from those made in the north in not having lugs on the ends.

534 773 539 *Origin*. There is a story explaining the origin of the slit-gong and of the rules for its use which runs thus:

> There is a bird whose name is *gugurio*. He taught all the people of Sollos how to make the *garamuts*. There is a big tree that has a hole inside, it is called *toras*, the wind blows inside it, the leaves beat against the edge of the hole, it makes a noise just like a *garamuts*. Gugurio told the people to cut down the tree and make a *garamuts* of it. They made it in the bush, they lifted it up and wanted to carry it to the village. They came along carrying it. Gugurio sat on the top of the *garamuts* as the men carried it. He fell down off the *garamuts*, and it hurt his foot, it broke his leg. Now he walks about on one leg.
>
> Gugurio went with all the people to the village. He said to them: 'You people lift up the *garamuts* and put it in front of a certain house. Don't put it in front of just any house, the *garamuts* is the sign of a *tsunaun*, you must put it in front of the house of a *tsunaun*.' All the people heard what he said. 'You people, the *garamuts* must not sound for nothing. When you have plenty of pig and plenty of taro, plenty of food in front of the big house, then you can beat it, it must not sound all the time for no reason.' So they do. When it is time for a dance, or for a big feast, then it sounds. When the people of another village hear it, they know that this village has plenty of food. Then they are cross, and say: 'When will our *garamuts* sound? We have no food, let us go and work in the taro garden.'
>
> That is why the *garamuts* stands in front of the house of a *tsunaun*, it cannot stand at the house of a commoner.

600 *Manufacture.* Slit-gongs are made of hard wood. The name of

Manufacture. Slit-gongs are made of hard wood. The

name of

the tree from which the wood is taken is *tolos* (P.) or *toras* (K.). 549
Some villages do not know how to make these instruments for 824
themselves; those who require one either buy it from other villages 184
or pay workmen to come to their own place to make it. There were 436
three unfinished ones in the deserted village of Gomen; those who
commissioned them had not wished to pay the men of Hanahan to
finish them. The best are said to be made by the people of Sollos,
the hill district of Buka, to whom the art was first taught, according
to the legend. Ownership of a *garamuts* is individual, and is re- 422
stricted to persons who are *tsunaun*. A Kurtatchi man bought a 565
fair-sized instrument from the island of Pororan for one fathom of 435
*paio* (ceremonial currency of flying-fox teeth), one fathom of *beroan*
(shell-disk currency), and ten bamboo lengths of *oin* (red paint).
The man who made it demanded another fathom of *paio*, but did
not get it.

They are made in the bush, where a shelter is erected over the 549
spot. In the olden days they were shaped with stone or clam-shell
implements, but now the outside is worked with metal blades
hafted like an adze. Sticks are fastened along the top to define the
narrow opening. The inside is then hollowed out with iron pig-spears or with knives fastened on to long rods. This used to be
done with clam-shell tools. Leaves are rubbed on the instrument in process of working to make it easier, [illegible] that it will be
finished quickly. They are also rubbed on the hands of the worker,
together with lime, and then smeared over the slit-gong. I could
not learn if any form of words is used with this procedure. If the
instrument is left too long unfinished the wood gets too hard to
work. To make one is considered quite an important undertaking.
If two people work on it fairly constantly it takes about three
weeks. Only a few people know the procedure; they pass on their [462]
knowledge to any one they care to select. Anybody can watch it
being made, but the women take no part in making it.

Slit-gongs vary considerably in size. The largest I saw measured 534
about 8 feet in length, the smallest about 3 feet. None were made
at the village of Kurtatchi, but Karabun of Tabut made a small one
at my request. This, though smaller than those in general use, was
more than a model, since it was used in several dances before being
handed over to me. The people were delighted with its tone, in
fact some of them wanted it to be retained in the village instead of
being given to me. It is decorated with a conventional pattern.

534 This is put on or omitted at the pleasure of the maker, and is said to be purely decorative. A certain amount of ceremony is observed in the making of a big slit-gong. When it is brought into the village out of the bush there is a *kōma*. The ritual was not carried out in the case of the small one made for me, and I have no details of it.

533 *Method of use*. The slit-gong is beaten with a striker (*imē*),
534 which is generally made of several small canes lashed together
in a circle, but a single thicker cane may also be used. For dances, two people frequently beat it together, one using slow measured strokes, the other short quick ones. These may be sounded by the two players on one instrument, or a second slit-gong may be used. Only one lip of the slit is beaten, that on the side nearest to the striker. It is struck where it stands in its place inside the covered portico in front of the house of a *tsunaun*, or in a *tobar*, and is seldom brought out into the open. When Pinari's slit-
533 gong had been brought over to Kurtatchi from the old village of
534 Gomen, it was first set down outside his house, and he appointed
562 some men to beat it in order to announce its safe arrival. But
they 'were ashamed to beat it in front of the women', so they moved it into the portico after a few beats. On another occasion, when a Kurtatchi man, attending a feast at Ruri in connexion
[304] with a nose-piercing ceremony involving his son, was asked to help
in the beating, he declined on the ground that he was ashamed to do so before the Ruri women.

At Kurtatchi the slit-gong was always beaten by men, even for a
[184] women's dance, and I was told that women never do it. But Mr.
Gordon Thomas says that on the island of Pororan women beat for their own dances (1931, p. 224). There does not seem to be any actual taboo attaching to the instrument itself; men sit or lean on it, children climb over it, and I have occasionally heard small boys beating it for fun.

533 The rhythm for a *kōma* is always the same, and sounds thus (each stroke indicates a long slow beat, the dots a rapid tattoo like that produced on a kettle-drum):

///........../ ///........../ ///........../

This is continued for the space of a minute or so, then follows a pause of similar duration. The beating always ceases on the single stroke, which is given with great emphasis. If two instruments are used, their beats must cease simultaneously. To achieve this involves some skill on the part of the beaters, and no small amount of muscular energy is also required to give the necessary volume of sound, so that if a *kōma* continues for hours together, as it usually does, several men must take turns at beating the rhythm. 533

For sending messages only one *garamuts* is used, the largest in the village, which is usually to be found in the portico of the most important *tsunaum*'s house. The sound carries for several miles. I have known people to be recalled to the village by it from a taro garden at least four miles away, and have no doubt that the sound can be heard for much longer distances, given suitable atmospheric conditions. 202 [565]

The method differs from that used with the 'talking drums' of West Africa, which reproduce messages of any kind by means of tonal differences. The slit-gong sends only certain recognized messages, using a kind of Morse code of long and short beats. These signals differ in different localities. A number of those in use on the island of Pororan are given by Gordon Thomas (1931, p. 225). Some of the chief signals in use at Kurtatchi are as follows:

1. Visit of some one of importance:

// // // // // // // // //

Any one working in the taro garden when this signal is heard at once returns to the village. It is, therefore, used also if the presence, say, of the *tsunaum* is urgently required. It will be used if the report arrives that the District Officer is on his way to the village.

2. To announce the death of a person of rank: [565 763]

.../ .../ .../ .../ .../ .../ .........
/ // // ...//

The *garamuts* is not beaten at the death of commoners.

3. At the end of the women's special dance at funerary rites for a *tsunaum*:

//// .. /../../..////../../../..////

4. To announce a feast: [574]

//....../......./...... .... .... .... /.//.//.///////
.............../////

5. To announce the end of a feast:

/// ...... ...... ...... ... ...
/ .../...//...//..//./.

## AESTHETIC ARTS

[727] 6. To announce the killing of a prisoner of war (to be eaten):

/ // /..// /..// /..//..// //////..//

[484] 7. To collect a party which is to go on a journey at night:

/ ...... //// ...... //// ...... ////

[881] 8. To announce that one of the *upi* ceremonies is to be held:

/// ...../// ...../// ...../// .....///

9. At a certain stage in the girl's puberty ceremony:

/// .. /// .. /// .. /// .. /// ..

10. If a man is angry about something, e.g. if another man 'steals' his wife:

/ ........ /........ / // ........ /

11. To indicate the number of pigs killed for a feast, or the number of strings of ceremonial currency which changed hands at some special occasion, e.g. at marriage, or on account of the building of a new *tobar*. All such quantities are shown by giving one long slow beat for each pig, or string of currency, &c., involved in the transaction.

Other occasions on which the *garamuts* is beaten are as follows:

[476] To call the villagers together for some piece of communal labour, such as cleaning up the coco-nut groves or working on the road.

To announce the completion of a special piece of work, such as the building of a *tobar*.

[681] To announce a punishment by shooting, when a man has committed an offence for which he is sentenced to stand on the beach to be shot at by the other people.

[304] At a certain stage in the process of cicatrization.

[881] At various stages in the preparations for the *watawutʃ* ceremony.

On one occasion a man had gone into the bush with his dogs to hunt pig. In the evening the dogs returned without him. The *garamuts* was beaten with long slow beats to give him his direction, in case he was lost in the bush.

It is sometimes sounded for no other apparent reason than that the village is happy because there is a plentiful supply of food. One day it was thus beaten because every one had had a feast of breadfruit.

*Mábu* (also called *aura*).

534 Next to the slit-gong, the most highly valued musical instrument is the *mabu*. It is used for dances, both ceremonial and social, in conjunction with the Pan-pipes, as an alternative to the slit-gong; the two are never heard together.

549 *Manufacture.* The *mabu* is made of the trunk of a small tree hollowed out. Several trees are suitable, including the kapok (*wakokon*); the wood must be hard enough on the outside to stand wear and tear, and soft enough inside to be picked out easily. A length is cut rather longer than is required for the finished instrument, stripped of its bark, and set up in the ground at an angle convenient for working. The trunk is then hollowed out with an iron pig-spear. Fire is used to assist the process. In the olden days a spear of hardwood was used. The mouthpiece consists of half a coco-nut shell with a hole bored in the top, stuck on with the kernel of the 'putty-nut'.

[531] The outside may be left plain, or may be carved with various traditional designs, similar to those in use on canoes, paddles, &c. (see Fig. 25). The size varies considerably; the largest I saw was almost as tall as the player, while one which was made for me, somewhat smaller than usual, measures 38¾ × 17 inches (98·5 × 43·5 cm.). It was used at dances before being handed over to me, and pronounced to have a good note.

549 426 768 There is no ritual attached to the making of these instruments. Anybody may make them, but as a considerable amount of labour is involved, not many people do. If a large one is wanted for a special dance, it is often borrowed from another village. When the owner of one of these instruments dies, his wife dashes it on the ground and breaks it, wailing as she does so. A man will sometimes break his own *mabu* when his wife dies. The pieces must be burnt, as must those of a *mabu* accidentally broken or worn out by use. On no account must they be thrown away.

534 *Method of use.* The *mabu* is blown like a trumpet, with loose lip. It is played only by men or the bigger boys. The player clasps both hands round the instrument near its upper end, sometimes resting the lower end against his knee. He bends his head over the mouthpiece and blows with his mouth close up to it, his cheeks distended (Pl. 64*a*). The sound produced consists of one deep booming note not unlike that of one string of a bass viol.

*Pan-pipes* (*ka'ur* or *wa'ur* and *piu*).

534 These are made in several sizes. The larger ones (*wa'ur*) have a mouthpiece made of 'putty-nut' which makes the aperture smaller (Pl. 65, 1). These usually consist of three reeds of different diameters. The smaller ones (*piu*) have no mouthpiece, but the edge of the cane may be bevelled (Pl. 65, 3 and 4). These are usually in fours, of the same diameter, but differing in length. Both kinds are always paired, one of a pair being open below, the other cut off just below a node, so that it is stopped. More elaborate ones, consisting of a number of canes of different lengths bound together in a bundle, are sometimes seen (Pl. 65, 2).

549 *Manufacture*. The pipes are made of bamboo. Just before a dance, men and boys go out into the bush and cut large quantities of suitable canes. The instruments are made by men and boys in the village, and there is no secrecy about it, in fact it is quite a social occasion, accompanied by much merriment. To cut Pan-
[534] pipes is *nagets o piu* (Pl. 64*b*). Fresh ones must be made for every
dance, and thrown away afterwards, usually into the sea. But no objection was raised when I asked to be allowed to keep some of them. The nodes are poked out with a stick or a pig-spear. The first canes cut are carefully tried out till the required note is obtained, and the others are cut to these as measures. But some men estimate the length without measuring. One man told me he did not need to measure, because he could 'think in his belly'. I have heard men whistling the sequence of notes quite accurately.

533 *Method of use*. In playing, the instrument is held in both hands. The four notes are played in varying order, usually the highest one twice, then one of the intermediate ones twice, then the lowest one twice. The Pan-pipes are used in dances in conjunction with either the slit-gong or the *mabu*, the players standing in the centre
[562] of the men's wheel-like formation. Women do not play Pan-pipes
even for fun.

534 177 439 There is also in use a notched-end flute made of a single reed, with two or more stops, also called *piu* (Pl. 66*a*). This is merely for amusement; it is never used in dances. I have seen girls playing it at Petats, but not at Kurtatchi. I incline to think it is not indigenous, but derived from the Chinese, who have traded in the district for some long time, and who sell them in their stores.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

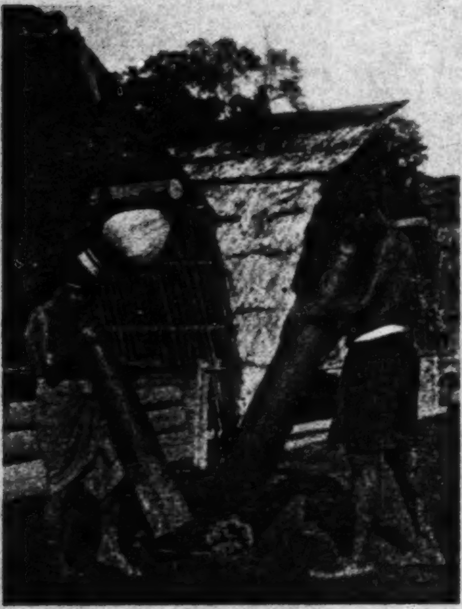
ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

PLATE 64

534

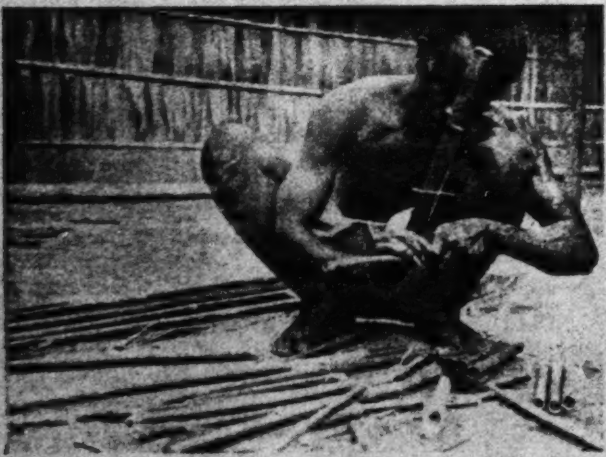
342



*a.* PLAYING *MABU*

549

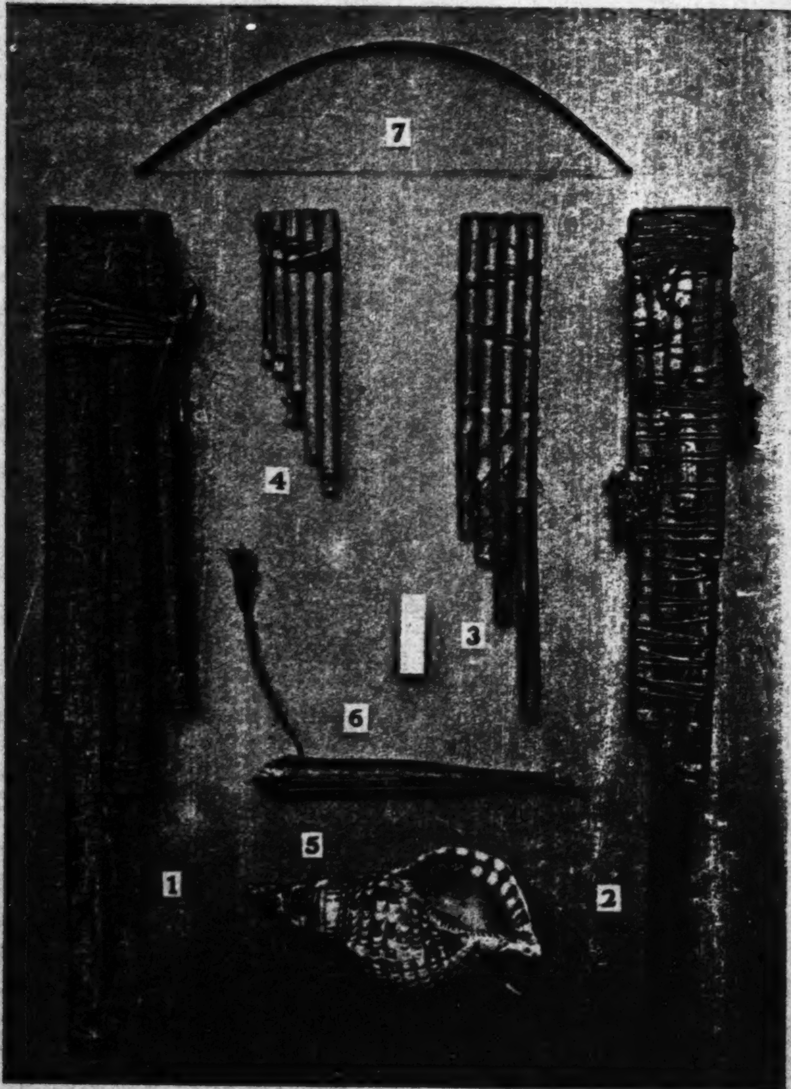
516



*b.* MAKING PAN-PIPES

[facing p. 412]

PLATE 65



MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

1, 2, 3, 4. Pan-pipes. 5. Conch. 6. Jews' harp. 7. Musical bow

[facing p. 413]

*Conch-shell (tsuwiŋ).*

The shell in general use is the triton shell. The sound hole is at 534
the side (Pl. 65, 5). They are of various sizes, quite small ones
being used by little boys. Women do not sound them. To sound [562]
the conch is *piu o tsuwiŋ*.

The *tsuwiŋ* is sounded on ceremonial occasions, especially those 533
involving a journey of importance, such as that to bring home the 484
long poles for the special *tobar* (boys' house) to be built for the
*watawutʃ* ceremony, or on the way to one of these ceremonies.
The performer jumps about and assumes a fierce expression, while
blowing as loud a blast as he can upon the shell.

*The musical bow (koŋkoŋo).*

The musical bow consists of a flat strip of cane strung like a bow 534
(Pl. 65, 7). It is played by holding one end between the teeth, with
the string towards the face, so that the mouth acts as a resonator,
while the string is plucked with the fingers towards the other end
of the bow. It is used by women only, and solely for amusement, [562]
never for ceremonial purposes or at dances.

The musical bow as here used is the simplest form of an instru- 534
ment which is found, with various modifications, in various parts 171
of the Pacific area, in India and Africa, and also in Central and
South America. Its distribution has been traced and discussed
by H. Balfour (1899), who considers that there is close relationship
throughout the Malayo-Melanesio-Polynesian series, and brings
forward evidence in favour of a common origin for the forms found
in India and Africa without regarding the question as settled.

*The jews' harp (pokpoko).*

The jews' harp is made of bamboo, with a straight tongue. Its 534
shape is best seen from the photograph (Pl. 65, 6). It is played, 562
also for amusement only, by the men.

The story goes that the rights of the sexes in these two instru- 534
ments were originally reversed. 773

### *Story of origin of* pokpoko 539

There were two people of Toioh (an island off the north-west corner of Bougainville), a man and a woman, they were going to be married, but they were not married yet. The man lived in the men's house, the woman in her own hut. At that time the *koŋkoŋo*, that is like a bow, belonged to the men, the women did not play it.

534 The man played the *koykoyo*. The woman said: 'What is this thing
773 that cries just like a frog, *koyo koyo*? It is not making a nice noise, it sounds just like a frog in the bush.' Then the woman took a piece of cane
539 and scraped it, and took a piece of string, and made a hole; she put the piece of string through the hole and pulled at it so (here the teller illustrated by pulling the string of the instrument with his thumb, holding it in his clenched hand). It sounded very well. The man, who stayed in the men's house, heard it, and said: 'Ah, who is it who has made a thing that sounds so nice?' A man said: 'Oh, a woman made it.' He came and looked, he wanted the woman to show it to him, but the woman hid the *pokpoko* in a heap of firewood, she did not want the man to see it. He said: 'Woman, where is this thing that sounds so nice?' The woman pretended: 'I do not know, I heard the sound, I thought it was you who were making it in the men's house.' The man said: 'No, I heard it in your house.' The woman said: 'No.' Now the man did not come close to the woman yet, he was ashamed before her, he went back to the men's house and lay down on the bed. (This incident is repeated.)

The man played the *koykoyo* all the time. Then the woman said: 'Who wants a *koykoyo* that makes a noise like a frog?' She brought out her *pokpoko* again and played it; sometimes it sounded like a person crying, sometimes it sounded almost like a bull-roarer when it is whirled. The man ran again, and came and hid on the other side. He said: 'I had better seize this woman when she makes that thing sound, it makes me feel so sorry I want to cry.' Then he came very softly, he ran and seized the woman. She jumped up, the two struggled. The woman said: 'Man, why do you hold me like this?' He said: 'Why did you make this thing? My heart trembles, it turns towards you.' Then he took away the woman's *pokpoko*. He said: 'It doesn't belong to you any more, it belongs to me now. My *koykoyo* can belong to you now.' Then the woman cried bitterly. Then the two were married.

## DANCE

535 There is only one form of dance (*kōma*), which is used for all occasions, both ceremonial and merely social. The men and boys walk slowly round in a sort of wheel-like formation, with the *mabu* players—one or two, as the case may be, if these are being used—forming the hub of the wheel. If the slit-gong is being used, the *mabu* is absent. In the former case, the men and boys are furnished with Pan-pipes, in the latter they may or may not accompany the slit-gong with these instruments. The women and girls dance backwards and forwards outside the wheel, coming close up to the men and then backing away again, in sets of two, three, or more—

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

I have counted as many as nine in a row, each with an arm round 535
the waist of the woman on either side of her. They may also dance singly, and some women took great pride in so doing. One very tall woman frequently danced singly, with her baby in her arms. There are three movements, varied at the pleasure of the dancer: *magat* (*tʃok-tʃok* P.) advancing and retreating to and from the circle of men, with a balancing step first on one foot and then on the other; *tsuir* (*gumsu* P.) standing on one spot and rocking up and down with bent knees in a sort of 'jigging' movement, and *turap* (*pi* P.) which is a series of hops on the left foot only, with the right foot raised, its toe pointing to the ground. The general word for the women's dance is *sani* (*sŏ'ol* P.).

The instruments are played for a period of a couple of minutes 533
or so, the music then ceasing abruptly, with a very loud single note 535
on the slit-gong, if it is being used. When it stops the women cease dancing, but the men and boys continue their round, while everybody sings variations on five notes, first up, then down, ending on a high last note which is drawn out as long as the breath holds, those who keep on longest being greeted with applause from the others, the whole usually ending in a burst of laughter. The women join in this vocal performance, which is called *waki* (*haki* P.). After another couple of minutes or so the slit-gong beats again, and the women continue their steps. The whole dance consists of nothing else but endless repetitions of these two alternatives, sometimes continued throughout the night till after dawn has broken. People join in it for a time, then go away and rest, or eat, and return when the spirit moves them, it does not matter, so long as some one is there to keep the thing going incessantly.

Although a *kōma* may be held for no particular reason except 535
that the people want one, there are certain times at which it is proper to hold them, and is considered a ceremonial duty to join in them. During the weeks of preparation for the *watawutʃ* [881]
ceremony the boys wearing the *upi* were expected to dance frequently, and were urged on by the elders when they showed signs of flagging interest (see Pl. 30*a*). The men danced also, but [562]
the women took no part in these particular affairs. The women have also certain occasions on which they dance by themselves, though they have a man to beat the slit-gong for them. 535
One such occasion is a ceremony performed for a child on the 852
occasion of his first being taken to the taro garden sitting on his

535 852 mother's pack (see Pl. 17). At such times they take up the men's wheel formation.

535 184 At Tabut I once saw a variation of the women's steps, taking the form of imitative movements which might be called 'figures'. One represented getting water; some women danced in a ring and one in the centre imitated the action of pouring water into a coco-nut. Another 'figure' imitated the planting of taro. I saw nothing of the kind at Kurtatchi or any other village I visited, and the Kurtatchi women said they did not know how to dance in any other way than the usual.

### USE OF COLOUR

386 302 Colouring matter is freely employed, both on the person and on the various objects manufactured. The colours in general use are red, black, white, and yellow, in that order of importance. There are several ways of obtaining each of these. Colouring matter used for personal adornment is mixed with coco-nut oil before being applied to skin or hair. The generic term for such a mixture is *us*, which I have translated 'paint'.

386 317 438 *Red*. Several kinds of red paint are distinguished by special names. They are all varieties of red oxide of iron (haematite),[1] formed in the neighbourhood of volcanoes by decomposing the vapours of ferric chloride with steam. The kind giving the brightest colour, and therefore the most highly prized, is called *oin*. It is obtained from the people living in the mountainous hinterland of Bougainville, who have access to the volcanoes in the interior. The natives of the east coast near Numanuma act as intermediaries to pass it on to the people of the north coast as an object of barter. *Owan*, a rather muddier red, consists of impure iron oxide with some iron sulphide, which might be obtained from an ironstone nodule embedded in a clay deposit. It can be found on Buka, but the exact locality is unknown to me. A third variety, intermediate in colour between the other two, but nearer to *oin*, is called *itʃu*,
[431] and is used when *oin* is not available. At the present time the natives also paint their faces with carmine, which they get from the Chinese stores.

386 [824] Leaves and canes are dyed red with a preparation of *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*). Details of its use are given in the sections

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[1] For the identification of my samples I am indebted to Mr. C. J. Bayzand, University Demonstrator in Geology, Oxford.

describing the various articles so treated. The coast natives do 386
not know the secret of making the colour permanent, they therefore [184
buy dyed leaves for special purposes from the mountain 438]
people, who have discovered how to use a mordant (see p. 231).

*Black.* The substance which produces black paint (*tʃina*) consists 386
of selected fragments of volcanic ash which have been attacked 317
by acid vapours after volcanic eruption. This is obtained from the 438
people of the interior in the same way as *oin*. Black is also produced by mixing charcoal with oil. Ordinary wood from the fire may be used for this purpose, but more often coco-nut shells are charred and ground up specially. Black thus obtained is called *aniv*.

*White* (*iwi* or *wiwi*) is made from powdered sulphur from a 386
volcanic deposit, and, like *oin* and *tʃina*, must be obtained by barter 317
from the people of the interior. This kind of paint is used chiefly 438
for making the line round the edge of the hair on forehead and 302
temples. For the head, lime (*iav*), obtained by burning branched coral and crushing it, is used. Combed well into the hair, it gives the appearance of a powdered wig (Pl. 66*a*). The result of this treatment is eventually to bleach the hair to a reddish-yellow. If the individual tires of this, he can make his hair black again by a liberal application of *tʃina*. The drastic change thus suddenly produced in a man's personal appearance is very striking.

In painting wooden objects, such as paddles and canoes, white 386
is produced by rubbing the surface with the seaweed *mō*, a calcareous 824
alga. A handful of this is taken, freshly gathered from the reef, and rubbed, wet, over the portion to be coloured, without further preparation.

*Yellow* to be used on the person is made from crushed coral prepared 386
as for making *wiwi*, to which a preparation of the leaves of 317
the mango tree is added. The leaves are either squeezed in the 824
hand or chewed, and then mixed with the lime powder. A yellow dye, for grass or cane, &c., is made from the tuberous rhizome of the plant *totomoin* (turmeric, *Curcuma longa*). The tuber is scraped, put into a pot with water, and heated but not boiled; the substance to be dyed is then put into the pot and left to soak.

### *Discrimination of colours.*

I obtained the terms for different colours by showing to 151
various people the coloured paper disks furnished with the Milton 192

151 192 Bradley colour top,[1] subsequently checking the information thus obtained by reference to various objects. The following terms were given by natives of Kurtatchi. There was no variation in the words used for black (*bubuits*), white (*kakawo*), and yellow (*totomoin*, the same word as is used for turmeric). To the dark red disk of the colour top series I added another red disk, almost vermillion. Some used the same word (*wuruir*) for both of these, a few gave to the dark red the name *owan*, as it resembled the colour of the variety of iron oxide to which they apply that term. All used the same word (*pipiri*) for blue as for green. One qualified the word, as applied to the green disk, by the addition of *ga*, an intensifying particle, equivalent to our 'real' or 'very'. The orange disk puzzled them. Some called it *kakawo* (white), some *wuruir* (red), some *totomoin* (yellow). One called it 'pretence red', another said it was 'married to' the yellow. They have no colouring matter resembling it, and the citrous fruits with which they are familias are either green or pale yellow, so perhaps they have never had need of a separate term for the colour we call orange. The purple disk (a somewhat bluish-purple) also presented difficulty. Most called it *pipiri* (blue or green), but a few used the word *owan*, though it in no way resembles the colour of the iron oxide above referred to.

151 192 822 I frequently noticed that colours were compared which were to my eyes widely different. When examining some shells with a Petats man, I got from him the word *kulup* for the pale pink tint of the inside of a shell. He said it was the same colour as his loincloth, which was a bright red. On another occasion, some men were painting the outside of a new *mon* with the seaweed *mō*, which when freshly applied gives the wood a colour I should describe as a pale greenish yellow, though it is quite white when dry. I asked what the word for that colour was, and was told it was *bubuil*, 'just the same as that', said one of them, pointing to a pattern on my dress which was a very definite rather dark blue. This is not to say that the speakers did not see any difference between the two; possibly all that was meant was that the same word stood for both, but this fact is in itself interesting, in view of the very wide difference between colours to which the same word is applied, especially within the range of blues and greens.

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[1] 'The Pupil's Color Top', no. 8109, issued by the Milton Bradley Co. Springfield, Mass.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

## PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Most of these people take great delight in decorating themselves 301
with ornaments, paint, and flowers, even when nothing special is
going on. A few are careless, and can hardly be induced to trim 302
their hair even for an important ceremony; these are the subject of comment on the part of the others, whatever their age or sex. On the whole, the women appear to take less trouble over their personal appearance than do the men; they certainly make less fuss about it. Some of the men—not only the young ones—spend a good deal of time in trimming and putting paint on their hair,
carving themselves combs out of bamboo (Pl. 67, no. 9), and [412]
searching for aromatic leaves to wear in their armlets or round their necks.

### *Hair-dressing.*

The method of dressing the hair most generally favoured for 302
special occasions is to trim it rather close at the back, and very close at the sides, leaving a small triangular patch just in front of the ears. This cut accentuates the straightness of the sides and back of the head, which is much admired. The general effect is imitated in the wooden figures made for certain ceremonies (see p. 236 and Pl. 28). This method of hair-cutting is called *tʃirkĕ*. Red, black, or yellow paint may be used in conjunction with it. Though almost obligatory on special occasions, it may be worn at any time at the wish of the individual. Round the temples and across the forehead the hair is trimmed to this shape ʃ⌒ʅ. To trim it thus is called *genomola*. The line of white paint which usually follows the edge of the hair is called *wakai*, to put it on is *wakamola*. The *wakai* line may not be used by boys wearing the *upi*, until the time of the *matawutʃ* ceremony, when it is put on them at a certain stage in the proceedings.

On special occasions a pattern of black and red (*usboŋ*) is painted 302
on the hair, according to the clan of the individual. Those belong- 614
ing to the Naboin clan paint the sides black with a broad band of red in the centre, passing from front to back. Those of the Nakarib clan have the side bands red and the centre black.

The face is painted according to individual taste. A splash of 302
bright red covering one ear and another round the eye on the other side, or one broad line going right across, gives a striking effect

302 from the standpoint of the unaccustomed observer. Other designs seen at various times included smears of red or white round the eyes, a series of white lines across the forehead or obliquely across the cheeks, lines of red dots, &c.

Some of this painting has more than a decorative purpose, e.g.
[751 a spot of red is put on each temple when starting on a journey, as
484] a protection against the dangers of the road.

302 Children's heads are usually kept covered with a mixture of *oin*
856 and coco-nut oil, even if there is no ceremony going on. This is said to make the hair grow and to keep off lice. Some children have their hair rolled into little blobs with a mixture of *oin* and clay.

302 At Baniu, a village about ten miles east of Kurtatchi, and a few
184 villages farther east of it, but not—at least not now—as far as Tiop
856 on the extreme north-eastern corner, a custom obtains of cutting very short the hair on the front half of the children's heads, and letting the back half grow long. This is done for both sexes. The front half is cut, at a feast, when the child is very small, perhaps two or three years old; the back half remains long for some years more, and is finally cut at a special feast, where the child is given pig to eat for the first time. The reason given to me for this method of hair-dressing is that it makes the child grow strong and healthy. My friends of Kurtatchi said it had never been done in their neighbourhood, although the two districts are in intimate and friendly connexion.

302 The father of a boy wearing the *upi* will often let his hair grow
593 long and wear it tied into a bunch at the top of his head (see Pl. 52). This is done because the boy may not cut his own hair; it also shows pride in him. His mother may refrain from cutting her hair short at the temples for the same reason, but does not wear it on the top of her head.

302 A widow may not cut her hair, but makes it into blobs with clay,
581 without paint, which is forbidden her until a certain stage of the
765 mourning is ended.

302 Hair is cut with a sharp-edged shell, usually a species of *Cyrena*,
[412 or, nowadays, with a bit of glass, except in the case of those few
177] returned labourers who possess razors or scissors. These lucky ones will often be requested to use their acquisitions on the heads of their friends. Cutting is done in the village, usually on the women's verandah. No special attention is given to the disposal of the ends, which are either thrown away among the other rubbish

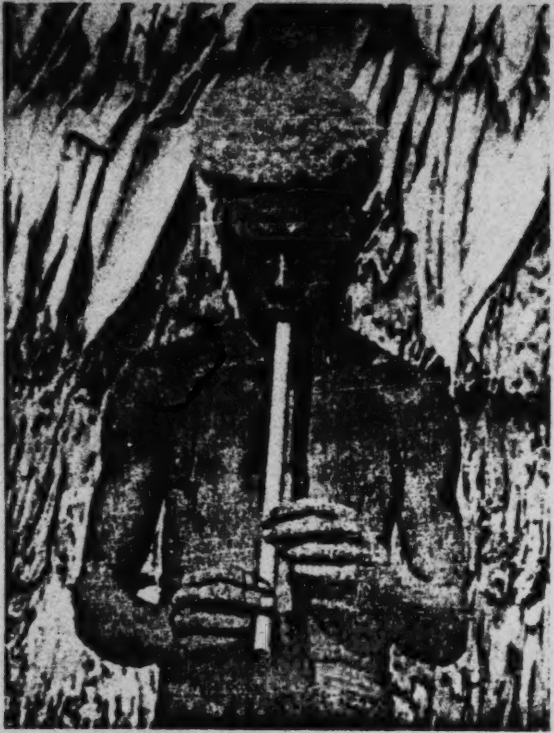
1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

PLATE 66

[-facing p. 420]



*a.* MAN WITH LIMED HAIR, PLAYING THE FLUTE

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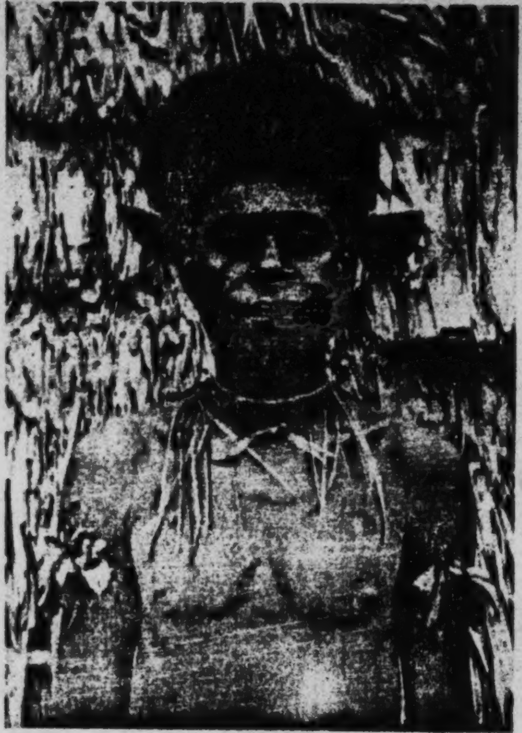

*b.* WASĒ: A YOUNG DANDY

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302 [513] or put on the fire. Anybody, apparently, may cut or trim the hair, so long as they do not stand in any of the taboo relationships. Men may do it for women, whether related to them or not. It is regarded as a privilege as well as a duty for the wife to trim her husband's hair on the occasion of a dance or a ceremony. There is no change in the fashion of dressing the hair consequent upon marriage.

302 565 765 During a period of mourning it is forbidden to cut the hair or to put paint on it. After the death of a person of rank this prohibition extends to all the people of the village, for a commoner only to his immediate relatives. The period is terminated by a feast. For some misfortune affecting the whole village a similar prohibition may be enforced. During a part of my visit, several people in the village of Kurtatchi were affected by very bad septic sores and by common consent for several weeks no one put paint on the head or cut the hair, those not affected observing the prohibition as well as the sufferers. When they had all recovered, a feast was held, in preparation for which everybody trimmed the hair elaborately and put paint on it.

### *Ornaments.*

301 [237] [824] Ornaments worn in the hair include carved combs, made of bamboo (Pl. 67, no. 9), flowers, feathers, &c. The tail-feathers of the domestic cock are in great demand on festive occasions, indeed the birds seemed to be valued solely for this purpose. This form of decoration is called *sab*. Small red, green, or yellow parrot feathers are very highly prized, and are stuck into the hair in all directions, like pins in a pin-cushion. The particular kind most admired cannot be obtained in the neighbourhood of Kurtatchi, but comes from a variety of parrot found only in the hills. Flowers are stuck into the hair one on each side of the head above the ears. Small red and yellow ones are chiefly used in this way, but a single large hibiscus is sometimes seen worn over the forehead. I have seen girls wearing round their heads branches hung with limes; this has a very picturesque effect. The leaves of a number of aromatic plants are also worn stuck into the hair, and those of a white variegated form of the fern *kakarivk* (*Selaginella flabellata* Spring). These white leaves are eagerly sought for in the bush, and women will pull the plants up by the roots and plant them nearer the village. Live butterflies are frequently fastened to the hair by a thin bit of fibre and left to flutter round the head, or their

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 67

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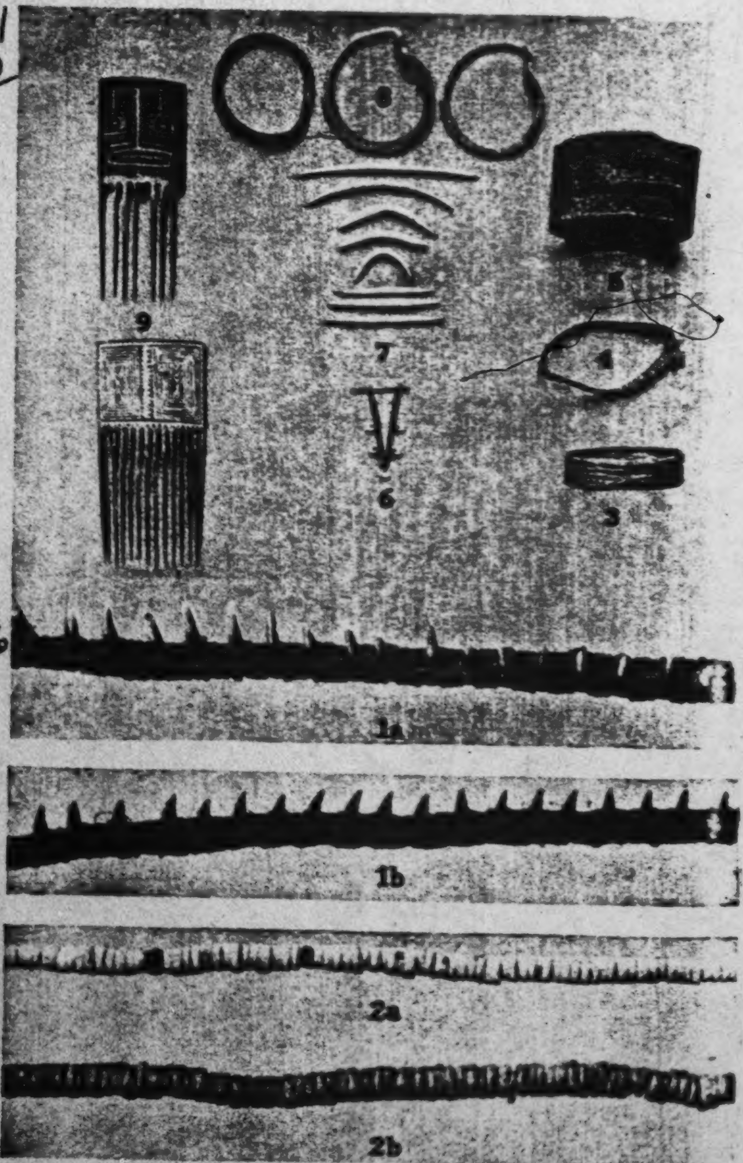

PERSONAL ORNAMENTS AND CEREMONIAL CURRENCY

1a. *Imus* of porpoise teeth. 1b. *Imus* of flying-fox teeth. 2a. White *beroan*. 2b. Purple *beroan*. 3. Expanding armlet of pandanus leaf. 4. Armlet of plaited grass. 5. Armlet of dyed fibre, from Kunua. 6. Ear ornament. 7. Nose ornaments. 8. Armlets of trochus shell. 9. Bamboo combs.

Nos. 1a, 1b, 2a, 2b, are reproduced actual size.

[facing p. 421]

301 wings are torn off and fixed one on each side of the head (Pl. 66*b*). [824] Dabs of a phosphorescent fungus are put on the face for special occasions, and may also decorate the ends of *mabu* or *piu*.

Necklaces of aromatic plants are often worn. These may have [789] more than an ornamental value, since many of them are regarded as 'medicine' useful in love magic or to ward off the *urar*. More permanent necklaces are made of opossum teeth, threaded on fibre through small holes made in one end of the tooth. I have seen these [412 177] holes being pierced with a primitive rotary drill, but was told that this had been learned from elsewhere by people working as plantation labourers, and that no means of piercing the teeth were known before they became acquainted with this drill. At the present time many possess necklaces of trade beads, either with or without opossum-teeth interpolated. Only very small coloured beads are liked. Some necklaces of larger beads which I brought with me as presents, because they had been very successful among the American Indians, were of little use because they were considered too heavy. Strings of small beads are also worn round the wrist, and put round the waists of infants. I do not remember seeing any native form of finger-ring.

Arm-bands (*pog*) made of plaited fibre in patterns of red, black, and yellow are almost universally worn. They are not made locally, but are obtained from the hill people (see Pl. 67, no. 5). Less elaborate arm-bands are made by plaiting grass (no. 4) or strips [887] of sago-palm leaves (*pog a tō*) (no. 3); the old men spend their leisure time making these. They are of different widths up to over an inch. Arm-bands serve as receptacles for any small articles they may wish to carry about with them, such as a pipe or a stick of tobacco. Here and there, especially at ceremonies, one may see a native wearing bands of trochus shell such as are common in other parts of Melanesia, but they are exceptional and are not made in this area (Pl. 67, no. 8).

The most highly prized ornament is the *pirir*, a disk of clam-shell with a fine piece of tortoise-shell filigree work superposed upon it (Pl. 68). These are worn as pendants, on ceremonial occasions only. In the olden days they were also worn by warriors setting out to a fight. A few are still made, a knife being used instead of the piece of sharp-edged shell formerly employed for the carving; but the present workmanship is careless and the patterns comparatively uninteresting. To save the trouble of rubbing down the hard hinge

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 68

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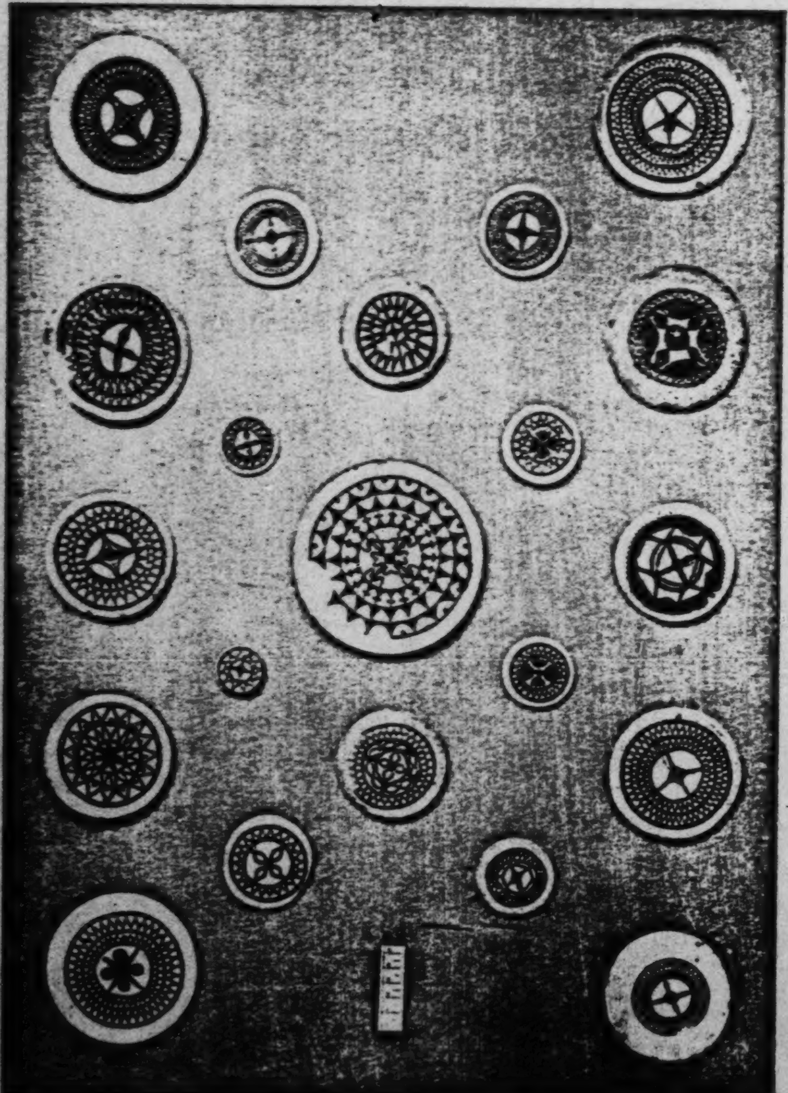

*PIRIR*: TORTOISE-SHELL FILIGREE WORK

[facing p. 422]

301 of the clam-shell for the disk, the present-day native prefers to use the middle of a china saucer ground smooth at the edges. These [797] ornaments seem to have come under the special displeasure of the missionaries, probably owing to their connexion with ceremonies and fighting, and it is almost certain that their manufacture will shortly cease altogether. Several specimens in my collection were obtained because the owners had discarded them as belonging to the olden times.

[436] Strings of ceremonial currency made of shell disks (*beroan*, Pl. 67, *2a*, *2b*) are worn as ornaments at dances, being wound round the neck or waist or hung over the shoulder. Anything worn across the shoulders is referred to as *sawiro*, if put round the waist the word is *wɔ̄s*.

[789] Girdles of aromatic leaves are much liked, and may have a magical value as well as being ornamental. As a result of contact [177] with white men, belts are coming into great favour, though they are quite unnecessary for keeping the loin-cloth in position. Some of the young men have trade belts, those who have none use strips of dried banana fibre. Occasionally a belt will be seen of coloured plaited grass in a pattern similar to those on the arm-bands; these [438] are made, like the arm-bands, by the mountain natives; they are obtained by barter and are much prized. They are also sometimes made of thin strips of cane closely bound with native string. The outside is plastered with red paint put on very thickly, and looks not unlike leather.

301 184 The women of West Buka and the adjacent islets make belts of twisted fibre, round in section, ornamented with interwoven black bands made of the shiny outer bark of the bush banana. They are finished off with a long bunch of loose threads of fibre, which hangs down behind like a tail when the belts are worn. Their use is confined to dances, and the women take pleasure in moving their bodies so that the tails wave about. Only women and children wear these belts. My friends at Petats made one specially for me, and were much pleased when I subsequently appeared in it to join in their dances. The women of Kurtatchi do not make them, and appeared to be unfamiliar with them; they were greatly interested when I showed them mine, and insisted on my putting it on and showing how the Petats women danced with it. But they made no attempt to copy it.

000 The belts made by women during the period of mourning for a

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

The belts made by women during the period of mourning for a

301 *tsunaun* (see Chap. XIV, p. 497, and Pl. 75) have a warp of the fibre
765 growing round the base of the banana palm. The black threads in
565 the weft are obtained from the trunk of the bush banana (*wirtsun*);
283 white ones consist of the same substance scraped and rubbed with
824 sand. The yellow threads are made from the midrib of the leaves
of a plant called *kiki'ie* (*Cycas* sp.), dyed with *totomoin* (turmeric). The red threads of the specimen figured (in Pl. 75) were drawn from the maker's loin-cloth; in the olden days she would have taken leaves of the plant used in making the red part of the women's hoods, dyed with *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*).

*Deformation of the Person.*

304 *Head.* Babies' heads are manipulated at birth and afterwards
for some weeks, by pressing the hands at the back and sides to make them perpendicular. The effect desired is that which is increased by the method of hair-dressing. At birth it is done by the old women attending, frequently the grandmother, afterwards by the mother whenever she thinks of it. There is no 'cradle-board
854 deformation'. Babies are put to sleep on the ground, on a woman's
hood or a plank, but their position is varied, and they do not spend a great deal of time on their backs, so that no pressure is exercised in this way. No head-dress or bandage is used on babies. They are not nursed on the arm persistently enough to influence their head form at all.

304 *Nose.* A baby's nose is pinched soon after birth to make it grow long. A flat nose is much disliked and is a subject of ridicule. The septum is pierced at the age of five or six. It is done to children of both sexes, and is still general. The reason given is that if the septum is pierced, when the individual dies, the worms will go through the hole and will not eat the body.[1]

304 As a rule, a special feast is made on the occasion of the piercing.
852 But if a feast is in progress for some other reason, it will be made
to serve for the piercing as well. Should the village be in mourning for a *tsunaun*, so that no feast is permitted, the operation may be carried out without one, if the children's parents do not wish to delay it till the end of the mourning period. The actual

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[1] See further discussion in Chap XIV. For another instance of the connexion between nose-piercing and the fate of the dead, cf. Codrington (1891, p. 256) who states that in Florida the ghosts of those whose noses were pierced could follow the easy path.

operation should be performed either at sunrise or at sunset. If done in the heat of the day, 'the sun would make the wound sore'. 304 852

I saw the nose-piercing operation performed upon four boys at the village of Tung, W. Buka. They took advantage of the feast made for the new men's house, described in Chapter X, p. 389. The ages of the boys varied from about eight to about five; it was said that the youngest was included at his own request. One of the older men operated. I did not know the people well, and I omitted to ascertain whether he was chosen for any special reason. The boy came and sat on the platform in front of the new 'men's house'. The operator first warmed his index finger and thumb against a piece of smouldering wood, then pinched the septum, drawing it outwards. The hole was then made with an iron pig-spear, which was held in the septum for a few moments. In the olden days it was done with a sharply pointed piece of hard wood from the tree called *ariko*, a species of areca-nut. As soon as it was withdrawn a small stick was inserted. There seemed to be no bleeding. The first boy hardly made a sound and did not wince at all. He had a clam-shell nose-piece inserted instead of the stick. The second victim howled and tried to get away, and was held down by another man. The other two, including the youngest, flinched just a little, and whimpered. After the stick had been put in, the operator heated his finger and thumb again and pressed them against the front of the septum, pushing backwards. As soon as the operation was finished, the boys went to the back of the hut, where a screen of sago-palm leaves had been put up for them, dividing the hut into two unequal halves. I was told that they would stay there for a week without coming out. If they looked at a stone or the root of a coco-nut tree, the wound would become sore. At the end of the week they would go and wash it in the sea. Later a larger piece of cane would be given them.

Nose-pieces of clam-shell (*ahuin*) are worn by both sexes and all ages. They vary in size, curvature, and weight (see Pl. 67, no. 7). They are generally kept for ceremonial occasions, a bit of stick or a rolled-up leaf being substituted on ordinary days, but there is nothing to prevent any one from wearing the *ahuin* at any time if desired. Whatever is worn through the septum is easily removable; many people have a habit of moving it backwards and forwards with the index-finger and thumb as they walk or talk. 301 155 201

301 Sometimes they say the hole is painful and will leave it empty for a few days.

304 Several people had the septum torn right through. This means that the unfortunate individual cannot wear a nose-piece any more, since there is no way of mending it.

*Ears.* The ears are pierced at about the same age as the septum, sometimes at the same ceremony, but this is usually considered to be too much for the child. It is done in the same way as the septum. I had no opportunity of seeing this operation. The [184] people of Buka and North Bougainville bore one hole only. The Kunua people bore two small ones; they wear the bone of a flying fox threaded through both holes, and an ornament made of tortoise-shell and disks made of flat sections of a small shell (*popoli*) may be hung on it (Pl. 67, no. 6).

301 Where there is only one hole, a number of small tortoise-shell rings (*wawakut*) are worn, from which *popoli* are hung. All sorts of things may be put into the hole, rolled leaves, sticks of tobacco, &c. My empty cartridge cases introduced a new fashion. I have also seen shillings carried thus, though these are more likely to be placed inside the ear. The lobe is frequently greatly elongated; when in this condition a pipe stem may be put through the hole and the lobe twisted round to keep it in position. Any article put through the hole in the ear-lobe is called *wapis.*

304 Owing to the strain to which they are thus subjected, ear-lobes are often torn right through. There is no method of repairing this injury, but another hole may be made above it. The ear-lobe is never torn intentionally.

*Teeth.* There is no extraction, filing, or other manipulation of [164] the teeth. Gaps are frequently seen, even in young people, but this is due to the teeth falling out on account of disease. The teeth are always, except in quite young children, discoloured by constant chewing of the betel-mixture.

### *Cicatrization.*

Tattooing is not practised. It would not show to advantage on these dark skins. Its place is taken by cicatrization. There are two distinct types of marking. One may be put on at any time, and is done either by the individual himself or by a friend; the other is a ceremonial affair performed in childhood by certain recognized practitioners.

The 'unofficial' marking consists of cuts made with a shell or a 304 piece of glass, some more or less random as to their direction, some in sets of three, when they are supposed to represent the trail of the hermit crab (*sisir a kobar*). They are made on the arms or chest (see Pl. 11). Or a weal in the shape of a hollow circle may be made on the chest by pressing the hot bowl of a pipe against the skin; this is called *mawa'ets*. A small, solid, round weal, frequently seen in rows down the back of the arm, is made by pressing the cut end [824] of the stem of a leaf of the tree called *lasebē* on the skin. A white milky sap is exuded which after a day or two causes an eruption not unlike that consequent upon vaccination which leaves a permanent weal, but it does not 'take' on some people. To mark themselves in this way is a favourite amusement with young girls. Scars are also made by pressing the stalk of a coco-nut, which has been heated in the fire, on to the surface of the skin. There is no ceremonial attached to these forms of marking.

The formal cicatrization is a much more elaborate affair. A man is usually scarred on chest and shoulders and the upper portion of the back, a woman all over her chest and abdomen, and frequently also on the thigh, not quite to the knee. Some people have the face scarred; in this case the body is not done (Pl. 69*a*). Certain patterns [554] are signs of rank, others may be used by any one. The amount of cutting done depends entirely on the wish of the parents. It is not hereditary, but a father will often have his son cut with the same pattern as he has himself. Not every native is thus marked. Some account for their untouched skins by saying that they ran away at the time the ceremony was to be held, in which case it is not, as [177] a rule, forced upon them later. It is gradually falling into disuse, being severely discouraged by the missionaries.

I did not see the operation performed. Nawi, the girl whose 304 first menstruation ceremony is described in Chapter VIII, was 852 ready for marking, but she was to go to the village of Baniu, where she had relatives, for the ceremony, as soon as there was enough [881] taro for the necessary food-distribution accompanying it. The ceremony could not be performed at Kurtatchi because the *watawutʃ* had not been performed for the boys; pending this the cutting ceremony was taboo. If it were done, the girl would die, and her relatives would be very angry and 'make poison' to kill the people who had committed this breach of rule. The mere possibility was referred to with horror, and appeared to amount to

304 852 sacrilege. The ceremony for Nawi was actually arranged, and Nawi was escorted over to Baniu for the purpose, but she and another girl ran away and hid in the bush, a third was ill, and as only one more child was ready for it, the ceremony was abandoned. When I left the island they were still uncertain whether it would be held at all.

The subjoined account of the procedure was obtained mainly from Pari, one of the older women, herself a woman of rank and heavily marked. As usual, it was commented upon freely by the audience, who prompted her when she left out any detail they considered of importance.

[887] [614] The cutting is done by old women. Some people are well known for their skill, and are much in demand. The names of three were given to me, one at Tabut, one at Ruri, and one at Timputs. The woman usually belongs to the same clan as the child, e.g. a Nakarib woman will not, as a rule, undertake to cut a Naboin child; she would be too much ashamed. But if the child's mother's people, i.e. his relatives of the Naboin clan, very much desire the cutting to be done by a certain woman, she may be persuaded to undertake it even though she belongs to the Nakarib clan.

304 565 437 If the child is *tsunaun* and has an elaborate pattern, a fathom of *imun* (currency made of flying fox or porpoise teeth, worth about £5 in native opinion) may be paid for the operation. The child's mother pays it direct to the woman herself. For a commoner, other things of less value are given.

304 852 The children are not told what is going to happen to them. If they find out they often run away.

On the day before that fixed for the operation, a basket is filled with the black-lip oyster-shell knives which are to be used. This basket is rubbed over the back of a pig, which is then allowed to run away. The purpose of this action is to prevent the skin of the child from being hard and difficult to cut. All the women take the basket in turn and carry it round and round as they *kōma*. They *kōma* all night.

Next day the people all collect, and some men go and cut poles to make a platform for the child to lie upon. The women carry the poles back to the village, each woman carrying one. When they reach the village they put the poles on their shoulders and walk round in a circle and *kōma* with them. Then they are laid on the ground in front of the principal house. The men put in posts for

The men put in posts for them[1] to rest on. The platform, when finished, is about 2 feet wide 304
and about 4 feet from the ground. (Measurements shown by 852
gestures.) [417]

A number of children are usually operated on at one time. The child of most importance is taken first. [554] He is made to lie on the platform, and some women hold him down. The child's mother, father, brothers, and sisters must stay inside their own huts. They must not see the operation; if they did, the child's skin would prove hard, the knife would break, and the operation would be a lengthy one, and would probably not be finished at sunset. If this should happen, the mother takes the child away at sunset, and the marking is left unfinished. It may, however, be finished subsequently.

The woman who is to do the cutting prepares herself by chewing [824] the root of the plant *mogo* with the betel-mixture, and rubbing the mixture on her hand. This ensures that she will cut quickly and that her hand will not be heavy.

All the time the operation is proceeding the women *kōma* and [533] the slit-gong is beaten. They say that this is done so that the child will not feel the pain of the cutting, but my informants admitted that they knew it had no such effect, but merely drowned the child's cries.

Women hold the child's legs and arms, and a man holds his head back so that he cannot see what is being done. If the face is to be cut, this is done first, no further marking being cut until the face has healed, or the body may be left without marks. The children to be operated on subsequently are kept inside the hut.

The child cries and screams all the time. He will say: 'Oh, mother, I am dying of thirst, let me come down and have a drink,' or, 'Father, come and take me away, I am dying.' He says to the woman who is holding him: 'Put me down; I want to go and relieve myself.' He is only making an excuse to get away. The woman takes no notice.

A big branch of the tree called *reyto* (which has soft leaves) is [824] planted near the platform, the leaves are used to wipe away the blood at intervals so that the operator can see what she has done.
The blood is caught in a *kōbā* (dish made of areca-nut fibre). It is 304
then thrown into the sea at a certain place. This place is taboo for 226
fishing, and women may not get shell-fish from the reef there. For 784
Kurtatchi, the place is called Ur; it is on the beach a few hundred

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[1] [i.e., poles for the horizontal section of the platform—A.]

304 226 784 yards west of the site of the present village. A big stone called *Musoa banui* marks the place.

304 752 824 When the cutting is finished, the skin is first washed, then lime is rubbed in. *Tanek* (betel-pepper) is chewed and spat upon the place. Then a dry coco-nut is scraped, and a pinch of the scraped meat is taken between the finger and thumb of the operator and dabbed on to the sores. This is to make the scab of the sore come off so that it will not fester underneath. If the sore becomes septic, coco-nut oil is rubbed into it, and pith from the stem of the plant *rurupari*. If the cuts are made too deep, they 'break open the belly' and the child dies. The names of two Kurtatchi children who had died in this way were given to me.

304 852 When one child is finished, the man who has held his head takes him on his shoulder and goes round and round while all the women *kōma* and the slit-gong is beaten. The child is then taken into the house and another brought out.

304 852 574 After all the children have been cut there is a small feast. One pig is set aside for it, and the women prepare taro. The food is distributed among those present; they all eat; then the platform is taken up by the men and brought into the hut.

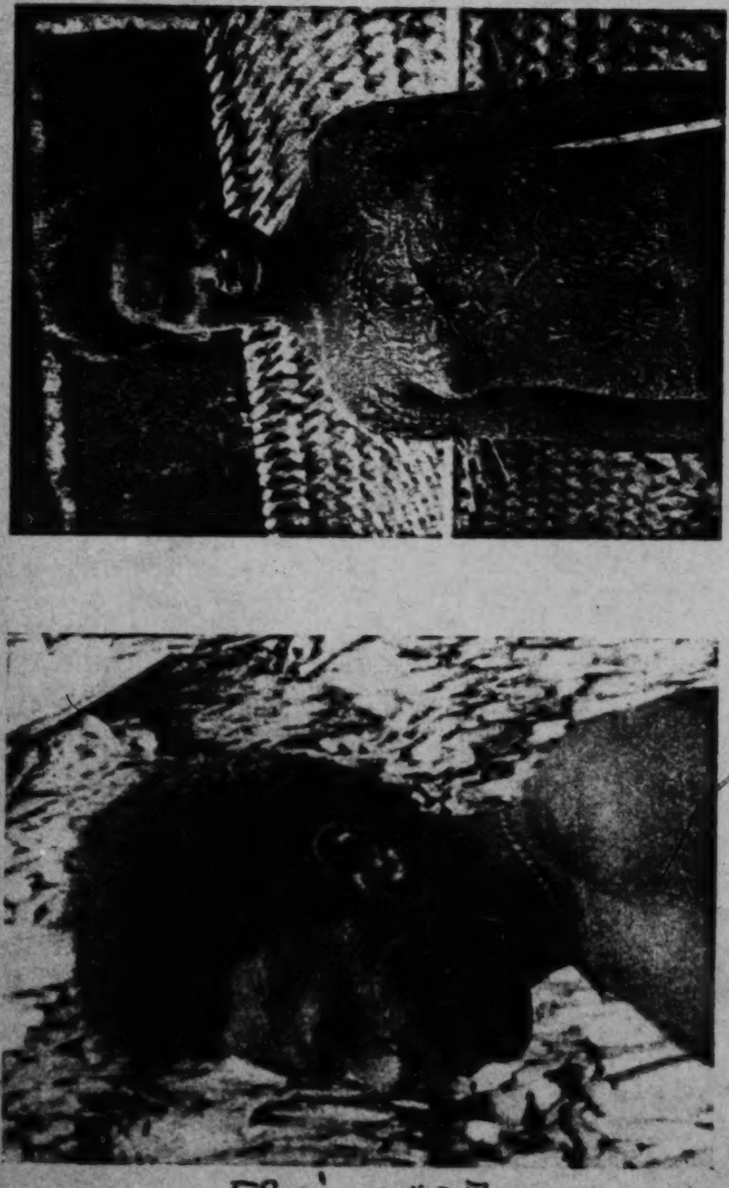
304 852 [825] After the operation is finished, the children must stop inside the house for ten days, only coming out to relieve themselves. The girls must put on their hoods whenever they come out for this purpose. If they do not, or if children of either sex walk about too much, white ants will get into the sores and make them very painful. A girl who is cut about the thighs is so sore that she cannot bear to wear a loin-cloth, but goes naked.

As a rule, several children are cut at one time, both boys and girls. Naniu, Tapē, Bori, Puta, and Tawar were all cut together. This indicates that the ages vary considerably, since Maniu and Tawar are now, I estimate, about 9 or 10, Bori about 19, and Tapē and Puta somewhat older then Bori. It is best to have the operation done when the child is young. Some are cut much later and are sometimes made very ill by it.

304 The effect of the operation can be seen from the photographs (Pls. 69, 70). Not infrequently the wounds become septic and heal badly, with results which we should think very disfiguring, but which do not seem to be so considered by the natives, though they are not admired as much as well-marked patterns. By no means extreme cases of badly healed cicatrization are shown in Pl. 71.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 69



*a.* FACE

*b.* BODY OF WOMAN (COMMONER)

304
832

CICATRIZATION

304
301

[facing p. 430]

PLATE 70

[276]

304

[facing p. 431]

*a.* BODY OF WOMAN
(*TSUNAUN*)

*b.* BACK (*TSUNAUN*):
*LALOM* PATTERN

CICATRIZATION

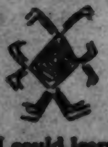
304 [89] The reason given for this practice is that if it is not done too much blood stays in the body and the child will not grow big.[1] On the girls, it is supposed to 'make their milk come up'. It [832] is also liked by the men. 'They say: "That is a fine woman, she has good marks on her body".' Tapē (Pl. 69*b*) was mentioned —by a man—as one of the most beautiful girls in the village. She is a commoner and the pattern on her body can be used by any one.

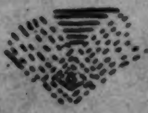
304 184 Besides the distinction between *tsunaun* and commoners there are also differences due to locality. The patterns in the list here given are used by the people of the north coast of Bougainville, as far as, and including, the island of Tiop at the extreme north-eastern corner, which also in other respects belongs to the same group. The Hahon people (inhabitants of the mountain district behind the northern coast-line) make a mark shaped thus ՏՏ in the centre of each cheek. The body is left unmarked except for a small ring on either buttock. The Kunua people have a line on each cheek, curving from the edge of the nostril up to the outer canthus, some ending in a circle on the upper portion of the cheek, just in front of the zygomatic arch. A child I saw, who looked no more than about eighteen months old, already had these marks. The coast people told me that the Kunua people put them on much earlier than they themselves did.

304 [515] [171] The following list gives the principal patterns in general use. It is worthy of note that the one called *lalōm* (Pl. 70*b*), used on the back of the neck of persons who are *tsunaun*, is almost identical with that placed on the foreheads of the Araha (chiefly) clan among the people of San Cristoval (Fox, 1924, p. 16).

NAMES OF PATTERNS CUT ON SKIN

304 192 ***pipi***, general term for cicatrization.
***gom***, marks cut on the face. These usually follow the features to some extent, somewhat like the Maori tattooing, but much less elaborate.
***lalōm***, pattern on back of neck of person of rank (m. or f.) (see Pl. 70*b*).


lalōm


wabuin

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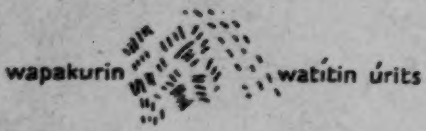
[1] As far as I could learn, the presence or absence of these marks had no connexion with the fate of the individual after death, as reported for the SE. Solomons by Ivens (1927, p. 182).

304 *wakuin*, pattern on chest of male, person of rank (Pl. 9*a*).

192 *wapulum*, pattern on thighs of women.

*atō*, representation of fruit of sago-palm, sometimes cut on thighs of women (I have not seen this).

*wapakurin*, marks cut along back of arm in both sexes. A series of groups of short cuts, each group going in a different direction.



*watítin úrits*, lines of short cuts running round back of shoulder on to arm, in both sexes.

*wasákip*, another word for the above, used by people who stand in a taboo relationship to a man named Watitin and therefore cannot use this word.

*marírikin*, rows of round weals down the back curving inwards from each armpit or from the shoulder. Women only (Pl. 11*b*).

*wagumas*, pattern covering chest and abdomen in women, both persons of rank and commoners (Pls. 69, 70).

*sisir a kobár*, marks representing the trail of the hermit crab, sometimes put on the outside of a woman's thigh, but more often made by men on their arms and chest with a piece of bottle or a knife (Pl. 11*a*).

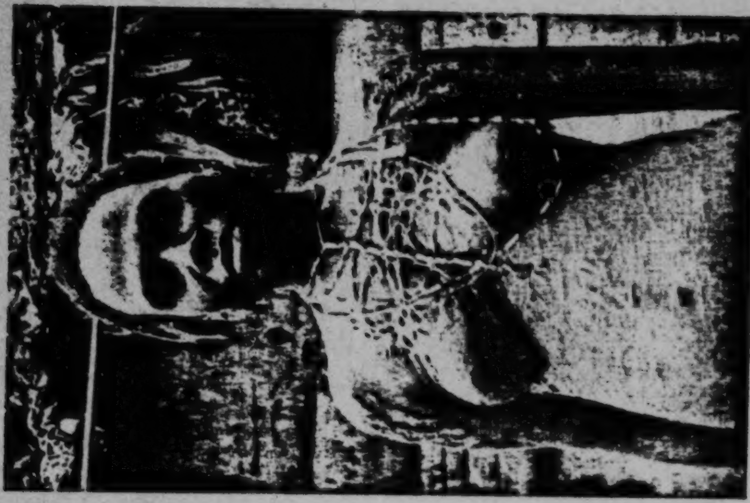
## CHARACTERISTIC DECORATION

531 Many articles of daily use, as well as objects of ceremonial importance, are decorated with various designs, either carved or painted, or, as in the case of paddles, first carved and then picked out with paint. Most of these are traditional. Some can be given a meaning, in other cases the meaning, if any, has been lost, and informants will say that the word used just means that particular pattern.

531
415 Elaborate designs are found on the young coco-nut shells which are used to contain powdered lime for chewing with the betel-mixture. They are incised with a black-lip oyster shell, and lime is then rubbed into the lines to make them stand out against the dark polished shell. Some of them are shown in Pl. 72. The most important is one involving the human figure (seen on the left of the second row). Lime-pots with such patterns are carried by the novices at one stage of the *watawatʃ* ceremony, and are so highly

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 71



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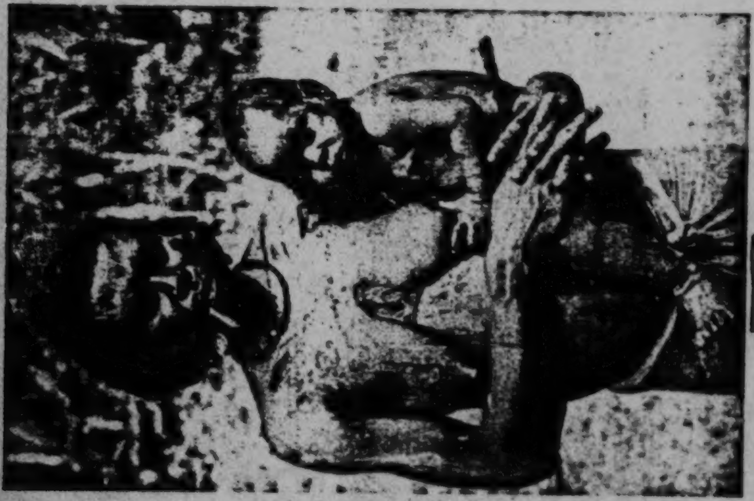


[853]
[276]

CICATRIZATION BADLY HEALED

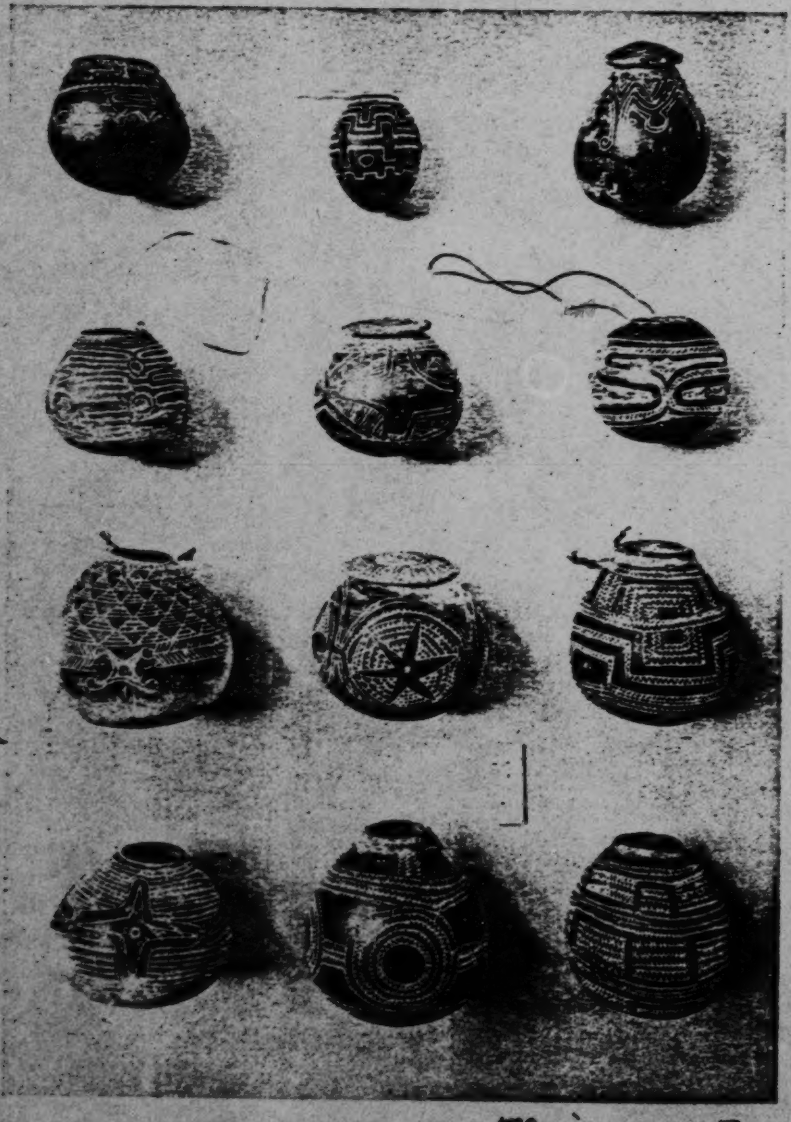
[facing p.432]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 72

531
415
276



LIME-POTS [facing p. 433]

valued that their owners usually refused to part with them at any price. The human figures are also represented in the upright position. Very few lime-pots are carved at the present day; the men say they are too lazy. They either use the coco-nuts without carving, or substitute cigarette or tobacco tins. 531 415

The bowls of pipes are sometimes similarly carved, but most pipes have plain bowls. The patterns are often cut for amusement on the rind of fruits, such as the mango, or the soft outer sheath of the canarium almond at certain stages of growth. Some of the traditional patterns are used for many different purposes, e.g. on the sides of plank canoes (*mon*), on paddles, on the *upi* used at the *watawutʃ* ceremony, and on the outside of *mabu* and sometimes of slit-gongs. Those which were carved on the *mabu* made for me (Fig. 25) were explained thus: 531 [276] 531 534

the two human figures, *kokorra*, 'two little men';

the ornament on the head of one of these, *ku a poits*, the two claws of a large salt-water crab, which are used as ornaments at dances;

lower half of pattern between the *kokorra*, the lower part of *ku a poits*;

upper half, *bĕbĕ*, name of pattern often put on paddles;

pattern running round the instrument below the figures, *pakatʃan*, name of pattern used on *mon* and on paddles;

lines running round the bottom of the instrument, *pisosku*, name of pattern, frequent on *upi*.

A variety of patterns is seen on the *watsinan* of the plank canoe (*mon*), some of which are shown in Fig. 26. For the most part they appear to be chosen at the whim of the carver from a number of generally known conventional designs. Some have a meaning, others are said to be 'just marks'. The most interesting and most important are the highly conventionalized representations of the human form found on the larger canoes. These are survivals from the time when such canoes were used in warfare, and even now the pattern has retained a certain significance. A special feast of ceremonial pudding must be held when the *watsinan* is carved. In the olden days no woman might travel in a *mon* thus decorated, but this custom is now breaking down. It may not be sold to a white man. It is still reserved for important journeys, not being used for bonito fishing or 'for play'. A *mon* thus decorated 531 501 [562]

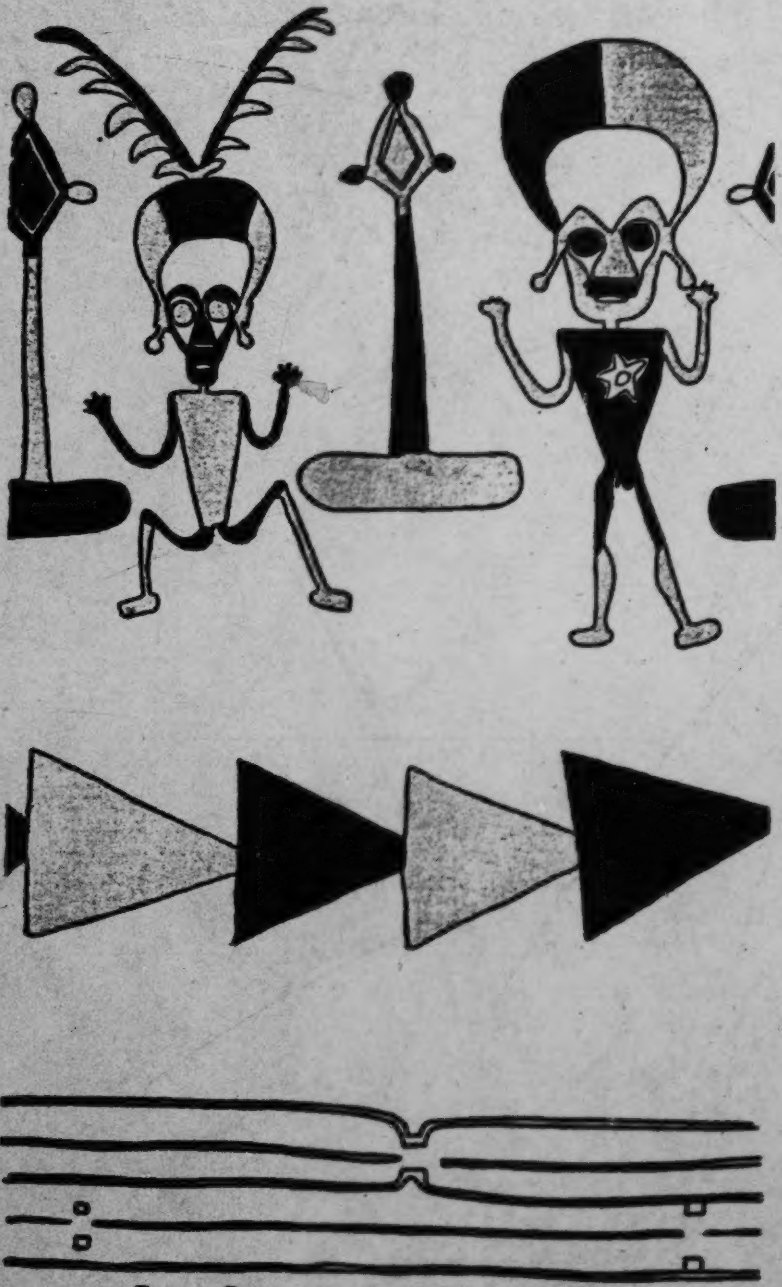


FIG. 25. Patterns on *mabu*. Painted black and red.

[p. 434]

is seen in the photograph of Buka Passage (Pl. 1*a*); it was conveying the local headmen from Buka to meet the Governor of the Mandated Territory on the occasion of his annual visit. In the war canoes the human heads and arms (*kokorra*) were repeated along both sides. I heard of one such, with ten *poan* (seats), still in existence at Hanahan, but unfortunately I was not able to see it. On one with seven *poan* which was being built at Lemanmanu on the Lontis coast (Fig. 26*a*), the row of heads along the side was replaced by a kind of key pattern, called *dorĕ*; they said this was new, and was put on because the makers were 'too lazy' to carve the heads. The anthropomorphic figure was called Morokohĕhōn; it was explained to me (in pidgin-English) as 'all same Father call em God'. No further information about it was forthcoming. A similar figure on a *mon* being made at Ruri (Fig. 26*b*) was called *kokorra* and described as a man. The triangular pattern to the right of the figures in both these is called *kalankatʃin*; it is very common. No explanation of the word was given; it is merely the name of the pattern. Fig. 26*c* represents a fish and 26*d* a spear. For *e* and *f* I have no interpretation. *Kokorra* figures frequently appear on paddles (Fig. 27).

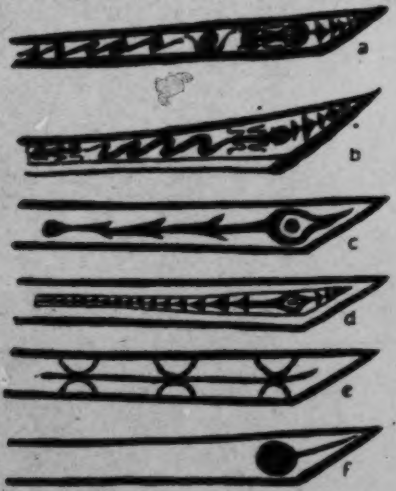


FIG. 26. Patterns on *watsinan* of *mon*.

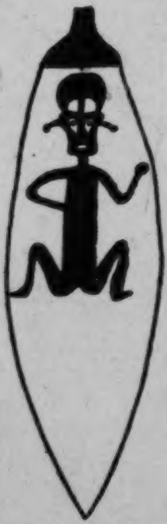


FIG. 27. Canoe paddle with *kokorra*.

### *Woven designs.*

301 531 [438] The woven arm-bands are obtained from the people of the mountains, and are not made locally. The meaning of most of the designs could not be ascertained. That figured in Pl. 67, no. 5, which somewhat resembles a Greek key pattern, was said to represent a man, but no explanation was forthcoming.

765 531 [565] A number of different patterns are incorporated in the mourning belt woven by the women on the occasion of the death of a person of rank (Pl. 75, no. 1). These are all traditional, and were explained as follows (the letters refer to Fig. 28): (*a*) *pekpeko*, name of pattern; (*b*) *taparo*, name of pattern; (*c*) *wuwus*, a little fish found on the reef at low tide; (*d*) *bas*, the iguana; (*e*) *wirĕ*, a small sea-urchin plentiful on the reef; (*f*) *katʃian*, croton leaves; (*g*) *owan a tŏ*, fruit of the sago palm.

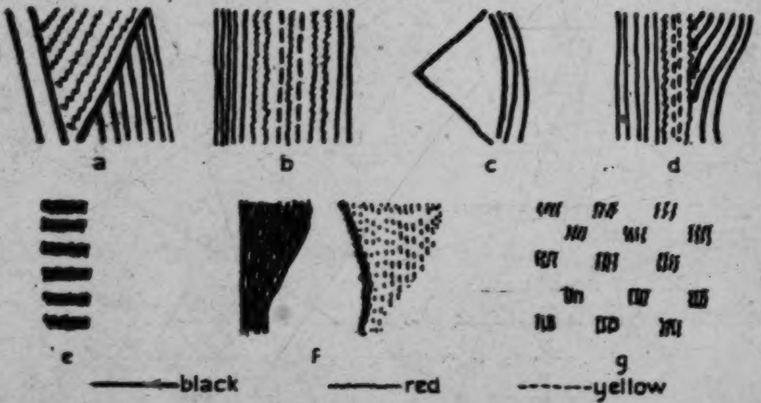


Fig. 28. Patterns on mourning belt.

### *Patterns on pottery.*

323 531 [422] The only patterns used on the Buka pottery are the simple nicks and lines, made with the crinkled edge of a shell, or with the finger-nails, round the edges of the pots (Pl. 61*a*). At Malasang, where the pots are made, I was told that these marks, besides being put on for ornament, also served as a sign of ownership. But I noticed that the potter put the same pattern on several consecutive pots, so no monopoly of pattern could be claimed by the several owners.

*Designs of shafts of spears and arrows.*

The designs of arrow shafts are similar to those found in the 411
other islands of the Solomon group, which have been discussed
by H. Balfour (1893, p. 102). 531

Spears covered with an elaborately woven layer of grass coloured
red and yellow in various patterns are carried on ceremonial occa-
sions, but they are not made locally, being obtained from Kunua [438]
and other mountain people by barter. The patterns are similar to
those on the woven arm-bands.

### DRAWINGS

With the exception of a few young men who had experimented 532
with paper and pencil during their time as plantation labourers,
the nearest approach to drawing practised by these natives is to
make marks in the sand or mud with a stick. I have seen a man
demonstrate in this way the proper lay-out of a coco-nut plantation.
Children sometimes use their toes.

I provided drawing-paper and coloured pencils, which most 532
people had to be taught how to hold. After a certain amount of 177
shyness, the idea caught on, especially among the young men, and
there was a run on my drawing materials until they gave out. Some
of their efforts are reproduced in Figs. 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, and 29.
Sometimes the attempt resulted in unintelligible scribblings,
which, although the work of adults, generally women, resemble a
baby's first efforts to handle a pencil.

They appeared to have no difficulty in comprehending pictures, 151
including those involving the recognition of objects in perspective.
One man even introduced perspective into his own drawing, explaining that the woman in his picture was smaller because she was behind the others. Every one was much interested in some pictures I had with me, particularly photographs of primitive people in other parts of the world. They could interpret a photographic negative, even to the extent of recognizing themselves and their friends in it. They understood without explanation the plan I made of the village, and could tell me from it who lived in each house.

### FIGURE CARVING

Reference has already been made to the representations of the 532
human form made for marriage and puberty ceremonies. These

are fashioned of soft wood, and painted black, with the features in red or white. The same colouring matter is used as for the designs painted on the person. Bits of shell are sometimes set into the eyes. Large figures of birds are also carved for use at the *watawutʃ* ceremony. I have seen a very realistic representation of the hornbill, with extended wings. The younger men sometimes amuse themselves by making small figures of birds and animals, especially dogs and pigs. These are done with the aid of trade knives, or penknives, which are preferred if they can be obtained. The extended wings of a bird or the ears of an animal are often made separately and inserted into slots cut in its body.

The stone models of fish used in bonito magic (now sometimes replaced by the more easily manufactured wooden ones) are the only examples known to me of figures made of stone.

So far as I am aware, no attempts are made, either by adults or children, to model figures in clay or any similar substance.

## XII

## SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS

IN this chapter I shall endeavour to bring together what information 000 I could obtain concerning material possessions, their acquisition, ownership, and inheritance.

### BARTER

A well-organized and to some extent standardized system of 437 barter takes place regularly between various villages. The word used for such an organized exchange of commodities is *toan* in the 438 Petats dialect and *tog* in the Kurtatchi dialect. The most important arrangement of this kind is the exchange of fish and taro between coastal and inland villages. Few villages are so fortunate in their geographical situation as to be self-contained as regards both these essentials to existence. The land near the coast is not very good for growing taro; the inland peoples have only the small amount of fish they can take from the rivers. There are, therefore, at short [462] intervals, prearranged meetings of the women of one village with the women of another for the exchange of these commodities at fixed rates. Certain villages trade regularly with certain others, but their operations may also, on occasion, extend farther afield.

The people of Petats are well situated in respect of facilities for fishing, but they have little ground suitable for growing taro. The exchange from this village is therefore with the villages of the hill districts of central Buka, where taro grows well. The meeting-place is either on the coast of Buka or on the Government road running through the centre of the island, at some spot about halfway between the two places, so that the distance is not excessive for either party. The trips are made several times a week, except in very unfavourable weather, sometimes on consecutive days if fish are plentiful. For example, parties went from Petats on Oct. 4, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 23. They start before dawn, especially [484] when a canoe journey of some length is involved, because there is generally less wind than later in the day. Sometimes one or two men will accompany the party to help with the paddling, but they take no part in the bartering. It is the duty of the husband, or

[p. 439]

437 438 failing him, brother, son, or other male relative, to provide fish for exchange. Sometimes a man would apologize for not selling me some fish for which I had asked him, on the ground that his wife would not have enough for the *toan* next day. A supply is [251] sometimes prepared in advance by half-smoking the fish so that they will keep for a short time. Each woman's load is her personal [422] property, and the goods for which she exchanges it are also her property, for the use of her own household. There is no pooling. If they are short of fish they will sometimes supplement it with sticks of tobacco.

437 I accompanied my friends from Petats on several trips to the mainland of Buka for this purpose. When the two parties met, packs were undone and a rapid inspection of fish and counting out of taro took place. The people of each party kept together; they went round holding out the goods they had to offer, and the buyers saw to it that the fish were of the appropriate size for the number of taro offered in exchange. I saw one woman try hard to obtain two small fish for four taro, but eventually she had to be content with one. Sometimes they would get very excited and snatch the fish and taro from each other, or two women would grab the same article, almost tearing it in pieces. Two of the Buka women brought loads of dried opossum, and these also were exchanged for [571] fish. The whole affair was got over as quickly as possible; there was very little gossip, and it was clearly regarded as a business, not a social occasion. Both sides began their homeward journey as soon as the exchange was finished, not stopping to chat or to chew betel, though we usually sat down to do so as soon as we were well [609] out of sight. Even now, there is a certain amount of distrust between the people of the coast and the people of the hills, though relations are outwardly friendly.

437 438 [211] The fish-taro exchange is a permanent feature in the life of all the villages in this area. In the case of exchanges between distant villages, appointments are made from one meeting to the next by exchanging bits of string in each of which a knot has been tied for each day which is to elapse before the next excursion. Some specified individual is in charge of the string, and cuts off one knot each day till the time arrives. On the occasions on which I accompanied the party, we seldom waited for more than a short time before the other people arrived. Once, when they were rather longer in coming, some of the women wanted to go farther along

437

the road to meet them, instead of waiting where we were, but this was vetoed by the older women as not being the proper thing to do. 438

There is no ceremonial attached to these journeys, but there are 'medicines' which may be used to ensure getting good bargains. A typical one from Kurtatchi runs as follows: Before setting out with a load, chew the root of the plant *wahalau* (unidentified) with the betel-mixture and spit on the taro, then the other people will like it and will buy plenty and pay much fish for it. 437 789 824

This exchange is carried on regularly between the following places in the area with which this book is chiefly concerned: 435

Fish from Petats and other islands off the west coast of Buka exchanged for taro from the hill villages of the centre of the island, especially Gagan, Potaki and Sapani. Meeting place: an agreed spot on the Government road running through the centre of the island. Rates: 1 large fish for 12 taros, 1 medium-sized fish for 6 taros. 437 438

Fish from the Saposa islands, off the north-western corner of Bougainville, for taro from the Hahon people of the northern foothills, who come down to the coast at an agreed spot, opposite the Saposa islands. Also from the Kunua people farther inland and to the western side of Bougainville, who come down to the coast at a place called Kavetch, some miles down the western coast. Since this involves a journey of some distance for the Saposa people it is made at longer intervals. Saposa also exchanges its fish for the taro of the Sēlō people and those of Tabut, on the north coast of Bougainville, who have good ground in the north-western peninsula. Meeting-place: the southern shore of the peninsula, on Soraken Bay. Rates: With the mountain people, 10 fish for 10 taros. With the Sēlō people, 2 fish for 6 taros. These rates are said to have been fixed for them by Morena, the 'culture heroine' from [773] whom they trace their origin as explained in Chapter II. That was the only explanation given when I inquired as to the reason for the difference in the exchange between the two places. It is possible that the fear with which the mountain people of Central Bougainville are still regarded by the coastal people may have something to do with the favourable rates accorded to them.

Saposa also figured in an exchange in the reverse direction, giving taro to Kurtatchi in exchange for smoked fish on several occasions when Kurtatchi needed extra taro for some special

435 reason. They met at Tarongen, on the south coast of the north-
437 western peninsula. Rates: 1 *rabas* (unit of 6 taros, in the Kurtatchi
438 dialect) for a big fish or 2 small ones.

A variation of this system occurs on Buka, whereby the women
437 from the village desiring taro go and dig it up from the gardens of
438 the people of Sumoun, the hill district of the southern portion of
Buka. The Petats people call this arrangement *sosoat*, and regard it as distinct from the *toan*, where the taro is brought to meet them. In this case also fish are given in exchange. Unfortunately I have no details as to whether the rates differ in the two methods.

A great many other commodities are bartered in similar fashion, at intervals according to the requirements of the villages concerned. I append a list of the principal exchanges which came under my personal observation during my residence.

(i) *Women's hoods for pots.*

The Petats women are considered experts at making the hoods worn by the women in the presence of certain male relatives (see Chap. II, p. 73). On fine days, when the leaves dry well, almost the whole female population of the village is engaged in making a supply of these, which they keep in reserve. They are exchanged for pots with the people of Malasang, the only potters in the district, at the rate of 1 large hood for 1 large pot, or 1 small hood for 1 small pot.

(ii) *Taro and pots for lime.*

The people of the hill district of Buka cannot make lime because they have no beach from which to collect the coral. They give the Petats people taro and pots (the latter previously obtained from Malasang) in exchange for it. I have no note of the rates.

(iii) *Pots for taro stalks to plant.*

435 When the Kurtatchi people need especially fine taro stalks for
437 planting a new garden, they trade with the Baniu people, whose
ground is held to be better suited for the growing of good taro. On
438 one occasion, soon after we had paid a visit to Malasang and were
in consequence well supplied with pots, we met the Baniu women
on the Government road about half-way between the two places,
5 and exchanged our pots for their taro stalks. Rates: a very large
pot for 10 *rabas* (1 *rabas* = 6 taros), a middle-sized pot for 5 *rabas*,

PLATE 73

BARTER OF TARO FOR *KŌBŪ*

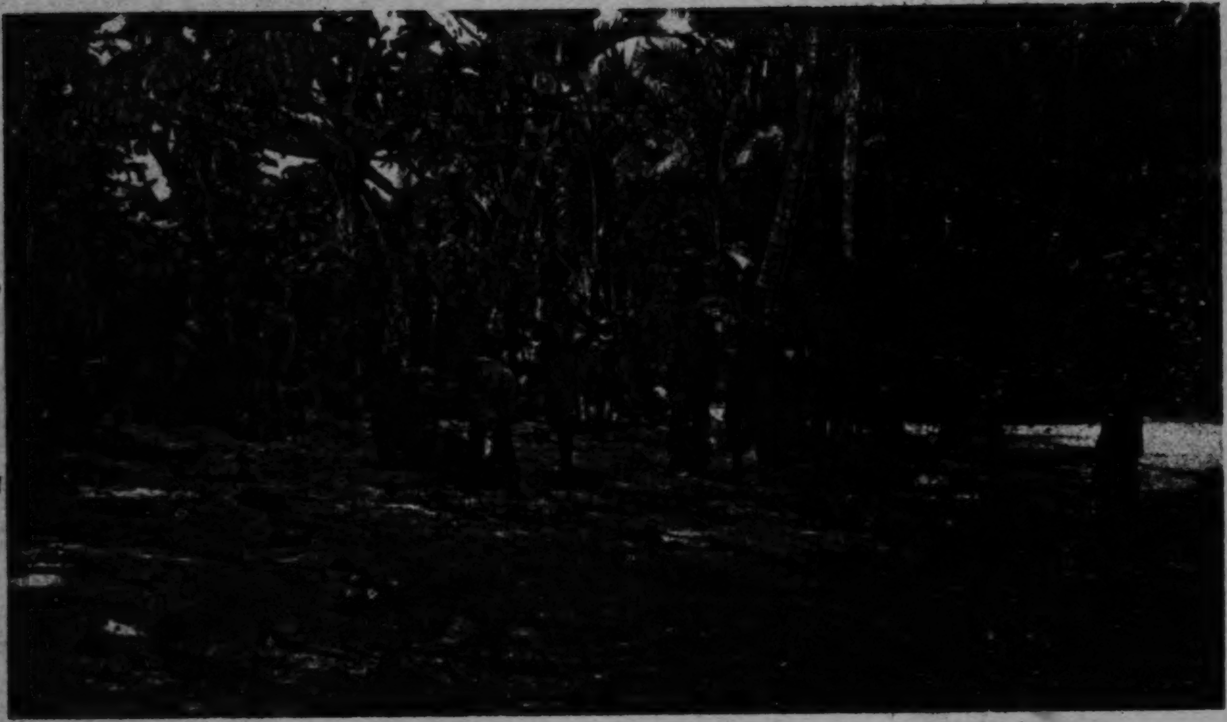
437

[facing p442]

437

PLATE 74

[facing p 443]



BARTER OF POTS FOR TARO

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a small one for 3 *rabas*. One of our party also produced a small trade hatchet, for which she got 10 *rabas* of taro.

### (iv) *Taro for* kōbū.

The people of Kurtatchi have not a great supply of areca-nut palms, from the sheath of which they make the trays or supports used in carrying burdens. They therefore trade for them with the Sēlō people, giving taro in exchange (Pl. 73). Meeting-place: the Government road about half-way between the two places. Rates: load for load, irrespective, apparently, of quantity. The *kōbū* were packed inside one another, so that a woman carried a bundle consisting of six or seven. A load of taro is as much as a woman can pack into a *kōbū* and carry on her back; the capacities of different women differ considerably. But no haggling seemed to occur.

### (v) *Bread-fruit for sweet potatoes.*

The Tabut people have a good number of bread-fruit trees, and when the bread-fruit is ready they exchange for sweet potatoes which they do not grow in their gardens, with the people of Ruri. Meeting-place: the Government road—on the occasion on which I accompanied them, the Ruri women came almost as far as Tabut. Rates: load for load. Representative loads of bread-fruit were respectively 17, 21, and 35 in number; loads of sweet potatoes consist of as many as a woman can pack into her *kōbū*. There was no haggling as to whether two given loads were of equal value.

### (vi) *Pots for paint.*

The Ruri women came to Tabut to buy pots, offering black paint (*tſina*) (see p. 417) in exchange. Rate: 1 medium-sized pot for 1 bamboo full of paint (the paint is packed in joints of bamboo about 2 inches in diameter and 2–2½ feet long). On another occasion the Kurtatchi women bought pots from Tabut at the same exchange. They said the paint came from Tiop and had been paid for with pipes which they had obtained from Buka.

### (vii) *Taro for pots.*

Some women from Malasang came to Tarongen in several canoes, bringing a supply of pots for sale. The Kurtatchi women went to meet them with loads of taro. The pots were laid out on

435 437 438 the beach and the taro piled up in heaps (Pl. 74). Each woman went round inspecting the various pots and chose the ones she wanted; she then indicated to the owner of the pots chosen what taro she was prepared to give for them. If the owner approved the transaction took place. There was no haggling.

(viii) *Buying pots at Malasang*.

On the occasion when I went with a party from Kurtatchi to buy pots at Malasang, we all paid in trade goods, loin-cloths, tobacco, pipes, &c., at the rate of three sticks of tobacco (worth about a shilling in the native reckoning) for a medium-sized pot, four or five sticks for a large one, two sticks for a very small one. A pipe was considered the equivalent of three sticks of tobacco; a loin-cloth of inferior quality the same, one of better quality being taken as equivalent to six sticks.

437 438 *Other exchanges*. The exchanges just described were more or less standard, and took place repeatedly. Others appear to be rather of the nature of isolated transactions, though doubtless they too are repeated as occasion requires. A few of those which came under my notice are here listed.

While I was staying at Tabut some men from Gogoiv in Buka came over in a *mon* trying to sell pipes, which are made on Buka where there is suitable clay. They wanted money—a shilling each—for them instead of goods, so they did not do any business!

On another occasion some men from the island of Pororan came to Ratsoa, on the mainland of Bougainville, some little way inland up a river, bringing women's hoods and sleeping-mats, neither of which are made by the Bougainville natives. This involved a canoe journey taking most of the day and including the somewhat difficult transit of Buka Passage. All the villages for some distance round sent envoys to make purchases, they paid in money, tobacco, and loin-cloths. I was not present on this occasion, and as no one went from Kurtatchi, I cannot give the rates.

A man from Pororan once visited the village of Kurtatchi bringing women's hoods, pipes, and fishing baskets of a kind not made at Kurtatchi. He exchanged at the following rates:

[435] 1 hood = 1 bamboo of red paint (*oin*).
1 pipe = 1 small package of *oin*, wrapped up in leaves.
1 basket = 1 *kōbū*.

Journeys of some length are not uncommon. Two men from 437
Kurtatchi, and the wife of one of them, set out on a trip to Numa- 438
numa, on the east coast of Bougainville, in company with women
from Ruri, in order to purchase supplies of paint. They took with [184]
them several strings of trade beads, some tobacco, and some shillings. They went in a *mon*, leaving soon after sunrise, intending to sleep at Tiop at the extreme north-eastern corner. Leaving Tiop when the morning star Sowitoan had risen, they would reach Numanuma soon after sunrise. They expected the people of the mountains to meet them there with the paint; if they did not, they would go on a little farther to another village. They were to buy *oin*, *tſina*, *owan*, *itsu*, and *wiwi* (these are described on p. 416 f.). Sleeping at Tiop on the way back, they expected to be at Kurtatchi in the course of the following morning. They told me this before leaving, and did actually return to the village at the time scheduled.
Rates: 1 bamboo of *oin* (the most valuable paint) = 3 sticks of [435]
tobacco (equal to about a shilling). The other paints were paid for at a somewhat cheaper rate, the quantities obtained for 3 sticks of tobacco being larger.

Parties of men in a *mon* used to go from Lontis and Hanahan to 435
the island of Nissan (see p. 381) to buy pigs, for which Nissan is 437
famous. On these trips the pigs are sometimes paid for in cere-
monial currency; one fathom of *imun* (see p. 448) will purchase 438
a medium-sized pig.

Some other rates of exchange which I obtained in course of 435
inquiry are as follows:

A slit-gong may be purchased for 1 fathom of *imun*, 1 fathom of *beroan*, and 10 bamboos of red paint (*oin*).

In the olden days a good stone axe cost 10 bamboos of *oin*.

A *mon* for bonito fishing, with two planks, which the people of 435
Petats were considering buying from Lontis, was to be paid for
with one female pig, not very large; a number of women's packs, 437
consisting of *kŏbū* and wide strips of prepared banana fibre used 438
both to increase the capacity of the *kŏbū* and also to sling it from the shoulders; and some spears, the actual number had not been agreed upon. When I asked why they did not make a *mon* for themselves, they said they had not enough 'putty nut'. They admitted that they could have obtained supplies of this from Buka, but they preferred to buy the *mon* ready made.

A chain of exchanges which came to my notice is interesting as 437
438

437 showing the ramifications of the system. The people of Petats
obtained some pots at Malasang in exchange for women's hoods.
438 The pots they bartered to the people of Lontis in exchange for
taro. The Lontis people used the pots to pay for pigs, which they
intended to sell, as opportunity offered, for ceremonial currency
made of shell disks (*beroan*), which was destined eventually to form
part of the property changing hands in respect of a marriage.

435 Purchases from white men or Chinese store-keepers are usually
paid for in copra, the rates varying with the current market-price
439 of that commodity. A certain fixed part of the wages of indentured
465 labourers is paid in shillings, some of which also find their way into
651 the store-keepers' tills, though the main use of them is to pay the
Government head-tax of 10*s.* on each adult male. The goods
generally bought are sticks of tobacco, knives and axes, loin-cloths,
trade beads, belts, and sometimes, if a man has recently returned
from labour and money is plentiful, mouth-organs and bottles of
scent.

435 Pigs are sometimes purchased locally from white planters or
439 Chinese store-keepers. One of the latter, who had a store on the
mainland of Buka nearly opposite Petats, used to make the natives
pay as much as £10 or £12 in English (or Australian) money for a
large fat pig, when he knew that it was specially wanted for some
great occasion.

436 Sticks of tobacco (plug twist) and, to a smaller extent, shillings
are now coming into favour as a means of trading among the
natives themselves, 3 sticks of tobacco being recognized as the
equivalent of a shilling, or goods to that value. They also recognize
as a unit the sum of £5, which they call, using pidgin-English, a
*fius*. This word is sometimes rather arbitrarily used when it is
required to indicate a large sum, e.g. it may be quoted as the price
of a pig.

## CEREMONIAL CURRENCY

Two kinds of ceremonial currency are in use, one much more highly valued than the other.

436 The less valuable kind consists of strings of shell disks ground
171 flat and pierced with a central hole. This type of currency is found
over a large area of Melanesia. Although it is made in other islands
of the Solomon group (Codrington, 1891, p. 325, Ivens, 1927,

p. 390), that in use on Buka and Bougainville is, according to 436
all my informants, obtained from New Britain and New Ireland, 171
and especially from Manus in the Admiralty Islands. They
made no mention of any from elsewhere, except that I was
told that there was one man living on a small island off the west
coast of Buka who knew how to make it. I was not able to verify
this. It is called *beroan*, the same term being employed in all
dialects with which I have any acquaintance. Three varieties are
seen. The most common are either white or purplish (see Pl. 67,
2*a*, 2*b*). A third consists of rather larger disks of a brownish colour,
and is distinguished from the other two by name, *kulin*, in the
Petats dialect. The disks are strung on native fibre string, small
black rings of some vegetable substance being sometimes incorporated
in the string at irregular intervals. So far as I could
ascertain, this is done merely for the sake of its appearance, and
not to mark lengths or values. The unit of length is the fathom
(about 6 feet). A single string is considered to be the equivalent of [435]
5*s*. The Bougainville natives say that they did not fix this value [177]
themselves, but took it over from the people of New Britain and
Manus with the strings themselves. I found it quite impossible to
elicit any information as to how long the use of this shell currency
had been known in Bougainville, or how it first came to be associated
with a value in terms of shillings.

*Beroan* is not used in the ordinary exchanges which have been 436
described in the foregoing pages, but is given in payment for 301
certain things only. It is also used for personal ornament, being
worn round the waist or slung across the shoulders of adults or
children for ceremonial dances and on other special occasions.
Larger shells with dogs' teeth inside are sometimes attached to [534]
short strings of *beroan* which are then used as rattles, either to
amuse infants or as an accompaniment to a dance.

Some uses of *beroan* (other than for personal adornment) which 436
came under my notice are listed below:

1. Several fathoms change hands in the course of the transactions connected with marriage. [583]
2. As compensation for theft, in return for release of culprits. [685]
3. As part payment for pigs.
4. As payment for carving *kaisa* figure.
5. As payment for being taught certain kinds of magic.
6. Thrown into coffin of *maris* as sign of grief. [764]

436 The other variety of ceremonial currency is called *paio* in the Petats dialect and *imun* in the Kurtatchi dialect. It is apparently of more ancient usage then *beroan*, and of local origin. Some of the older men know how to make it, but do not often add to the existing quantity in circulation; whether this is due to the trouble involved in the manufacture, or to some ritual restriction, I am unable to say. I did not come across any one who possessed this skill.

*Imun* consists of a string of teeth, either of porpoise (or dolphin) or of flying fox (*Terapus*) but never both in the same string, set [171] into a kind of rope of twisted fibre so that their pointed ends jut out (Pl. 67, *1a*, *1b*). Dogs' teeth, which are reported from Florida and Ysabel (Codrington, 1891, p. 325), are not used in this area. The strings are covered with *oin*, and when not in use are kept in a receptacle—a pot or a coco-nut shell—filled with this red powder.

The unit of length is the same as for *beroan*. One fathom (*pe'es a yau*) of *imun* made of flying-fox teeth measured 5 ft. 11 in.; the teeth started 11½ in. from one end and 9 in. from the other. A fathom of porpoise teeth *imun* measured 6 ft. 5 in.; the teeth started 15 in. from one end and 13½ in. from the other, the rest of the length at both extremities being merely string. These were considered rather short strings; the teeth in them were small. In both strings the teeth were set 5 to the inch.

[435] A fathom is now arbitrarily valued by the natives at one *fius* (£5 of our money). But in point of fact the question does not often arise, because the Government has forbidden both *imun* and *beroan* to be used in any transaction involving white people, owing to the trouble arising over its valuation. Between natives, it is used only for important transactions, such as making the ceremonial payments in respect of marriage, and for buying pigs. Some strings are given names and are much treasured by their owners, who keep [765] them to hand on to their heirs. To some of these relics are attached, such as portions of the person of an ancestor or of an enemy who [565] has been eaten (see p. 192). The *tsunaun* is always supposed to possess a large number of strings, but he keeps carefully secret the actual number he owns, taking out a portion of his stock for exchange or for ceremonial exhibition when required. *Imun* is never [301] used purely for personal adornment, but a string may be hung on the person ceremonially on certain rare occasions.

## SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS

### *Some occasions for the use of* imun 436

1 fathom given to pay for making bull-roarer.
1 fathom given to old man for making *upi* for *wapi* ceremony.
1 fathom paid for making slit-gong, together with 10 bamboos of paint.
1 fathom given to old woman who performs the operation of cicatrization on a *tsunaun* child.
Several fathoms involved in marriage transactions, number according to whether woman is *tsunaun* or commoner. [583]
1 fathom hung up at door of house to remove *wagun* taboos. [784]
1 fathom given to mother-in-law if inadvertently seen by daughter's husband. [606]
1 fathom given as peace offering from one individual to another with whom he has quarrelled, 'to make good the other man's belly'. [627]
Hung up on the occasion of the funerary rites for a *tsunaun*. [766]
Hung up at the ceremony for a *tsunaun* child when he first sits on his mother's pack. [852]

### DISCUSSION

The methods practised in this area illustrate three, if not all four, of the stages which mark 'the evolution of primitive commerce from simple exchange to a coinage system' (H. Balfour, lectures given at the Pitt-Rivers Museum). According to his view the simplest is a process of barter whereby one kind of goods is exchanged for another, the rate of exchange being whatever is mutually agreed upon at the time. Then, for convenience, an agreed rate of exchange is adopted, certain goods being given a fixed value which remains constant. The objects of fixed value may then be termed currency. Much of the trading described in the preceding pages falls somewhere between these two, the rates for, say, the exchange of fish and taro being more or less stable between any two districts, but no absolute value being adopted.[1] With the introduction of sticks of tobacco at the rate of three for a shilling the second stage is definitely reached. The stable values of lengths of shell disks and of teeth also qualify them to be classed as currency. The third or 'money' stage, in which some objects are set apart, 436 437

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[1] It is noted by Thurnwald (1912, vol. iii, p. 36) that in Buin (S. Bougainville) only similar kinds of things are exchanged; a thing for temporary use, such as food, will not be exchanged for something permanently lasting, such as a tool. It will be seen that in Buka and North Bougainville, while this holds good in general, e.g. for the fish-taro exchange, it is not universal, since taro may be given in exchange for pots and for *hibi*.

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436 or even made especially, to be used as a medium of exchange is only
doubtfully represented, since tobacco is smoked, and the strings
437 of shell disks function also as ornaments. The strings of teeth may
perhaps approximate to it, since they are made to serve as valuables
and are worn only very exceptionally for ceremonial purposes. But
they are not quite typical of the 'money' stage, because they have
a ceremonial significance, and are reserved for use on certain
specified occasions, and because some are regarded as heirlooms
and would on no account be parted with by their owners. The
recent introduction of English and Australian shillings by white
planters and traders brings the area to the fourth stage, the use of
coin, i.e. a medium of exchange authorized by the Government
with a fixed value. This will probably spread till it has superseded
the others, except perhaps the use of stick tobacco.

### RECOMPENSE FOR SERVICES RENDERED

476 A man's friends will help him with a task which is more than he
can compass alone, e.g. the building of a house or a canoe. Such
services are voluntarily given, and are never withheld when asked
for. But it is expected that the recipient will, in his turn, help
those who have given their services when they are in similar need.
[574] As a rule, he will make a small feast to mark the completion of the
work, at which all who have assisted him are presented with
ceremonial pudding and taro (but not pig unless the occasion is a
very special one). One such feast, for the completion of a *mon*, is
[422] described on p. 379. The canoe remains the personal property of
the man who initiated its building. When it is taken out for bonito
[226] fishing, it is recognized that he has the first claim on the catch,
and if only one fish is hooked it belongs to him. If there are several,
he shares them with the men who went out with him; a large catch
is distributed among the people of the village.

764 Women who attend at the funerary rites of a dead person to perform the ritual weeping are provided with food, both to eat at the
time and to take back home with them. On one occasion some
women from Kurtatchi went to the funeral of a child at Tabut; it
was the second child that had died in the same family within a few
days, and they said they went because they were sorry for the
764 parents. Among them were the relatives of a lad who is betrothed
431 to the sister of the dead children. They were presented with pots
when they left. But it was explained to me that the pots were given

because the Tabut people were sorry for the *ruanbē* (husband's 764
parents) of Moras, the sister of the dead boys, and were not reward 431
for the ritual weeping. Parties of women sometimes go to watch by
a sick person; they will be given areca-nut and coco-nuts, some of 758
which they will eat as they sit there; what remains will be carried 431
home when they leave.

When guests are invited from distant villages to attend a ceremony 574
it is customary to provide spreads of food, placed on platforms
at intervals in the bush along the route, with which they can
refresh themselves during the journey (*taran in a ken* means to
prepare a spread of this kind). When we walked to the hill country
to attend the *wapi* ceremony we came to three such places of
refreshment. They took the form of a platform made of boughs, [417]
on which was placed a number of baskets made of coco-nut palm
leaves plaited containing pieces of roast pig and boiled taros;
others filled with the eggs of the megapode, almost ready to hatch,
cooked and done up in leaves. There were also large packets of
ceremonial pudding. Huge bunches of areca-nuts, yellow and
green, hung from the posts of the platform, together with bundles
of betel-pepper. Guests were supposed to provide their own lime.
All along the edge of the platform were hung rows of coco-nuts.
The effect was most lavish. We were also plentifully supplied with 574
similar food at the ceremony itself, consuming it in the intervals of 579
waiting. Such displays are not entirely prompted by generosity,
or even the desire to make a show, since it is the custom, when
guests think that the food provided for them is inadequate, to take
revenge by wrecking their hosts' plantations, breaking down their
coco-nut and areca palms, and spearing their pigs. It is said that
in the olden days the angry guests even went so far as to burn the
village and kill many of the inhabitants, including women and
children. But, on the other hand, ostentatious display of wealth 556
by single individuals is avoided for fear of 'poison'. They say that 754
if a man prepares a very lavish feast, all the men who know how to
make poison say: 'This fellow has made a big feast, we must kill
him.' 'They are angry with the man who has done so well at getting
food and so they make him die with their bad medicine.'

## GIFTS

People are entitled to ask for areca-nuts, coco-nuts, &c., from 431
those who stand to them in the relation of *kiar* (sibling of the same 602

431 602 sex). This applies also to the extension of that relationship beyond the scope of the blood tie as it appears in genealogies (this is discussed on p. 33). No direct payment is offered or expected in such a case, but the recipient is, of course, liable to be called upon in his turn.

431 Apart from this, the native expects neither to give nor to receive 'something for nothing', unless it be a smouldering ember, which corresponds to our asking for a match.

[465] An exception to this occurs in the case of plantation labourers returning from their three years of service. A certain proportion of their earnings is paid to them as a lump sum at the end of their 'time', and this they usually expend on knives, mouth-organs, and such other trifles as their hearts delight in. But as soon as they return to their own village, friends and relations crowd around, expecting the treasures to be divided amongst them, so that very soon the unfortunate owner has little to show for his labour except the memory of having been for a brief moment the hero of the village.

## RECIPROCAL EXCHANGES

[576] There are many occasions on which a presentation of some article, usually a package of ceremonial pudding, is reciprocated by the return, at some future, but not too far distant, time, of a precisely similar article. It would be a gross breach of etiquette to omit to 'back' such a gift in appropriate fashion. When we went to meet the women of Baniu to trade with them for good taro stalks for planting, we took with us some large packets of ceremonial pudding to give to one of them in return for some that had been given on the occasion of Muben's marriage to Kakari several months before.

## PROPERTY

### *Land.*

[423] 425 565 The land belongs to the village group. But the rights in it are vested in the *tunaun tʃan*, the man of greatest importance in the village or group of hamlets. He may sell it, either to other natives or to white men, but in practice he would consult the older men of the village before arranging such a transaction. No such deal went through during my residence, and I have no details of prices or media of payment.[1] Pinari had a grudge against Karabun, the

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[1] The District Officer now supervises all buying of land by white people from natives, and adjudicates over the price, which is paid in money. Some of the

*tsunaun tſan* at Tabut, because his forefathers had sold the land 425
where the village of Tabut now stands to Karabun's forefathers 565
for a sum which, Pinari contended, covered only the site of the village, and not the bush behind it, potentially useful for taro gardens. The other side claimed that the payment made for the village site was enough for this also. Pinari used to make spasmodic attempts to extract additional payment from Karabun, but without success.

Land thus vested in the *tsunaun* descends of right to his heir to 423
this office, his eldest sister's eldest son. But all the people of the 565
group have the right to hunt or to gather wild fruits or berries in it, and to take water or fish from pools, or leaves for thatch, &c., irrespective of clan.

Certain spots, a particular group of rocks, a clump of trees, a 423
pool, are considered to be the special property of one or other of
the clans, because some spirit is supposed to dwell there who is 614
intimately concerned with that particular clan. This subject will be further discussed in Chapter XV.

The amount of land to be cleared for a new taro garden is decided 417
by discussion, according to the purpose for which the taro is re- 423
quired. The garden is held in common in so far as it is enclosed
by one fence, which all the men help to erect, but each man sets 621
up a certain portion of this fence, which he is responsible for keeping in good condition. The Petats people divided the plots according to the uprights in the fence, each man taking, as a rule, the space between two uprights for each of his dependants, e.g. wives and children. The Kurtatchi people divide the garden by means
of logs laid on the ground (see Pl. 40). At the original division 423
which takes place when the worst of the bush has been cleared from the new garden, each man will take a plot for each of his wives, one for his sister if she be a widow living in the same village, and sometimes others for his children. A little girl can own a plot of taro, which her mother will help her to tend. The mother will probably destroy this taro if the child dies. For the further clearing of these plots from underbrush the man who annexed them is personally responsible, and his womenfolk must plant it and keep it weeded. They are entitled to take the produce for themselves and their families. If any one wants more taro than there is on her own plot,

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earlier deals are still the subject of dispute, the natives asserting that the white man did not pay all that they promised.

423 she must buy it, paying in any commodity that happens to be
available. But when a big feast, such as the *watawutʃ*, is held,
[621 each must contribute to the common stock for the entertainment
574] of the vast crowds of visitors who will arrive for the occasion.

423 Portions of land are allotted by the *tsunaun* to any one who
565 wishes to plant coco-nut palms.[1] These trees are then his personal
property, and no one would take nuts from them without his con-
602 sent, except such near relatives as children, or brothers and sisters,
576 both blood and classificatory. However thirsty a man may be
while on a journey, he would not think of climbing a coco-nut
palm to shake down nuts, unless he came to a grove to whose
owner he stood in such relationship.

423 Ownership is also recognized in certain trees, such as those used
for making dug-out canoes, or those valued for their fruit, such as
the canarium almond. It may be established by planting the tree,
or inherited from a relative who planted. These trees will be on
land which, though vested in the *tsunaun*, and said to 'belong to'
him, is used by the whole group, as explained in a previous para-
graph, so that the ownership of trees is differentiated from the
[171] ownership of the land they stand on. To a great extent it is true
here, as is described by Thurnwald at Buin (1912, p. 34), that
property is connected chiefly with the results of work.

*Pigs.*

422 Pigs rank as property next in importance to strings of *imun* and
above *beroan*. They are entirely personal possessions, and may be
231 owned by anybody, man, woman, or child. A man with no pigs is
554 regarded as poor, but there is nothing to prevent him from gaining
prestige in the village by other means. Sobak, one of the prominent
rain-makers of Kurtatchi, had no pigs, and though this was some-
times the subject of rather jeering comment, it did not prevent him
from receiving a certain amount of deference in view of his skill at
rain-making. But a man without pigs is debarred from certain
[342 privileges. For example, only a man who can produce ten pigs may
427] build a *tobar* (boys' house), and those wishing to make use of this
*tobar* pay a pig to the owner, except the boys wearing the *upi*, who
are exempt.

231 Each person knows his own pigs individually, treats them as

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[1] The Government has now instituted a rule that every man must plant ten coco-nut palms for each of his children at birth.

household pets, and calls them by name.[1] They roam about the 231 village or the bush at will, but come morning and evening to their owner's hut to be fed when called. I have frequently seen women and children caressing them, but do not know of any case in which they have been suckled by women, though this may quite possibly occur, as reported from other areas. Village pigs have their ears slit as a mark of identification, and the males are castrated, which is regarded as a means of identifying them when they are caught in the nets meant for wild pigs, though the reason given for carrying out this operation is that they will not be so wild and so likely to run away. (See further discussion of this question in Chapter III.) No attempt is made to breed, but the females have plenty of opportunity of foregathering with bush pigs, so that the supply is maintained in spite of this custom. The litter belongs to the person who owns the mother. Sometimes young pigs are taken over to Baniu to be cared for there, because 'the ground is better for them' [437] there than at Kurtatchi. In this case, when the sow farrows, the Baniu people are given a piglet for their trouble.

On the occasion of a major feast, pigs are contributed by each 231 person concerned in any respect, according to his ability, assessed 574 by the *tunaun*. Some months before the *wataʍutʃ* ceremony was 565 due to be held, Pinari went round to some of the villages whose 202 boys were to take part in it, leaving at every house a short length of bamboo; this was an indication that such a house was to provide a pig for the associated feast, the family would then set aside a certain pig for that purpose.

231 565 764 The pigs belonging to a person of rank are killed at his death to provide food for the people who come to wail.

Wild pigs killed in the bush are the property of the huntsman. 224 If a concerted drive is made with nets, the pigs caught belong to

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[1] Some pigs are named after the place they came from, or the person from [552] whom they were obtained. Some are given names reminiscent of events which happened at the time they were born, e.g. 'Kwigin', for a pig born when the *upi* boys were being given food by the *kuigin* (older men) in the bush, prior to the *wataʍutʃ* ceremony. Some contain a sly allusion to somebody's personal idiosyncrasy: 'Guruakiu', 'Sleeps over his work'; 'Muwapuin', 'Eats herself and gives none away'. Other names refer to a physical peculiarity of the pig: 'Pipipiapan', 'One ear cut, one ear not cut'. Not infrequently there is a dig at the white man. One pig was called by the name of a planter whom the natives much disliked, this was intended as an insult. Another was called 'Whiteman'. On inquiring the reason for this, I was told: 'The white people give their pigs names of our people, so we called our pig "Whiteman".'

224 all the people who participated in the hunt; they are cut up and
divided equally; each man then takes his own share home. If he so
[565] desires, the *tsunaun tʃan* can claim a portion for himself, whether
or no he was present at the hunt. If a large number of pigs are
wanted for a special feast, wild pigs thus caught are kept alive till
wanted, when they are put into the common stock of food.

231 Domestic pigs are killed only on ceremonial occasions. The day when this will inevitably happen is anticipated with mixed feelings by their owners, pride in being able to furnish the contribution required of them being tempered by grief at the loss of a pet. No one, however, would ever refuse to part with his pig when occasion required. Domestic pigs only, never wild ones, are used in economic and ceremonial transactions. Many of these have been noted in their appropriate context.

*Other possessions.*

231 Dogs are much valued as personal possessions.[1] A good hunting
422 dog is greatly prized by its owner and coveted by others. They
are bought and sold, but never form part of a ceremonial payment
435 as pigs do. One day four men came to Kurtatchi on their way back
436 to a mountain village; they bought a dog from Pinari for which they
paid him 10*s.* in shillings. They carried it away with them, its legs
tied with strips of bark, and its mouth and eyes covered with half
a coco-nut shell put on like a muzzle, a hole having been cut
through which the dog could breathe.

422 Canoes are owned by the men, but their families may use them.
562 A woman does not own a canoe unless her husband is dead, then
she may take his. While he is alive she will ask his permission
when she wishes to use it, and if he wants it himself he will go to
another man and borrow one for her.

422 For the rest, the men have their fishing-nets, and other apparatus,
pig-spears, musical instruments, &c.; some still cling to war spears,
clubs, and ornamented arrows of the olden days, which they carry
now on ceremonial occasions only. The women all possess black-
[412] lip oyster-shell knives, which they make by grinding down the
shell on lumps of rough coral; *kŏbū*, and banana-fibre straps for
carrying burdens on the back; cleaned-out coco-nuts for holding

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[552] [1] Dogs are given names of the same kinds as those given to pigs. One, for example, was called Patū, because the rest of the litter died, and it was thought that by and by he would die too (*patū tomat in*).

water; cooking pots, bought from Malasang; and such baskets as 422
they choose to make. Each woman also owns a hood for observing [412]
the rules of avoidance. Both sexes cherish their woven armlets, necklaces, and other ornaments, their pipes, and their decorated lime-pots, though these are now giving place to tins obtained from the white man. Most people now possess trade knives for cutting bush, weeding, &c., and some few also axes and adzes. This makes no claim to be an exhaustive list of personal possessions, but it does, 422
I think, include the bulk of them. Although these people take 556
pleasure in ownership, and are as delighted as children at the acquisition of, say, a specially large or good knife (I have seen a man doing a dance of joy at one which I had given him) or a string of beads, they do not seem to strive particularly to amass quantities of possessions, beyond what they need for their own use. 'Riches' consist of ceremonial currency and pigs, everything else is incidental. Ornamented spears used to rank in this category, and still do in the central mountain districts, there forming part of the transactions connected with marriage, as do also stone axes, which are no longer valued in the coastal districts.

*Records of possessions*

To keep a record of the number of coco-nut trees owned by the 211
inhabitants of the village, bundles of the stiff centre rib of the
coco-nut leaf frond are kept, containing one rib for each tree. A 656
tally of pigs is kept by making notches on a stick. All the pigs belonging to the village are recorded—or are supposed to be recorded—on one stick, but this does not mean that they are communally owned. These records are required by the Government and the bundles and sticks are given to the District Officer at his official visit. I do not think any record would be kept except for this requirement, and its accuracy is open to considerable doubt.

### ATTITUDE TO THEFT

To steal ceremonial currency made of teeth (*imun*) is a major 177
offence, one of the two such offences recognized by these people,
the other being to take another man's wife, for which the same 684
word (*a mot*) is used. The customary punishment is that the con- 685
victed person shall be taken to the beach and all who wish shall have the right to shoot at him with spears and arrows. He is,

177 however, permitted to shoot in return, and as far as I could make
684 out, the affair was generally hardly more than a form. This proce-
685 dure is now, however, no longer permitted, matters of this kind being dealt with by the District Officer.

685 The theft of other property, even of pigs, is regarded as a minor offence, over which the injured parties are very angry and talk a great deal, but eventually agree to the settlement of the affair by the payment of a fine. I have a story of a man called Tianowan, living at Ruri, who stole a pig belonging to Mudidemets, which he killed and ate. He was made to pay back a pig to Mudidemets, which was killed and eaten by the two men together, 'then Mudidemets was not angry with Tianowan any more'. Another story tells how a group of boys were always stealing bananas belonging to a man who lived at a neighbouring village. One day he caught them, and brought them to his place, and held them prisoners. The *tsunaum* of their own village brought a length of *beroan* to pay the owner of the bananas to let them go; he said that was not enough, so the
674 *tsunaum* paid him two lengths, and he let the boys go. I did not personally experience any cases of theft, although I neglected the advice of the planters to keep all my goods locked up. A boy about thirteen, living at Kurtatchi with his mother, but actually belonging to another village, had the reputation of being a thief (*ti a mot*). Every one knew this, and discussed it with disapprobation, and several people warned me not to allow him to come on to my verandah. But I never heard of his being punished for any definite theft, and I am uncertain how far the charges against him were true, and how far they were made because he did not really belong to the village, in which he was unpopular.

### INTENTIONAL DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY

425 As noted elsewhere in greater detail, a man's pigs and coco-nut palms, and a woman's taro, are used, on the death of the owner, to
768 provide food for the people who come to wail. But it is not only the produce that is taken, the coco-nut palms are cut down—or were, until the practice was forbidden by the Government as wasteful—and the garden laid waste. If articles such as ornaments are put into the grave they are sometimes, but not always, broken. (See account of burying of pillow on p. 492.)

152 There are also other occasions on which property is intentionally
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destroyed. The usual way of showing anger is to break up one's 152
own personal possessions.[1] One day I heard a great commotion 425
inside a hut, and on inquiring the reason, was told that two women had been fighting because one had eaten some pawpaw belonging to the other, who was very angry, and had, besides fighting the culprit, broken all her *own* pots; it was her howling that called my attention to the incident. It might be thought that the breakage was done accidentally in a fit of blind temper, but other instances indicate that it was far more likely to have been intentional. In my collection of stories there is one in which a man who, rebuffed in his efforts to have illicit sexual intercourse with a woman, ran away and hid when summoned to the shore for the punishment by shooting. The double injury, his undesired attentions and his cowardly attempt to escape from the consequences, angered the woman so much that she destroyed her own taro garden.

Other people's property may also be broken, with the owner's 425
consent, for the same reason. A curious example occurred during 579
my residence. The mission teacher at Tabut, a village friendly to [727
and closely associated with Kurtatchi, had, with more zeal than 177]
discretion, been trying to stamp out the custom of wearing hoods in accordance with the rule that a woman must avoid her *waris*, He had even gone so far as to damage one of the hoods. This was reported at Kurtatchi, a more conservative village, and so incensed the women there that they made a descent on Tabut *en bloc* for the purpose of showing their displeasure. I was invited to go with them. We approached the village slowly, in a procession, with some show of ceremony. Every woman wore her hood, some even had two, one on the top of the other. The Tabut women received us amicably, and so far from resisting the destruction of their property, actually brought out their water coco-nuts to be broken up, though I fancy this was co-operation in self-defence, as they were careful to bring out old ones, whereas if left to themselves, the Kurtatchi women exercised no such discrimination. Pots were also brought out, and laid on the verandahs, but honour was apparently satisfied with this gesture, for no pots were actually broken on this occasion. When they considered that enough damage had been done, the Kurtatchi women went home, and no retaliation followed.

On another occasion the same thing took place at Kurtatchi.

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[1] This is paralleled in other parts of Melanesia, cf. Ivens, 1927, p. 12.

On another occasion the same thing took place at Kurtatchi.

425 Some of the women went round to each hut breaking up water
579 coco-nuts, the owners giving them old ones for the purpose. The
565 reason was that the wife of one of the important men had called
her husband a lazy good-for-nothing who spent all his time at dances and did no work. When a woman scolds her husband, if he is *tsunaun*, the other women go round breaking things from every house in the village, not only the house of the couple involved.

425 Intentional destruction of property also takes place on the occa-
882 sion of the *wapi* ceremony as described on p. 203.

## INHERITANCE

565 A man's official heir is his eldest sister's eldest son. If she has
428 no son the second sister's son takes the position. Failing the sons
of full sisters, a son of his mother's sister—for whom he uses the same kinship term—would be the heir. I did not meet with this contingency. It is of importance chiefly in the transmission of the position of *tsunaun tʃan*, the person of highest rank in the village. Pinari's eldest sister, Pari, had a son who died in childhood. The heir was, therefore, Kakari, the son of his younger sister Matev. He cannot alienate this right however much he may wish to do so. With it goes the right to direct certain ceremonies, and the official ownership of land. Wasē, Pinari's eldest son, held in Kurtatchi no official position, but was accorded a measure of respect by virtue of the importance of his father. But if he had been living in his mother's village he would there have been the person next but one in importance to the *tsunaun tʃan*, who was his mother's mother's brother, yielding only to the son of an elder sister of his mother. On the death of his mother's brother he had been sent to his father at Kurtatchi, and had elected to remain there.

428 Personal property, including ceremonial currency, can be, and
789 often is, left to a man's own children instead of to his sister's
children. The same applies to knowledge of special magic. Pinari, who had no great liking for his nephew, had passed on his knowledge of magic for making dogs hunt well to his son Wasē, and did not intend to give it to his sister's son Kakari, who would succeed him as *tsunaun*. He said that Kakari would have half his material possessions, and his own children would have the other half; Kakari would divide it.

Other magic may be similarly inherited in several ways, either from a father—real or classificatory—or from a mother's brother, or from a brother. The magic for fishing with the *ĕb* which I 428 obtained from Tchub, was given to him by his father Pasis and 789 his elder brother Krapen, both of whom are dead. He was going to pass it on to Rarum, his mother's mother's sister's daughter's son, whom he calls *kiar* (brother). Ora, a rain-maker, was taught by Wawen his *tsoa* (mother's brother) just before he died. Ora had not decided to which of his relatives he would divulge the secret when he himself came to die. Some further instances of the inheritance of magic are given in Chapter XIII.

# XIII

# MAGIC AND MEDICINE

000 IN the foregoing chapters of this book the magical procedure connected with various aspects of native life and activity has been described in its appropriate context, as an integral part of the situation to which it is applied. Its fundamental importance in the lives of these people will be evident. In the present chapter an attempt will be made to analyse the facts previously presented in order to arrive, if possible, at some notion of the point of view of these people with regard to magic in general. It is first necessary to give some account of an aspect of the subject which, though often mentioned, has not yet been discussed in detail—the use of magical procedure with evil intentions.

## BLACK MAGIC

754 It is exceedingly difficult to obtain information about black magic, since those who know about it keep their knowledge very secret, especially as nowadays the Government takes a serious view of such practices. No matter how carefully I approached the subject, I was always referred to some one else, no one wishing to admit that he possessed this knowledge. What little information I managed to obtain is here given with full realization of its inadequacy.

The term for the most dreaded form of black magic is *oragun*, which was explained as meaning 'poison to kill people'. To use it against any one is *ora punin*, 'to make poison'. Every native, and more particularly every *tsunaun*, goes all his life in fear that some enemy will bring about his death by this means. I was told that [824] if a man wishes to 'poison' some one, he plants *nibnib* in his path. *Nibnib* is the generic term for an ornamental or aromatic plant, such as is much in vogue for wearing in the hair or armlets. My informant would not tell which particular plant would be used, alleging—I thought falsely—that he did not know. Another man, after extracting a promise from me that I would not let any one know who had told me, gave me the following account: 'If a man wants to make another man die, he puts a small unripe coco-nut on the ground near the door of the man's hut at night. The man 754 walks over it, then this man picks it up and puts it in the fire. Then the man dies, he has no sickness, he dies quickly. He does not lie down even for one day, he is not ill even for one night, he talks, he walks about, he is quite well, then he just dies, that 's all.' A death of this kind is called *wasō*.

A different method of 'making poison', obtained from another [824] informant, runs as follows: 'Take the plant *korowin* (a shrub, unidentified) and burn the stem in the fire. Then put some of the buds up in the rafters of the man's house. As they dry, the man will waste away till he is nothing but skin and bone. When you want him to die, burn the buds. But if you are sorry for him by and by, and want him to get better, throw the buds away.'

In the nature of things, I could not verify or check these pieces of information, which were given to me in confidence, and it is not impossible that the vital part of the procedure was withheld; I give them, therefore, without guarantee, for what they may be worth.

In some cases it is supposed that actual poison is mixed with [278] the food. Pinari, as *tsunaun tʃan* by right of inheritance, and [622] paramount chief of the district by Government appointment, considers himself to be in very special danger of poison, of which he is obviously in great and constant dread. He told me that when he goes up into the mountainous hinterland he likes to eat only in one place, with a man whom he knows to be his friend. If this is impossible, he takes men with him who keep a sharp look-out and always eat with him. Another instance, said to have occurred shortly before my visit, was related to me. A man named Tatowan went to a neighbouring village, not too friendly to Kurtatchi, and ate some pig there. He returned home, but next day he died *wasō*. His death was said to have been caused by 'bad lime' given him at the meal.

The people say that a number of different kinds of leaves and 754 roots that grow in the bush are used for 'making poison'. But no 824 one would confess to knowing which they were or bring me any specimens, with the one exception noted in a previous paragraph. This behaviour was in marked contrast to the helpful interest they displayed in my investigations into plants used in making other kinds of 'medicine', for which they willingly scoured the bush. While it is possible that some of the plants may actually be poisonous, it is

754 824 not at all necessary for the purposes of the sorcerer that they should be, or even that he should suppose that they were. Perfectly harmless plants could be used equally well. This question has been discussed by F. E. Williams in connexion with the Orokaiva (1928, pp. 211–14); with the conclusions there given I am in complete agreement.

754 'Poison' can also, as among other primitive peoples, be made with anything which has been connected with the person of the victim, not only fragments of hair and nails, &c., spittle, faeces and urine, but even the discarded shell of the areca-nut he has chewed, fragments of his food,[1] or the leaves he has touched with his body where he lay down to rest in the course of a journey. For this reason, when in strange country, precautions are taken not to leave anything which could be so used, where some enemy might find it. But individuals differ a great deal as to their carefulness in such matters. This is probably a question of temperament, quite unconnected with any slackening of belief on the part of the younger generation, who, in this respect at least, seem to hold to these ideas as firmly as their elders, as I observed on many occasions. My friend Marotɛ was one of the most meticulous. She would never even fling banana peel, &c., away in the bush where it would be lost among the foliage, as other people sometimes did. Once I was going along a bush path with a party of women, eating mangoes as we went. They threw the stones and peel away into the underbrush without scruple, but immediately afterwards took enormous pains to stamp out all traces of the betel-mixture they spat on the path. Even modern innovations due to the white man may be used for purposes of 'making poison'. On a bartering expedition with some Petats women to the mainland of Buka, I once, during a halt for refreshment, let fall some small crumbs of biscuit. The women insisted on hiding every smallest crumb before we left, looking round the while in obvious distress and whispering 'Sollos'—the name of the district in which we were. They would not say anything more at the time, but told me later that it would never do to let the Sollos people find the crumbs in case they 'made poison' against me and caused my death. These precautions are not considered necessary in one's own village, where areca-nut shells, frag-

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[1] It is said that a man will sometimes offer ceremonial currency to a woman if she will procure for him some of the food of a person against whom he wishes to 'make poison'. If she refuses she will probably die.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

ments of food, and other personal rubbish are left freely lying about. 754

Another incident, which I mention because it illustrates the pervading consciousness of fear with which many, if not most, natives are all too familiar, occurred when I accompanied Pinari and some other villagers on a journey to the foot-hills. Shortly after we had turned inland from the coast road, we met two men belonging to a mountain village. In response to the usual question as to where they were going, they said they were 'just walking'. Pinari's suspicions were instantly aroused. He showed great uneasiness until they were out of sight, and then set to work to examine their footprints. Finding the grass bent in the opposite direction from that in which they had disappeared, he considered his suspicions confirmed—they were lying in wait to 'make poison' for the people of the village of Ruri, not far from which we were. He said that if they had been looking for opossum they would have stayed in the thicker bush, and if they had been going to Ruri on lawful business they would have said so. He kept on making remarks of this nature for hours afterwards and was clearly much disturbed in his mind about the affair, even though his own people were not immediately concerned in it.

A person who makes poison is called *gonagol*. It would appear 754
that any evilly disposed person, either man or woman, can do this
if he knows the proper methods. I did not hear of any class of 683
persons comparable to the 'witches' described by Hocart (1925, 177
p. 229) on Eddystone, another island of the Solomon group, whose powers are inherited. In the olden days, a man caught or suspected of making poison was punished with death. Now that the power of inflicting the death penalty has been taken away from them, the natives will either 'make poison'—legitimately, in their view under the circumstances—to cause his death in revenge, or, they may report the case to the District Officer, demanding the death of the 'poisoner' who, in their eyes, has committed murder. The sentence inflicted will probably be one of imprisonment for causing trouble, which is considered not only inexplicably lenient, but also very unsatisfactory, since, as they say, 'he comes back again and makes more poison'. I have known men to work themselves up into a perfect frenzy when discussing this matter. It seems to me that cases involving black magic present a very difficult administrative problem in this area, as doubtless in others.

754 When a man becomes ill, and it is suspected that some one has
755 'made poison' against him, certain remedies may be used in the hope of counteracting its effects. Typical of these is the following:
824 *Maneroa* (a plant, unidentified).

Chew pieces of the root with the betel-mixture, and spit over the body of the sick man. Scrape the skin off other pieces of the root and wrap the scrapings up in leaves. Lay this bundle on the man's thigh, just below the fork. Take a bunch of *koav* leaves and wave it over his belly with a downward motion. This will send the poison down into the bundle, and it will leave the man's body, then he will get well.

If you have to go near a place where you think some one has made poison, for example over the betel-pepper vines, scrape the stem of the plant *nin* and put it on the sole of your foot, then the poison will turn to water and will not harm you.

When an enemy has 'made poison' against the whole village (i.e. in times of general sickness, such as an epidemic), the following procedure is practised; it is said to 'turn the poison to water':

Scrape the skin of the stem of two creepers, *kuritsĕ* and *karamusis*, mix with scraped coco-nut meat. Rub down some 'putty nut' and mix it with the other things. Give some of the mixture to all the men in the village, who must make fires all about the place and put the mixture into the fire. This makes a dense smoke. Then take the stem of *maribean* (*Fleurya aestuans*), cut it into small lengths, and make them into bundles, wrapping them up in leaves. Plant these in the middle of all the roads leading to the village. No one in the village must eat any of the foods usually obtained from the bush, such as mangoes and canarium almonds.

For the following account of treatment for poison, in use on the island of Pororan, I am indebted to Mr. Gordon Thomas.

'In the case of a man becoming sick from supposed poisoning the "doctor-man" will prepare a drink combining the *kobol* (the young unripe coco-nut) and the juice from the leaves of a native tree *kokohak*. The preparation is made as follows: The top of the *kobol* is cut off with a knife, care being taken that the nut does not break in the cutting, otherwise the patient will die. Ten leaves from the *kokohak* tree are then picked, and the juice—a milky fluid—is allowed to drip into the *kobol*. The juice will float on the top and have the same appearance as that of pouring oil on water. After the drops of the *kokohak* have been put in, the "doctor-man" collects the ten leaves and hides himself in the bush, there to sit in meditation until his skin becomes cold and tired with waiting. When this

stage has been reached, he will then collect the *kobol* and proceed 754
to the house of the patient. Entering, he fastens the door, and gives 755
the *kobol* to the patient, who drinks the mixture. The two of them
then go outside the house and the "doctor-man" obtains the leaf 824
of a native vine *pahu*. Biting off a portion himself he gives another
portion to the patient, and the two masticate the leaf, mixing it with
betel-nut; chewing and spitting out the masticated juices. The two
then re-enter the house, and a *pahu* leaf is hung up inside the house
in such a position as to hang near the face of the patient when he
is sleeping. The patient goes to bed and sleeps. In his sleep he 754
dreams that he is endeavouring to find the man who gave him the 755
poison, but a spirit visits him in his dream and prevents him from 787
seeing the man; explaining to him that he has not been poisoned
at all. In the morning the "doctor-man" inquires of the patient
as to what he has seen during the night. "I saw no man who had
poisoned me" replies the patient, or words to that effect. "I am
well now, I have not been poisoned, for the spirit told me so."
The patient then makes a speedy recovery.'

*Other forms of harmful magic.* There are milder forms of harm- 754
ful magic which are not considered in the same light as 'making 627
poison', but as legitimate methods of punishing some one who
has done you an injury. These were told to me in the course of
discussions on the use of various plants for medicinal purposes.
There was no secret about them, and they were clearly regarded in
the same light as any other 'prescriptions'.

If a thief persistently steals your taro.

Scrape to a powder the bones of a crocodile, and bury some of this [825]
powder (*wesopini*) on the road to the taro garden, where the thief will
walk over it. When you know that he has done so, take up the package
and burn it. The thief will get a bad sore on his leg.

For a man stealing coco-nuts.

Take some leaves of the shrub *rurupari*, put them into a young coco- [824]
nut which has been emptied of its milk through the eye. Lay this on the
ground in the coco-nut grove. Chew the root of the same shrub with
the betel-mixture, spit on some dead branches and throw them down
where the coco-nut is. When the thief comes into the grove his belly
will become very painful, so that he cries out. He will not be able to
walk, but will crawl home and lie down in his house. Then you must
watch till the tide comes in, and then plug up the hole in the shell of the
young coco-nut. This makes the thief short of breath, and he stays at

754 home whenever the tide is high (i.e. when he ought to be out fishing),
627 but at low tide he is always hungry and goes round asking for food. After
[824] a time he will go mad. If you are sorry for him and wish to cure him of
his madness, squeeze a small plant called *bokono* into water and give it
to him to drink, then he will be all right again.

Another method:

[824] Fill up a bamboo with salt water. Chew the root of the plant *gogō* and spit it into the bamboo. Lay it across the path to the coco-nut grove, where the thief will walk over it. Then watch for him secretly, and when you are sure he has walked over the bamboo, take it away and burn it. Shortly afterwards the thief will become very ill.

789 To revenge yourself on a man who has done you an injury, by
627 causing the sea to break up his canoe:

[824] Get the leaves of the shrub *korōwin*, both red and green kinds. Pound them to a pulp, mix some *sisiwa* with them, and put the mixture inside a cleaned-out coco-nut shell. You must fill it quite full. Go to the shore and dip the coco-nut shell in the sea, then pull it out, and bury it in the sand among the bushes, a little above the place where the water reaches at high tide. The next tide will come up to the spot. After two days dig up the coco-nut and put it farther back, and do this every two days until the tide has come up so far that it breaks the canoe belonging to your enemy. The sea follows the coco-nut because the *sisiwa* is strong and pulls it. When you want the tide to become normal again, break the coco-nut full of mixture and throw it away.

Kakari did this at the request of Murĕ, because two other men had damaged Murĕ's *mon*. The result was to make the tide come up till it smashed up a *mon* belonging to one of these two men. (Note. *Mon* (plank canoes) are kept on the shore and are sometimes damaged by exceptionally high tides.)

789 Apart from these, it will be noticed that forms of procedure which under most circumstances may be directed towards quite legitimate ends, may at times take on an anti-social aspect, as when love magic is used to entice another man's wife. Sometimes the 'prescriptions' in my collection are accompanied by a statement to the effect that while they produce certain desirable results from the point of view of the person using them, they are harmful to his rivals, e.g. they will prevent other canoes from catching fish while your own is taking plenty, or will make your taro good and other people's bad. This is apparently accepted, at any rate no secret was made of such 'medicines', and there was no emotional tension displayed in dis-

cussing them, as was the case with any practices savouring of 789
'poison'.

## WAR MAGIC

Fighting is for these people a thing of the past, and I did not 726
make it a subject of special investigation. The following scraps 789
of war magic, which came my way incidentally, are perhaps worth placing on record.

*To make a war canoe go fast.* (Petats.)

Catch an *arori* (a special kind of snake) and cut off about three inches [825]
of its tail (length shown by gestures). Put this in the bottom of the *mon* and fix it there with putty nut. It must remain there always. You must let the snake go. It soon grows another tail.

This is only for *mon* used in fighting. It makes the canoe outrun all the others and catch up with the enemy. It is not done to *mon* used for bonito fishing. There are no words used in this medicine.

The following account of preparations for an attack, and the capture of a prisoner, was given by Pinari, himself an old warrior, who had, as was obvious from the way in which he told it, himself often taken part in such raids.

'When our people went to fight in the olden days they would first prepare *wiriako*. To do this you take some lime, and the tip of an [826]
ear of a *tsunaun* belonging to the enemy, whom you killed in another fight, and a bit of his eyelashes, and a bit of his pubic hair. Put these into a leaf with the lime, and make a bundle of it. This is powerful medicine belonging to the *urar*. Get leaves of *kiwar* and [824]
hang them down the backs of the men who are going to fight.

'When you are ready to go out to fight, the man who understands about the *wiriako* undoes the packet, takes a pinch between his finger and thumb, puts it to his lips, and blows it in the direction of the enemy, calling out:

"*Pah! Gun ma ti si nom ini!*"
Exclam. "Get (*imperative*) man that (he) come here."

He beckons with one hand, holding the packet of *wiriako* with the other hand, and says:

"*Di ma ia! Di ma ti si nom ini!*"
"Fetch him! Fetch man that (he) come here!"

'Then the spirit (*abin*) of the man comes and enters the packet of *wiriako*. The man in charge of the packet binds it carefully and

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726 789 sticks it into his arm-band. Then he speaks to his men: "You wait, presently the enemy we are after will come up; this *wiriako* will make him come up. You have your knives and axes ready."

'The man they are after wakes up and yawns. His skin feels bad. His ears are fastened, the *urar* fasten them up, so that he cannot hear. His eyes are no good, he looks at our men and thinks they are trees. He sneezes, his belly shakes.

'Then the leader of our men takes a spear in his right hand and an axe in his left, and creeps forward with knees bent. He motions to his men to surround the place silently. They creep up, with fierce gestures. The leader jumps up, spears his man in the side, and cuts him over the head with the axe; then he takes him on his [537] shoulders and carries him off, shouting. (All this was illustrated very dramatically by Pinari, to the delight of the rest of the party.) When the fight is finished, the leader takes a pinch of *wiriako* and puts it on the front of his ear, and on his nostrils, then he eats a little of it, and it makes his stomach strong.'

To ensure that a man's aim with bow and arrow shall be straight, he may employ the following procedure:

> [824] Take the root of *mwanẽ* (*Leptaspis Banksii*) and chew it with the betel-mixture, rub your bow and arrows with the chewed mash. Spit more of the mash on to the flower of the same plant and wear it in your hair when you go out to fight

## DISCUSSION

789 754 Without entering into the controversy that has raged round the meaning of the word 'magic', I shall venture, in the pages that follow, to use it in its widest possible connotation, so as to bring together under this label all the various means, transcending his own ordinary exertions or those of his colleagues, by which an individual (or a group) within the area under consideration seeks to further purposes or to obtain objectives which seem to him desirable.

Summarizing briefly what has been said in previous chapters, it appears that the main occasions on which a native of the North-Western Solomons feels the necessity of supplementing his normal exertions may be grouped as follows:

1. At certain critical epochs in the life-history of the individual, e.g. birth, certain episodes of childhood, marriage, &c. The explicit purpose of much that is done on these occasions, as stated by the

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people themselves, is to counteract the influence of those who may be 'making poison' for the destruction of the individual concerned. It follows from this that since persons who are *tsunaun* are more subject to such machinations than commoners, the ritual prescribed for them is always more complex than that employed for the ordinary person. 789 754

2. When faced with sickness, either through some cause known to him or through what he regards as 'poison', by which he means what we are accustomed to call 'black magic'.
3. To guard against the vengeance of the *urar* (spirits of the dead), where he may have given them cause to be angry with him.
4. To ensure success in his love-making.
5. To ensure success in his efforts to provide an adequate food supply, either when a fresh start is being made, as in the case of a new garden or the use of new apparatus for the first time, or else when his unaided efforts are proving unsuccessful.
6. To avenge himself upon his enemies, or to do harm to those against whom he has a grudge.

It must be remembered—the point has been stressed by Malinowski—that the additional assistance sought is not regarded by the seeker as a substitute for his own exertions. The exhortations of the women to each other to plant well and deeply were not less vehement because the *urar* had been called upon to provide good taro in place of that which they were planting, nor did the men neglect to fence the garden because ritual precautions had been taken to prevent the pigs from spoiling it. The owner of a new fishing kite must exert himself to the utmost to obtain the ten fish necessary to the ritual belonging to it. The lover does not relax his efforts to find favour in the eyes of the woman he woos by charm and spell. But an exception to this would seem to occur in the case of black magic. The sorcerer does not try to put a spear through his victim; he goes about his lawful occasions while the 'poison' works and the man wastes away to a skeleton and subsequently dies.

I have purposely used the vague term 'various means', because some of the practices included in my analysis may deserve no more important description than 'folk-medicine', while at the other end of the scale comes the ritual involving the *urar*, most if all not of which would be admitted by most anthropologists to be religious, or at least magico-religious, which latter convenient term would probably cover most of the practices and observances to be discussed in the present context. But before discussing the principles 789 755 757

789 underlying these 'various means', I would like to suggest that to the
natives who make use of them, the differences between them are
755 looked upon as differences in degree and not as differences in kind.
757 Administering medicine to cure sickness is regarded as an act of precisely the same nature as hanging up the 'medicine' in the rafters of the hut to make the pain stop, and this again is not sharply distinguished from breathing the name of an *urar* over a mixture rubbed on a fish-line to ensure a good catch. The only difference is that procedure involving an appeal to the *urar* is usually undertaken only for reasons of some importance. The same word—*ēto*, which I have translated 'medicine' throughout—is always applied to the substance employed, and here again the difference is one of degree rather than of kind. The leaves to be heated and rubbed on a boil, the complex mixture used in the taro garden in conjunction with an appeal to the *urar*, and substances such as *sisiwa* which possess magical power in themselves, and work independently of spell or spirit, are all alike *ēto*, but some are stronger medicine than others.

At the same time, if the principles underlying various forms of remedy and ritual be analysed, they will be found to admit of classification, and it may perhaps be worth while to consider some of them, provided it is clearly understood that the classification is purely theoretical, and that no hard and fast line would be drawn by the natives between the various categories.

755 Many medicines for the treatment of sickness are used in much
757 the same way as we should use our own remedies in like case, they are swallowed by or rubbed upon the patient. Whether the plants in the Melanesian's pharmacopoeia actually possess curative properties could probably be determined by analysis, but a great bulk of material is required for this purpose, and the quantity and condition of the specimens I brought home did not permit of it.[1] In some cases, where the plants have been identified, they occur also in reports on the materia medica of other primitive peoples, and in a few instances analyses there given indicate that there may be some scientific justification for their use. Possibly in other remedies the betel-mixture which is their almost invariable accompaniment may, by the astringency of the areca-nut or the pungency of the lime, actually have some beneficial effect apart from the

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[1] The treatment of sickness as practised among these natives is discussed in detail in *Folk-lore*, vol. xlvi, June 1935.

leaves or roots to which the native pins his faith. More likely still, 755
in other cases, it may be the massage that produces the desired 757
effect, with little reference to what is actually rubbed in or on to the patient, like some of our patent hair restorers. But when all these possibilities have been taken into account, in the majority of cases it seems highly probable that the medicine acts, when it acts at all, solely through the power of suggestion.

What may perhaps be considered as an extension of this idea 789
comes into play when the 'medicine' is rubbed on knife, digging-stick, or fish-line, to ensure that the implement shall do its work with the maximum efficiency.

Examples have been given in an earlier portion of this chapter of the well-known principle described by Sir James Frazer as 'contagious magic', whereby treatment meted out to an object that has been attached to, belonged to, or even come into physical contact with, an individual, reacts on the individual himself, even though the object treated may have been for some time removed from him. This kind of magic seems to be used almost exclusively with evil intent; I have in my records no instance where it was done for the individual's good.

By far the greater part of the magical procedure of these people comes into the other of Frazer's main categories, which he calls homoepathic magic, chiefly in the rather specialized form usually described as 'mimetic magic'. Examples occur in almost every department of native life. As illustrations may be cited, at random, the keeping of the contraceptive root in the rafters, so that 'as it hardens in the smoke, so the woman's belly is fastened so that she cannot conceive'; the avoidance of food boiled in water during the seclusion of a girl at her first menstrual period, lest the flow of blood should be too profuse; the chewing, by the boys wearing the *upi*, of the long tap-root of a certain plant, 'the longer the root chewed, the longer the hair will grow', All these reasons were given in so many words by the natives themselves, and from their demeanour I gathered that this was what they actually believed, and not a convenient method of putting off the too inquisitive ethnographer. It is noteworthy, incidentally, that the corresponding phraseology ('As this . . . so that') is not embodied in the form of words—where such is present—employed in conjunction with this variety of magic, as is frequently the case in other regions.

Not far removed from mimetic magic are those cases which

789 depend upon what may perhaps be termed the principle of attraction. The explanation given by the natives of the working of the 'medicine' to make a very high tide, is that the sea will be 'pulled up' by the mixture in the coco-nut which you bury above high-water mark. If you spit the chewed root of a certain creeper in the direction of a rain-cloud, it will come up and rain will fall. If you rub the scrapings of a root on the door of your hut, the wife who has left you will have her thoughts turned homewards and will return to you.

An idea underlying other forms of magic, which appears to be somewhat different from any of the foregoing, depends upon the principle of transference. A bundle of leaves is laid on the thigh of a man suffering from the effects of 'poison', a branch is waved over him in a downward direction, and the poison 'goes down into the bundle', which is then thrown away. Some of the methods of counteracting mimetic magic seem to involve transference, as when the effect of the contraceptive is removed by throwing away the root into running water. In some instances there is a near approach to the conception of the 'scape-goat', as in the treatment of the pig at the ceremony for a child of rank described in Chapter V (p. 190). I would suggest that this idea of transference is also implicit in the ritual play which forms part of the marriage ceremony, the first menstruation ceremony, and the ceremony performed when a child of rank is first allowed to be placed on the ground.

The use of talismans and amulets is very general. The bones of a river fish or the dried nest of a bush insect hung from a string round the neck of a baby will make it grow up healthy and strong. Carried somewhere on the person of an adult there will often be found a tiny bundle wrapped up in a leaf. This will probably contain scrapings of roots or leaves, perhaps mixed with lime or paint, and often with the addition of human remnants, such as portions of the skin, nails, or hair of a dead relative, or of an enemy who has been eaten. Often the possessor of such a bundle does not know what it contains, having obtained it, perhaps, from a native of a distant village, as being efficacious against 'poison' or in some other desired direction. These things are all called *ĕto*.

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Of all the various substances used in magical procedure, there are two which are considered more powerful than all the rest. The most powerful of all is the stuff called *sisiwa*. The very mention of the word excited a certain amount of emotion in the person speak-

ing it, even when giving explanations to me apart from any actual 775
ritual occasion. It is obtained from the Hahon people, in exchange 778
for ceremonial currency and other valuables. They are said to get 789
it from a hot spring in the mountains, at a place which belongs to
Tosisiup, who lives in the volcano Balbi and has power over all the 823
*urar* (see p. 505 for further account of him). It was only with great difficulty and in exchange for a valuable present that I was able to obtain a small quantity. It proves to be lava which has been attacked by acid vapours after the dying down of volcanic activity.[1]

The power possessed by *sisiwa* is not specific, since it is employed 789
for many purposes. Its use in love magic, in fishing magic, and in 778
a form of black magic has already been noted. It is significant that
no formula is ever used in conjunction with this substance. On 775
making careful inquiries as to this, I was told that *sisiwa* is such strong medicine itself that it does not need any words used with it. This definitely stated belief goes to show that for these people magic is not 'an essentially human possession, literally and actually enshrined in man' (Malinowski, 1926 (2), p. 71). The underlying principle here seems rather to approach the conception familiar to anthropologists as *mana*, though I did not come across in these dialects the actual word *mana* or its equivalent. This 'wonder-working power perceived or at most dimly conceived by the savage to exist in whatever excites his awe' (Marett, 1929, p. 14) the *sisiwa* would acquire from its origin in the place belonging to Tosisiup, the ruler of all the *urar*, everything connected with whom is regarded by these natives with awe. This brings it into line with Codrington's statement that 'spirits, whether disembodied souls or supernatural beings, have *mana* and can impart it' (1891, p. 119).

The connexion with the spirit-world, or rather with the place of ghosts, is further emphasized by the fact that the other of these powerful substances, only less mighty than *sisiwa*, is called *magór*. Magor is the name of Tosisiup's brother, who is second only to
him in the realm of the dead. The magic mixture contains scraps [823
of bark, roots, and leaves, belonging to various plants, and *oin*, 824]
which is red oxide of iron. Unlike *sisiwa*, it may be associated with a form of words, as in the love magic given on p. 122 and the taro magic given on p. 301. But it is sometimes used alone, e.g. in fishing magic, where it may be chewed and spat on to the line. Another of its virtues has not yet been noticed. To make a man

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[1] I am indebted to Mr. C. J. Bayzand for this analysis.

789 cease to be angry with you, chew *magor* and spit it in his direction,
778 then say to him: 'Why are you and I fighting?' Then he will feel
kindly towards you. It is interesting to note that the influence of
775 *magor* is supposed to extend also to white men. When a visit from the District Officer is expected, the villagers of Kurtatchi chew *magor* and spit it around the place to ensure that he will not be angry with them! It will be seen that the power of *magor* is not specific, and I think it is fair to see the idea of *mana* underlying the use of this substance also. These two substances are the most precious possessions these people have, and are regarded as in a class different from, and ranking far above, the ceremonial currency in which they reckon their wealth.

791 Among the natives of North Bougainville, *mana* seems to belong
not so much to the individual who performs the ritual acts as to
778 the substance he uses. There are no persons set apart as 'medicine
789 men' who have qualified for the post by long training or by undergoing ordeals. I am not aware of any word in these dialects which means a maker of magic, except in the case of black magic, which stands in a class by itself. Otherwise the distinction is between those who know the procedure and possess the requisite apparatus and those who do not. Thus, Sobak and Riamē were competent to act as rain-makers, Pinari was the specialist in dog magic, Minka in bonito magic, Pari in the treatment of sprains and broken bones, and so on. But Riamē could not make rain without his coco-nuts, nor Minka bring bonito without his stone fish. Again, in the description of the taro-garden ceremony given in Chapter IX it will be seen from incidents occurring in connexion with the proceedings that it did not greatly matter who actually took the principal part in washing the taro-stalks; the *ēto* was clearly regarded as the factor of primary importance.

789 There are some other substances which, while not themselves
823 *ēto*, are frequently used as adjuncts in various forms of magical
procedure. Among the most important of these is the red powder
775 called *oin* (iron oxide) which, besides being used in personal decoration, as described in Chapter XI, also plays a part in a large number of 'medicines', both for rubbing on externally, and also for swallowing, in conjunction with the appropriate leaves, roots, or whatever it may be. It is to be noted that its virtue does not appear to lie in the fact that it is red, since there are other varieties of red 'paint' (*owan* and *itʃu*, see p. 416) which are used for decorative purposes

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only, and not in the preparation of 'medicines', or in any magical procedure. 823

775 In this connexion also must be mentioned the multifarious uses of lime (*iav*). Not only is it added to the mixtures used for a number of medicinal and magical purposes, it is also efficacious alone, e.g. it is rubbed on to a man who is *iburar* (see p. 516) and on to a [755] patient suffering from a sprain or a broken bone. Instances of its use for magical purposes both with and without areca-nut occur in almost every chapter of this book. Its importance in medicine and magic in San Cristoval is pointed out by Fox (1924, p. 245), who brings evidence to show that betel-chewing is a comparatively recent innovation, and considers that the use of lime for ceremonial purposes must be earlier. He suggests as one possible reason for its being 'considered a good conductor of *mena*', that lime is necessary for the production of dyes and pigments, especially the important red dye. Lime is not used for such a purpose in North Bougainville, so that the reason for its importance in that area must lie elsewhere. That it is considered to have some intimate connexion with the *urar* is clear from the practice of burning it to propitiate them when it is thought that some cause of offence has been given, e.g. in the act of cleaning the road beside the grave-yard, described on p. 517.

775 782 It must be remembered that these spirits of the dead, while they are feared by the living and at the same time regarded as their helpers in time of need, are not propitiated in the ordinary routine of life, but only when it is thought that they may have been angered, or when their help is required for some definite purpose. The most usual method of appeal seems to be to mention by name one or more *urar* specially appropriate to the occasion; at the taro garden those who were good gardeners, successful fishermen to ensure a good catch, and so on. Having been called upon by name, they may also be told what is desired of them in specific terms: 'Butchiar, look at that woman, bring her to me, I want her', 'Pulaget, Soat, Tsining, look at our rod and catch bonito for us', 'Sawē, Malia, Kerep, look at this broken bone and fasten it'. Again, the name 775 of the *urar* may be used without any injunction. In a treatment for 755 strained muscle, which I witnessed, the name of the *urar* Pispoa (the spirit of a man who, when he was alive, was skilled in treating similar cases) was whispered repeatedly into a lime-pot held by the operator. I was told that Pispoa then came and stayed inside the

775 755 lime-pot, making the lime powerful. Lime from this pot was then used in massaging the patient.

775 The question now arises, are the *urar* thus addressed being
cajoled into conferring a favour, or commanded to perform a task
782 which they cannot refuse? This has been suggested as a criterion
separating religion from magic (Rivers, 1914, vol. ii, p. 405). It is
true that most of the formulae are couched in the imperative. But the
[781] reverent tone in which they were spoken, in cases where I actually
saw the ritual performed (less evident where it is merely related),
leaves me in no doubt that it is a plea, not a command, which is
intended. This is supported by the fact that the address to the
*urar* is sometimes preceded by an offering of food burnt in the fire
for them, or some bit of ritual involving lime. It is also consonant
[781] with the general attitude of awe, largely mingled with terror, which
characterizes the relations between human beings and the *urar*
throughout. (See Chapter XIV.)

789 In some cases formulae are used in which the *urar* do not figure. These may take the form of a direct command: 'Come, bonito, come plenty, come to my village', 'Garfish, garfish, come and take hold of my line'. Or the command may be given to the apparatus to do its work: 'Catch them, catch them', said to the bonito hook, or 'Fetch the man here', to the medicine used in war magic. Again, the formula may be a simple asseveration that what is required will, or has, come to pass: 'You and I spit on the taro, now it is large', 'All the women are waiting with their baskets, to-morrow the place will be full of *tsuwaluŋ*'.

In all cases where formulae are used, they are kept secret. In
some, notably those used in bonito magic, it was stated that the
words must be passed on only to a son or a sister's son, in others
they might be told to any one, provided payment were made. I have
instances in my collection of such knowledge having been obtained
from father, mother, mother's brother, and grandparents, as well
as from strangers. Love magic is often referred to the people of the
[609] mountains; this is interesting, as the relations between the mountain people and the coastal people are not normally friendly.

This brings us to the consideration of the place of these formulae in the native scheme of magico-religious procedure. It will have been noticed that in many cases no mention is made of any words being spoken. It may be that in some of these, the secret part of the procedure was either intentionally or inadvertently

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omitted by my informants from the account given to me. But I feel fairly sure that, if this did occur, it was not often, and does not account for the absence of the spoken word in most of the instances. Sometimes, on careful inquiry subsequently, in private, as to whether any words were used with a certain 'medicine', I have obtained the reply: 'No, it is not important enough to have any words belonging to it.' In the case of the taro-garden ceremony, which I witnessed at two different villages, in one, Kurtatchi, certain *urar* were called upon, but in the other performance of the same kind of ceremony, at Tabut, no words were used. On making inquiries as to this, I was told that the garden was not big enough to call upon the *urar*, but if the garden had been a very large one, the *urar* would have been called. Further, it is to be noted that while the deed is often sufficient without the word, the word is never found alone, but always in conjunction with some act. The formula is spoken while washing the taro stalks, or while rubbing the fish-line, or breathing into the lime-pot, or, in love magic, while cutting the stem of a creeper, and so on. Another point of interest is that no great stress appears to be laid upon the exact reproduction of a form of words. Pinari varied his method of calling upon the *urar* at the taro-garden ceremony, as also the names of the *urar* called upon, the essential point being that all should have been good gardeners while they lived. The same thing happened in other connexions, and on making cautious inquiries about these changes, I was informed that they did not matter. On the evidence available, it would seem that the efficiency of the performance does not in all, perhaps not in most, cases depend upon the accompanying form of words. I suggest that the opinion expressed by Malinowski (1926 (2), p. 68) in regard to the Trobrianders, 'the most important element in magic is the spell', which is also accepted by Firth (1929, p. 259) for the Maori, is not applicable to the natives of the NW. Solomons, for whom what is done, not what is said, seems to be the essential thing. In this connexion, it is interesting to note that while, for the Maori, 'the term *karakia*, meaning, strictly, the formula which is uttered, is also used as a generic term for magic', for the natives of North Bougainville, in so far as they use a generic term for magic at all, it is the word *ēto*, which means the 'medicine' that is used, and is never applied to the formula. I think this may be taken as expressive of an actual and fundamental difference between the two conceptions.

789 Malinowski's third essential element in the magical act, the condition of the performer (1922, p. 403), seems again to be of secondary importance among these people. Beyond going out early into the bush to search for the necessary leaves, Pinari underwent no preparation for his role in the taro-washing ceremony, and that none was necessary is clear from the fact that when the ceremony was actually in progress, another man, Sobak, was asked to take a principal part in it. The net-whipping ritual witnessed by me at Petats before a pig hunt was undertaken upon a sudden notion, and no steps were taken by Hulasuat, who played the principal part, to put himself into an appropriate mood or condition. Apart from personal observation, there is the negative evidence that in the course of many discussions concerning magical procedure of all kinds, little stress was laid by my informants on special rules to be observed by the men or women concerned therein. The most noteworthy exception is in the case of bonito magic, where the principal performer must neither eat nor sleep until the rites are over. He must also abstain from sexual intercourse, but this taboo applies also to all those who take part in the bonito fishing.

784 Before leaving the subject of magical procedure, something must be said about taboo. Although the idea underlying taboo among these people has much in common with that familiar to us in the Maori *tapu*, the stress is, I think, rather different. If the primary connotation in Polynesia may be said to be 'sacred' with 'prohibited' as a corollary, it seems to me that among the natives of the NW. Solomons the relative importance of these two concepts is reversed. Two expressions are relevant in this connexion. In one of these the connotation 'sacred' is perhaps implicit, i.e. the word *tsūbun*, which is applied, not to persons, but to places, such, for example, as the retreat of the boys prior to their first puberty ceremony, deep in the recesses of the bush, which it was death to women to see. In describing this my informants said: '*A nōnō tsūbun non.*' 'The *nōnō* (shed in which the boys live) is taboo.' The other expression, much more frequently on their lips, relates to the prohibitions which govern their daily lives. It is applied neither to places nor to persons, but always, so far as my knowledge goes, to actions, such as the eating of certain food by specified persons or groups or at specified times, or the avoidances to be observed between individuals who stand to each other in certain relationships. In referring to taboos of this kind the people say: '*Mom to babūa nom*'—

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'we are forbidden'. Many examples of such taboos are scattered throughout the pages of this book, in their appropriate context. Those who break them incur the risk of certain penalties, usually of a very definite and specific kind. To give two examples chosen at random, if the father of a new-born child fails to observe the taboos on his activities which anthropologists call, collectively, couvade, the child will die; if a small child eats sugar-cane, warts will appear on his skin. Sometimes the breaking of a taboo by an individual is thought to involve the whole village in its consequences. In any case the offender incurs the displeasure of the community, which is a very real punishment, even if it does not (as it may) go so far as to lead to the making of 'poison' against him. The sanctions appear to be chiefly, if not exclusively, social. I never heard that any of these taboos were prescribed by the *urar* nor are there in my collection of myths and legends any purporting to account for them. 784 [626] [681]

While the actual practical effect of the taboos on the natives is to cause them to refrain from certain actions through fear of consequences, the effect of magical procedure in general is the positive one of giving 'moral support'. I am sure, from watching the demeanour of hunters before and after a rite has been performed, that it does, in fact, increase their chances of success by increasing their confidence. The same thing applies to love magic, and to the measures for the treatment of sickness, call them medicine or magic as you will. As a not unimportant side-issue, it may be noted that in the case of public ceremonies such as that performed for the planting of the new taro garden, there is also the advantage that they are festive occasions, eagerly anticipated long beforehand, and enjoyed in retrospect long afterwards, and further, that they tend to foster a feeling of social solidarity in the members of the group. Taking it by and large, all the positive side of magical procedure with its associated ideas seems to work for the good of native society, and it would appear that efforts on the part of the whites to stamp it out cannot but react to the disadvantage of the community. But, on the other hand, there seems no room for doubt that the fear of black magic casts a great shadow over the existence of each and every individual, a shadow from the oppressive influence of which he is never wholly free. His lot would be vastly happier if this could be removed, but so deep-rooted is his belief that I doubt if any measures that could possibly be devised 789

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

789 to this end would have more than the most superficial effect. He knows that the white man does not believe in it, but that is merely due to the white man's blindness, and any attempts to argue to the contrary would be fruitless. On more than one occasion people have said to me: 'The white man thinks it is rubbish, but we know it is true.'

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## XIV

# DEATH AND THE *URAR*

### THE ORIGIN OF DEATH

THE following story concerning the origin of death is current, 761
with minor variations, throughout this area, both in Buka and 773
in North Bougainville.

A man died, leaving a man and a woman behind him. Before he died 539
he said: 'You two wait three days for me.' Then he died. On the third day the man who was left said to his wife: 'You go and catch fish. I will wait for the man who died.' But the woman did not want to go and catch fish; she said: 'No, you go and catch fish, and I will wait for the man.' Her husband said: 'If you do, you must not be afraid of the man who is dead, you must give him some fire. Bring him into the house and give him fire.' So the man went out to fish. Then the man who was dead came up, and called out: 'Bring me fire!' He called again: 'Who is there? Bring me fire!' The woman saw the man, and saw that his eyes were aflame, not like the eyes of men. So she was frightened, and ran away. Then the man said: 'Oh, you have run away. Now, because you ran away, after this you and I will not be able to come back any more after we are dead, we shall go to another place altogether.'

The origin story reported from many parts of Melanesia,[1] of the old woman who changed her skin and became young again, but put on the old one because her grandchild did not recognize her, does not occur in my collection from Buka and North Bougainville. But I heard it in the Kunua mountain district of West-Central Bougainville.

### NATIVE VIEWS AS TO CAUSES OF DEATH

As commonly throughout Melanesia, deaths are usually attributed 761
to black magic; some one has 'made bad medicine' or 'poison'. Every individual goes in apprehension of meeting his end prematurely in this way, especially those who are *tsunaun*, the reason given being that they expect trouble to arise out of jealousy. But it is also recognized that people can, under certain circumstances, 'die nothing', to use an expressive pidgin-English term. The deaths

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[1] Codrington, 1891, p. 260; Ivens, 1927, p. 15; &c.

761 of children and the aged, particularly, are not infrequently attributed to what we might call 'natural causes'. Instances of both kinds came under my personal observation; among them the following are typical.

Maravin, an old man who had been in feeble health for some time, went for a walk one day, in the course of which he felt sick and vomited blood, managed to get back to his house, and shortly afterwards died. His death was explained as due to the fact that he was old, and was not in any way connected with 'poison'.

The death of Nok, a child of about two, was ascribed to a very bad sore. But that of another child, which occurred two days after its birth, was attributed to the fact that the father, a young man of 'advanced' views, had omitted to keep the couvade rules (see p. 159). The death of a child in a neighbouring village was thought by his mother's brother, who lived at Kurtatchi, to have resulted from failure on the part of his mother to look after him properly. The man was angry because he had wanted his nephew to come and stay with him, and permission had been refused by the child's father, supported by his mother, the complainant's sister, to the [578] neglect of the superior claims of her brother. This insult led him to accuse her of deliberate neglect, of which a Melanesian mother is extremely unlikely to be guilty. He was so angry that he would not go to the child's funeral.

The death of Kiwa, a middle-aged man with an unsavoury reputation for his dealings with women, was considered to have been the just punishment brought upon him by 'medicine' made by the husbands of some of the women he had 'stolen'. He had been ill for some time with what appeared to be a mastoid abscess.

Another death occurred under circumstances which elicited an interesting reaction on the part of the natives. A woman from Hanahan, W. Buka, died while on a visit to her sister at Tabut, a village about three miles from Kurtatchi, where she had come in order to be confined in her sister's house. After the village women had treated her according to their methods for twenty-four hours with no result, they sent for me and begged me to give her some 'white man's medicine'. As she was in great agony, I did so, not without misgivings, as the people were not well known to me. Eventually the child was born dead; an exceptionally large child, possibly post-mature. The woman seemed to recover, but died five days later, the symptoms resembling dysentery. Village opinion had it that the death of the child was due to the 'bad 761 medicine' made by a man of Hanahan to whom its mother had refused her favours. He had intended that she should die also, but this had been prevented by my more powerful medicine. He had then renewed his efforts, this time with the desired result. Far from blaming me for the woman's death, which I had feared might be the case, they applauded me for having circumvented the man's evil intentions in the first instance.

## SUICIDE

To commit suicide (*nòg boboriṇ*) is recognized as a death for 762 which magical intervention need not be suspected. Three methods are followed, the individual jumps off a tree or from the edge of a cliff, or hangs himself from the rafters of a hut, or swallows the chewed root of the plant *tʃū* which is also used for stunning fish.[1] [824] No case occurred during my visit, but I was told that not long before my arrival Poa, a middle-aged man, had taken his little son (aged 5 or 6 at the time of my residence) to the edge of the cliff and had only just been pulled back in time to prevent him from throwing himself and the boy over, the reason given being that his wife [593] had been angry and had insulted him. The brother of my next-door neighbour, Sobak, hanged himself for a similar reason. A woman now living at Ruri, the 'sister' (actually mother's sister's daughter) of one of the boys at Kurtatchi, hanged herself because her husband beat her, but was discovered in time to be resuscitated. Another woman, the mother of Matarē, also hanged herself, but 'Krapen and Tchub worked on her and she came back'. Besides these actual instances, which were corroborated by the evidence of other villagers, suicide figures in several of the stories of times past (*wasisio*) in my collection. Some or all of these may well have been authentic, but I have differentiated them from the foregoing because no names were given by which the account could be checked. The reasons given were as follows: because his wife refused him intercourse on the ground that it was too soon after her confinement and would therefore harm the child (see p. 157); because his father would not get him a wife; because some one had stolen his ceremonial currency; because he was angry with another man; because her husband beat her.

These reasons may appear extremely trivial to lead to fatal

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[1] Cf. Fortune (1932), p. 50.

762 consequences, but such impulsive action is well known to occur among the Melanesians, and the examples here given tally with others reported from comparable areas. The question is discussed by Seligman (1929, pp. 192–4). I did not meet with an actual case of 'ceremonial suicide' as described in the passage he quotes from Malinowski (1926 (1), p. 97), but there are in my collection several versions of a legend comparable with the one given in Seligman's paper (p. 193, footnote). A girl, angry with her mother because she played a trick on her and her little sister, by putting stones in the basket which they expected to find filled with taro ready cooked for them, arrays herself and her sister in paint and shell necklaces and aromatic plants as if for a dance, and taking their little dog, they run away. After various adventures she throws first the dog, then her sister, and lastly herself down from a cliff where they fall into the shell of a giant clam, which closes upon them.

The following story, told by a woman from the village of Ruri, appears to refer to such a ceremonial suicide:

> Takip became pregnant. Every one could see that she was pregnant. They accused her. She said she was not pregnant. She lay in her hut; then she cracked some almonds, she peeled a pot full of taro. Several men came to try her. Takip went to the taro garden and stayed there; when they came to look for her she ran away. She climbed a tree, and came down again. She cried, she called out for her mother, her sister, her father, her grandmother. She climbed the tree again, she tried to jump, she got into a hole in the tree and cried and cried and cried. She came out, she went on and went on and went on and went on; she stood up in another tree, and called out to her mother: 'Look at me.' Then she jumped down. Her head was broken. She died. Some men came and found her. They went and called another man: 'Come and look at this woman who has fallen down.' They touched her body, it was all broken. They went back to the village, they all talked, they broke up her house. They wanted to lift her up, but they could not, she was all broken to pieces. Her head was all broken to pieces. She stank. They made a fire, they all got firewood and piled it up round her body, they set it on fire, it was all burnt. Then they cut down all her taro. (This refers to the usual custom of destroying the property of a person who has died.)

000 So much for the facts concerning death which came under my notice. We have now to consider what happens to the dead person, first as to his funerary rites, and second as to his subsequent experi-

ences. Since there seem to be certain local differences, apart from the modifications introduced as a result of white contact, the information collected from Petats and villages on the island of Buka will be presented separately from that obtained from Bougainville.

### INFORMATION CONCERNING DEATH OBTAINED AT PETATS, W. BUKA

### *Funerary Rites*

Before the coming of the white man, the dead were thrown into the sea. Stones were fixed on to the body to make it sink; it was then taken a long way out to sea in a canoe and thrown in. This practice ceased before the coming of the mission; it was said to have been given up because the planters objected to it on the ground that the bodies floated ashore. Bodies were then buried. Before burial they were kept in the house for two nights during which ritual wailing (*tĕp*) went on. The missionaries have taught them to bury as soon as possible for sanitary reasons. Mr. Cropp, of the Methodist Mission, told me that they will, if left to themselves, bury much closer to their habitations than is at all desirable. A boy once died at the Mission during his absence, and he found that they had buried the body within 50 yards of the cookhouse. It is possible that this practice originated in a desire to protect the grave from those who might attempt to carry out the custom called *babanam*, to insult a corpse by trying to dig it up. This must be done within a week of burial. Mr. Cropp told me that about two years earlier (i.e. about 1927) a man of importance had died at Novar, a village on the southern end of the island of Buka. A watch was set over his grave, and after two or three days a man, dressed in leaves, came from the bush uttering weird cries, and began scratching at the grave. The watchers tried to catch him, but his body was greased all over with pigs' fat, and he got away. The children play at *babanam*; they cover one of their number with grass and leaves and two watch hidden somewhere near by, while another comes stealthily up and uncovers the body.

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During my three months' residence at Petats only one death occurred, that of a middle-aged man who had been ill for some time. He had not been an adherent of the Mission, so Mr. Cropp, whose policy it is not to introduce changes till the natives themselves desire them, remained away from the island while the funeral was

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764 in progress. All that took place, therefore, was done on the initiative of the natives themselves, influenced by what they had learned 177 from the mission. It is perhaps worth while to include an account of this funeral, as it represents a transition period in the conflict between the old ways and the new.

### *A Funeral at Petats*

764 Tsirisia died in the night of November 7, 1929. His death was not unexpected, and on one occasion as long ago as October 4, when he had lost consciousness, ritual wailing had actually been started for him. His son and a clansman were with him when he died. Wailing began immediately, and lasted for about an hour, then ceased, to begin again at dawn. It is a most mournful and eerie sound, which those who have once heard it will never forget.

Next morning his son and two neighbours began at once to make the coffin. They utilized an old canoe, by cutting off the two ends, and cutting the middle in half lengthwise. The two halves they nailed to cross-pieces, to give the coffin the necessary width at its upper end, and put in a piece of wood neatly shaped to fit. They said the canoe was used because it was handy, to save labour.[1] After washing it in the sea they lined it with crushed leaves and left it to dry.

Meanwhile the women were wailing inside Tsirisia's house. The widow was sitting at the foot of the body, which had been laid on a sleeping-mat on one of the sitting-platforms inside the house. It was then shaved and washed. The wailing ceased during the process of shaving, but towards the end of it the widow started again and continued alone for a time. During the washing the others joined in again. The body was carefully dried, a black loin-cloth was put round it and fixed with a piece of red cloth, another loin-cloth was laid over it, and a white one on the top. The coffin was brought and placed beside the body, which was lifted into it amid increased wailing. Men and women crowded round and looked in, resting [152] their arms on the edge and all wailing. Tears were dropping freely from their eyes and mucus from their noses. A crowd of children stood just outside, some crying from sheer fright. The widow looked up and waved them away.

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[1] It is possible that this explanation may have been a—perhaps unconscious—rationalization, and that the use of the canoe may bear some reference to the former custom of burying at sea. I did not meet with any other instance of it.

After this had gone on for about a quarter of an hour the coffin lid was put on but not fastened. Then it was carried to the 'men's house' belonging to the hamlet in which the dead man's house stood, and set on the front platform. There was renewed wailing both by men and women. After a few minutes the coffin was lifted again and taken to the 'men's house' at another hamlet. There was more wailing, which lasted till about noon, then all the people went away to eat in their own houses, leaving a man on guard beside the body. He told me that in the olden days there would have been a pig killed at this stage in the proceedings, to be eaten in public, but that had been given up. After about half an hour the widow came back and started wailing; others soon joined her. The women throw their bodies about and work their feet and shoulders in jerks. Some words were occasionally distinguishable amid the howls, chiefly '*Titi*'—the child's word for *tama*, father, used as a term of address. One man whose grief seemed particularly vociferous proved to be the son of the dead man's brother; he would therefore call the dead man 'father'. After this had continued for about half an hour the coffin was taken back to the dead man's house and put on the front verandah, to the accompaniment of more wailing. The lid was taken off and some taro was brought in a coco-nut-leaf basket. I could not see exactly what happened because the people were all pressing round, but I heard some one make what seemed to be a formal speech, and I was told afterwards that the taro was shown to the dead man, his name was called, and the names of some of his clansmen who had died previously (*amat* in the Petats dialect, corresponding to *urar* in the Kurtatchi dialect) were also called, and they were told: 'This man is coming to you, see that you give him some of your taro.'

There were renewed wails and several of the mourners threw themselves across the coffin. One girl continually crying '*Titi*' had to be dragged off the coffin when it was finally taken to the burial ground, but shortly after she was talking and laughing with the other girls of the village. She was not his daughter, but the child of another brother; his own children were not nearly so much in evidence during the mourning.

The grave had been dug previously; I was told that the near kin of the deceased usually dig it, but if they do not wish to do so they may delegate the duty to others who are paid with a loin-cloth or something of equivalent value (about 2*s*. in our money).

764 The coffin was carried to the burial ground by eight men, relatives of the dead man and neighbours, supported on their upraised arms, not on their shoulders. The lid was fastened down with rope at the side of the grave, into which the coffin was lowered with ropes and flexible canes. A few people threw earth into it—they must, I suppose, have seen the missionary do this—the women then went away, and the men finished the filling in, planting cordylines at the head and foot and at the sides, to mark the spot.[1] Then the men, after washing, went to the dead man's house and ate taro and yams. They put a dab of lime on their temples at each side. Anybody may take part in this meal, not only the kinsmen. This concluded the funeral. I was told that in the olden times there would have been a special dance, but this was not done any more.

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574 On December 19, i.e. about six weeks after the death, Tsirisia's son gave a ceremonial meal. This feast, to which I was specially invited, consisted chiefly of ceremonial pudding and taro; the place of pig was taken by tins of meat which they can buy at a store on a neighbouring island. I was given a place of honour on the front verandah of the 'men's house', where the older men were sitting. The younger men were grouped in front of a house opposite. The women were all inside the house in which the man had died. One of the men said grace and all the people said Amen. Then the dishes (made of spathes of areca-palm) of ceremonial pudding were given out. One was handed to me, a large one was sent in to the women, and another to the younger men congregated opposite. One was taken to an old man who was too feeble to attend. We sat round eating and talking for some time, and then one by one the men drifted off, some taking part of the funeral feast with them for consumption at home.

### *Regulations for the relatives*

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178 The widow and the mother of the dead man were obliged to stay near the house until the feast just described, i.e. for about six weeks. This was a modification of the old custom, according to which they would have had to spend this time in seclusion inside it. After the feast they were at liberty to resume their normal activities.

On the present occasion the mother, a very old woman, had her

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[1] This was the reason given, but the use of cordylines would appear to be traditional, since these plants are connected with death, as well as having other ritual significance, in the old belief.

On the present occasion the mother, a very old woman, had her

body smeared with black paint, which was also matted into thick 765
blobs in her hair. The widow showed none of these traditional 302
signs of mourning, contrary to the old custom, which prescribed 178
that the widow must put ashes on her hair and skin and must
have her arms and legs rubbed with the skin of a banana which has
been dipped in a mixture of red ochre and coco-nut oil. This she
had to retain all the time she remained in the house. She may not
eat whatever food was last eaten by her husband previous to his
death. In the olden days, at the end of the period of mourning she
would have become the wife of his brother, but this practice has [587
been given up in deference to the wishes of the missionary, who 797]
encourages, while not enforcing, monogamy. It is now becoming
customary for a widow not to marry again, but if a man loses his
wife he usually takes another.

### *Fate of the soul*

I was told by one of the principal men of the village that in the 775
olden times they thought the spirit (*abiap* in the Petats dialect,
equivalent to the Kurtatchi *abin*, not to *urar* which is represented 768
by *amat*) of the dead man came out of the hole where he was buried
and came back and stayed in his house, so they destroyed the house
and by this means destroyed the *abiap*. The dead man's coco-nut
palms and other property were also destroyed. Now the mission [797]
has taught them to believe that the *abiap* 'goes up on top' and does
not come back.

It is thought that the *abiap* goes about looking for the person who 775
had poisoned him. When it has found him it tells him: 'You
poisoned me, you will die soon.' Soon after the man dies, and the 761
people know it was he who poisoned the other man. This belief 178
appears to be held still, though it is no longer customary, as in the
olden days, to put a piece of bamboo through the wall of the house
and question it as to who was responsible for the death. It was
supposed to move about and thus to indicate the answer. They say
it does not work at Petats any more, but assert that it still acts at
Lontis.

### *Disposal of the dead man's possessions*

In the case of Tsirisia, his pigs had been eaten by his relatives 768
during his illness, at his own request. No further destruction of

768 his property took place, and his widow and children continued to live in the house in which he died.

In other parts of Buka it is still customary to dispose of the dead person's possessions, either by burning or burying, special attention being paid to the section of bamboo which he had used as a pillow. At the village of Tung, on the west coast of Buka, I attended a ceremony the primary object of which was to celebrate the completion of a new 'men's house' at which the opportunity was taken (in accordance with the custom of making the most of any feast that may be happening) to bury the pillow and other belongings of the father of the owner of the 'men's house'. I could not find out when he had died, but one of the younger men remembered seeing him [513] as an old man when he was a child. The pillow (*nuel* in the dialect spoken at Tung, which is very similar to that of Petats) was a length of bamboo about 2 feet long and 4 or 5 inches in diameter. It was placed on the cross-bar of the new 'men's house', wrapped in a very dirty bit of cloth and covered with a woman's hood, with a piece of red cloth hanging in front of it. There it remained till the morning after the conclusion of the ceremony described on p. 389. It would have been buried on the evening of that day, but for the occurrence of a tropical downpour. Early in the morning of the following day, Gonu, the dead man's son, Gonu's wife, and two other women, one of whom stood to him in the relationship called *mataha*, 'sister'—and therefore called the dead man *tama*, 'father'—brought out the pillow, opened out the cloth in which it was wrapped, and put into it some trade beads, an old coat, a dilapidated felt hat (the cherished possession of any native who can acquire one), some much-worn loin-cloths, and some dog's teeth. The pillow itself was cut in half, both halves were wrapped in a new pink loin-cloth, and put into a basket. They then went to the cemetery, inviting me to go with them. A young man who was not, so far as I could ascertain, any relation of the deceased came, too, bringing a yam spade. The dead man's son dug a hole at the head of his father's grave and lined it with a banana leaf. The cloth with its contents, and the pillow in its wrapping, were then laid in the hole, also the woman's hood which had covered it. One of the women, Gonu's *mataha*, set up a loud wailing and turned and walked away. The other women started to weed the grave. When the men had shovelled the earth back with the yam spade, we all returned to the village.

While visiting other villages on Buka I obtained a little information bearing on the subject of death and funerary rites. 768 Under the circumstances, my informants were naturally men with whom I was not well acquainted, and whose reliability I had no opportunity of checking. The details, however, are consistent, and the information, slight though it is, may perhaps be worth giving as corroborative evidence. It is transcribed from the pidgin-English record in my note-books, as the dialect of these villages differs sufficiently from those with which I am acquainted to make it necessary to fall back upon the lingua franca.

### NOTES ON DEATH FROM THE VILLAGE OF LEMANMANU, LONTIS COAST, W. BUKA

When a man dies his relatives must not eat taro for ten days. 765
They may eat bananas, coco-nut, and yams. The women stay in
the house and weep. In the olden days the body of a person of rank 766
was kept for two months in the house, and was then taken out to 565
sea in a canoe and thrown into the sea. They said it was no good [578]
to bury him because some one might come and dig him up.[1]
Commoners could be buried. Sometimes a man was buried in the
house and after a long time his bones were taken up and thrown
into the sea. His pillow and other belongings were burnt on the 768
fire which cooked the pigs for the feast.

### NOTES ON DEATH FROM THE VILLAGE OF HANAHAN, E. BUKA

When a man dies, for ten days his relatives may not eat anything 764
but bananas, yams, and coco-nuts. They must not touch taro, or
pig, or opossum, or fish. At the end of the ten days they may make 765
a fire and burn some taro, pig, fish, and opossum; then they may eat
these things. For a person of rank, the whole village keeps this taboo [565]
for two months. They wash the body, put red ochre mixed with
coco-nut oil on the hair, and outline the forehead with white. In
times past they threw the body into the sea, but now they bury it.
Loin-cloths and other things belonging to the dead man are put in
the coffin. In times past these things were kept in the house until [768
such time as a feast was made, then they were burnt. The relatives 551]
change their names.

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[1] This apparently is a reference to the custom called in the Petats dialect *[illegible]* (see p. 487).

### INFORMATION OBTAINED AT THE VILLAGE OF KURTATCHI, N. BOUGAINVILLE

764 As previously explained, this village is under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Mission, and has a resident mission teacher,
797 a native of another village. He took up residence only a few weeks before my arrival, but teaching had been going on for some time and I found that the funeral arrangements, except for the customary wailing, were conducted entirely according to the ritual of the Roman Catholic Church. The only exception was that Maravin, an old man who had been hostile to the mission, was buried with no ceremony whatever. The native mission teacher would not conduct a Christian service over him because he had not been baptized, and the natives were afraid to perform their own rites for fear of incurring the displeasure of the priest. But the village went in terror of his *urar* for many a day, in consequence of the omission.

764 I did not, therefore, witness the ritual about to be described, but the change was recent enough for a clear memory of what formerly
177 took place to remain in the minds of my informants. Although they appeared to welcome the new teaching, being of the opinion that the practices of the white man were, *ipso facto*, superior to their own, it seemed to me that the change had been one in outward form only, and that they retained their own beliefs concerning death and the future life side by side with as much as they understood of the ideas implanted by the mission teacher, in happy unconsciousness of any incongruity.

764 The following description of the old funerary rites was given me by Matarẽ, my most intelligent and reliable informant. Other men were standing by listening as he talked, and occasionally chimed in to corroborate or to suggest some detail which he had omitted. Accounts received on other occasions tallied with this in all essentials, and it may, I think, be accepted as a reasonably accurate description of ceremonies that will never be performed again.

### *Funerary rites*

[565] When a person of *tsunaun* lineage dies all the people wail. They make a stretcher (*pōpõa*) to carry him on. In the olden days they took the man on the stretcher far out to sea in a canoe and, having tied his feet together with creepers, they fixed stones to the body, threw

it in, and threw the stretcher in after him. Sometimes the stretcher 764 was brought back and kept till it rotted. When the white men came and the natives saw that they buried their dead, they began to do [177] so too. Matarẽ (a man aged probably somewhere round thirty) said the dead were still thrown into the sea when he was fully grown. If a man died without relatives they just put a rope round him, but otherwise his relatives made the stretcher and carried him carefully.

As soon as a person dies a fire is made inside the house in which he died, lime is sprinkled all round it, and the people present 'pretend to fight' the lime (i.e. flip their fingers at it, as shown by [201] gestures). They all put lime on their ears. This is done for commoners as well as for *tsunaun*.

The body of a *tsunaun* is put up under the roof of the house; [565] a rough platform consisting of two planks is made, and the body laid on it. All the people wail. No one is allowed to touch it or to look at it. It remains there five or six days and nights.[1] Pig and taro are provided for the people from other villages who come to wail (the ritual wailing, *wa'ür*). They do not all wail all the time, some keep it up while others go off and eat. The near relatives do not touch this food. The pigs provided belong to the dead man and to his relatives. Other people may help provide pigs if they wish, even if they are not immediately concerned. (Matarẽ said he helped his wife's father, Pinari, when Pinari's brother died, though he was under no obligation to do so.)

The women and girls go to the bush at dead of night (a most unusual proceeding) and fetch coco-nuts and areca-nut and betel-pepper. They take with them axes and knives, but they must not take fire or torches (again a direct departure from ordinary procedure). The men stay in the village. The women come back while it is still dark and put the things they have brought on the verandahs of the dead man's house, some at the front and some at the back.

The women do a special dance which is not used on any other 764 occasion. (This was demonstrated, it was a sort of hop with both 535 feet together, and both hands behind the back.) The conch-shells

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[1] No specific means taken to preserve the body were mentioned, but up on its platform it would be exposed to the smoke of any fire burning in the hut. It was not stated whether the fire previously mentioned was kept burning all the time or not.

764 are sounded and the alit-gong beaten to give the time to the dancers
535 The rhythm goes like this:

[533] ////../../../..////../../../..

The dance is kept up till dawn breaks.[1]

764 During the time when the body is up on the platform, a *kun* (kind
[415 of tray made of *tolas*, a very hard wood, used for cracking almonds upon) is set up in the village, and people shoot at it with bows and
824] arrows, and throw spears, which break on it because the wood is so hard.

Coco-nuts, drinking and dry, and taro and sugar-cane from the gardens belonging to the dead man and his relatives, and other people, too, if they wish, are heaped up at the front verandah of his house. Taro with the stalks still attached is hung up in front of the house, under the eaves. A tall tree is set up in the middle of the heap of coco-nuts, and strings of ceremonial currency (*imun* and *beroan*) belonging to the dead man and his relatives are hung up on it. Some strings are also fastened on his wrists and ankles. These latter can be taken by any one who wishes, if he puts other strings in their places. Those substituted need not be so valuable as those removed. The strings on the tree are afterwards brought back into the house and remain there.

As long as the body remains in the house the widow can eat only one taro a day. She may not chew the ordinary betel-mixture, but can chew two kinds of wild areca-nut, *kiy* and *kawiwi*. All those who touched the man after he was dead may not eat anything,[2] but they may chew the betel-mixture. If this prohibition is not kept the body will stink quickly.

When the time comes for burial the body is carried out by the male relatives. They walk round the heaps of coco-nuts and taro, then they bury him in the graveyard. Axes, knives, spears, and paint are put into the grave with him. In the olden days these were

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[177] [1] This dance was performed on the last occasion of the death of a person of *tsunaun* lineage, but as the dead are now buried by the mission teacher, Matarĕ said it would never be performed again. Both he and his audience were very dramatic in their description of the dance, and seemed to regret it more than any other part of the funerary ritual.

[2] Questioning made it clear that this prohibition was intended to apply to the whole of the time (five or six days) that the body remained in the house, but it would not be literally adhered to; a little taro would be eaten unofficially ('stolen' is the exact translation of the word used) just as in the case of the girl secluded during her first menstruation (see p. 253).

thrown into the sea with the body. But his pillow remains behind 764
in the house; a special feast is made for it at a later time, perhaps
two or three years after, when it is burnt, with spears and other [765]
things, and pig is cooked on the fire. The widow stays in the house while the man is being buried, together with the young girls. The men and the old women of the village go to the graveyard. The widow continues to wail all that day, after the others have ceased. She must not eat till her husband 'is gone out of her sight'.

If the wife was very fond of her husband, she may request that his body be buried in the house. Sometimes the body is kept thus for a time and then the bones are taken up and buried in the graveyard, sometimes it stays in the house where it was first buried.

After the burial, whether in the house or in the graveyard, the 765
front verandah (*tagoan*, the men's side) is closed up with coco-nut leaves, and the bush is left to grow up round it. The man's wives, and his mother if she is alive, stop inside the house, and are looked
after by the other women of the village. They put black paint [302]
(*tʃina*) on their bodies which they must smear all over. They cut their hair short when they first go into seclusion; it is left to grow while they are shut up.

While they remain in the house the women make special belts [294
(*mɔ̄*) (see Pl. 75 and Chap. XI, p. 436) with an intricately woven 565]
pattern of several colours. If the deceased is a person of rank they must make enough belts for every man and woman of the village to wear. This sometimes takes as long as eight or ten months (for a commoner two or three months is enough). The women remain shut up all this time. The bush grows up round the house, so that it is scarcely seen, and the pigs defile the front verandah.

When enough belts have been made, a time is fixed for the women to come out. Then men clear a path to their taro gardens
which have been looked after meanwhile by their friends. They [302]
put on more *tʃina*, but are not allowed to use *oin* (red paint). They put on the belts. The men take spears, and give each woman two arrows (*awag*) set with bones of the flying fox. They come out holding these. They go round to the front of the house and break the fence of coco-nut leaves round the front verandah. This is done in the early morning. They go back to their own side of the house (*babots*), and stay a little while, then they go to the taro garden. They must plant some taro in a special corner of the garden (*woanib*). When they have finished they take off the belts,

765 set up a tree with plenty of branches on it in the middle of the place called *wanib*, and hang up the belts on it.

Some additional details concerning the women's first visit to the taro garden after their seclusion were given me in the course of an account by another informant, an old man, at a later date. The widow plants a taro stalk, another woman takes it out again and lays it on the ground, then another woman plants it again, and this goes on till all the women in the village have had their turn. [778] Then the women stick up a tree in the taro garden and hang ornamental and aromatic leaves on it; the widow, as she hangs each spray, calls out the names of all her relatives who are dead, saying: 'My mother, I put this *nibnib* (ornamental plant) for you', 'My father, I put this *nibnib* for you', and similarly for her brother, her sister, her child, her *waris*, if they are dead.

[565] Then one man who is *tsunaun* makes a fire and calls the names of all the *urar*, who have died before. He puts taro, coco-nuts, and areca-nuts on the fire, the fire burns them up. Then the men start working on the taro garden, clearing away the rubbish, and the women plant.[1] While they are working they must not eat. If they were to do so, the *urar* would fight them and make them mad. They all put lime in front of their ears. They take down the belts from the tree where they have been hanging and put them on again. Then, if the fire has been made and the food burnt, they may eat a little in the *wanib*.

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824
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Then a *ta'un* plant (a species of cordyline) is planted in the *wanib*. Every one goes off and hides just outside the taro garden. The *ta'un* plant stands up on the edge of the taro garden. Then a man who is *tsunaun* calls out the name of the man who has died. The wild spirits of the bush answer the first time, the man
765
775
824
calls out twice more, then the dead man's own spirit (*abin*) comes howling. The *tsunaun* calls out: 'You come, let us go to the village, all the people have gone.' They all look at the *ta'un*; if it bends over, the man's spirit (*abin*) is sitting on it.[2] If it does not bend, the

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[1] As explained in Chapter I, taro can be planted at any time of the year.

[2] [763
824]
Compare with this the procedure employed to know whether a man gravely ill will die or will recover. 'Take the root of the plant *markōt* and give some to the sick man to eat. Take also a small branch of the same plant and hold it upright near him. If he is to die his *abin* will come and sit on top of the branch and it will bend over, if he will live it will stay straight.' This procedure was taught to Tchiriv by the *urar* at a time when he was *iburar*. They also taught it to another man who is now dead.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

PLATE 75

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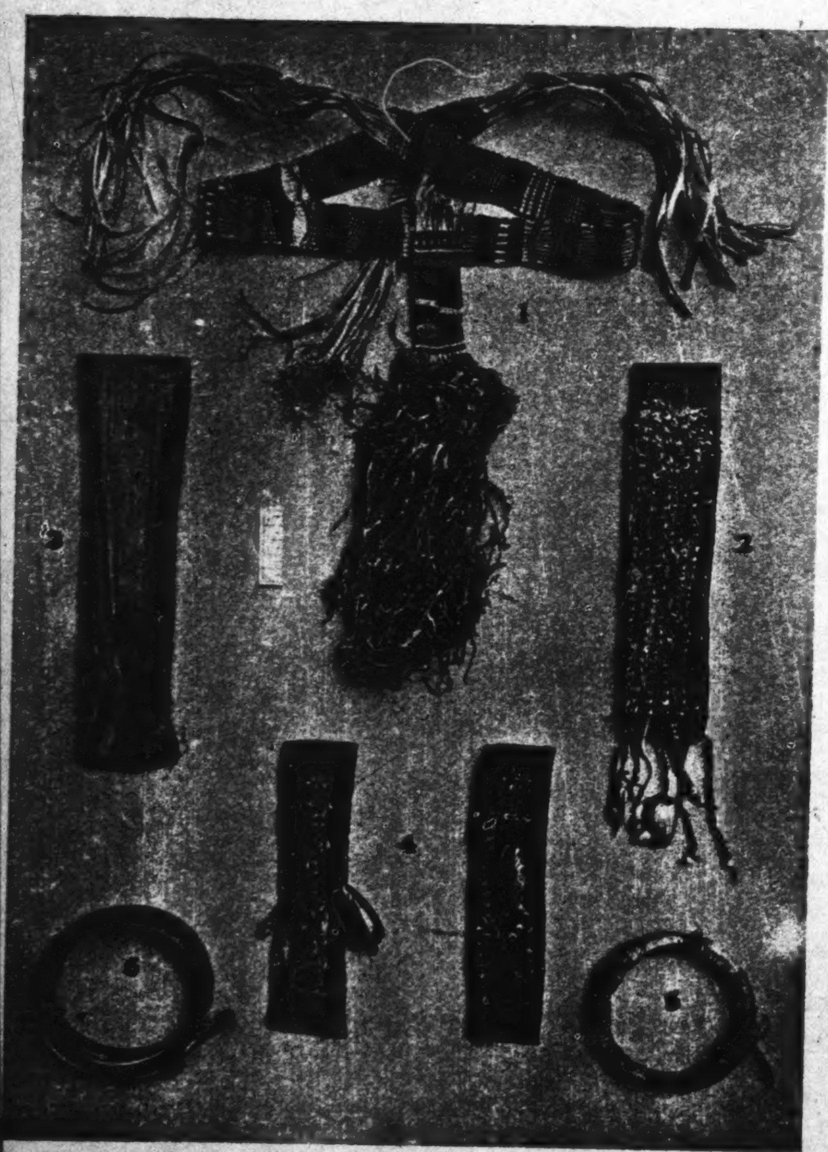
881



CEREMONIAL WEAR

1. Mourning belt. 2, 4. Front of widow's belt. 3. Cover for storing these. 5, 6. Cane belts for girl at puberty ceremony (rolled up for storing).

[Facing
p. 498]

765 man's spirit is ashamed. In that case the *ta'un* plant is pulled up
775 and thrown away. But if it bends it is taken up and put on to a
man's shoulders. If it is a woman who has died her hood is put
824 on the top of the plant, on the man's shoulders. It is felt by the man carrying it to be heavy. When he gets tired he calls out and another man takes it from him. Perhaps it will suddenly cease to be heavy. This means that the spirit has gone to relieve himself. Then the man carrying it stands still and waits till he feels it to be heavy again, then he calls out and they all go on again.

When they get back to the village they all go into their own houses and fasten the doors and remain silent. The man carrying the *ta'un* goes straight to the front of the dead person's house and enters it and plants the *ta'un* inside the house. Then the dead person's spirit stays inside the house.

765 From this time until the ceremony for the removal of the belts,
515 all the people of the village must refrain from washing themselves,
302 from cutting their hair, and from the use of red paint on their heads and bodies. This applies to children as well as to adults.

765 On the following day, all the men and women who wear the belts go and wash their legs in the sea. They take a tree with many branches and set it up on the shore, fixing it in the sand. Then the women go and search for shell-fish on the reef, wailing the wail for the dead the while. They must catch a large quantity of shell-fish. The men sit down on the beach, or they may, if they like, go and catch fish with nets.

When enough shell-fish have been collected they make a fire on the beach, and make it flare up. They call upon the *urar*, and say: '*Tamu sen en ia, so bai'i gag, ner wopots no inta tamu.*' ('Here is your taro, eat it, then the children can drink, and will grow strong because of the taro.') Then some taro is put on the fire. They all take their lime-pots with lime in them, and walk round the fire holding them in their hands, then they tap on the lime-pots, take out some lime; and put it in their ears. The belts are now taken down from the branches of the tree and put on again. The shell-fish are put into baskets and the women take them back to the village and cook them. The women eat the shell-fish at the back
[264] verandah. If the men have caught any fish they cook it for themselves at the front verandah. If they have plenty they send some to the women, if they have none the women send them some shell-fish.

765 The period of seclusion for the women is now finished, they may go to the taro garden, go fishing, and take up their ordinary life. The belts are still worn. If it rains they are taken off and covered up: it would be a very bad thing for the rain to wash the dirt off them.

765 When it is time to remove the belts a big feast is made. This is
574 called *wakuruts mɔ̄*. The time is fixed by the person who is now
*tsunaun*, and depends very largely upon the quantity of food
527 available. People come from all the villages round, even for a long distance, all the people who came to wail at the funeral. If they wish they may bring pig and taro to help the dead person's relatives, who go some distance to meet the visitors and bring in the pigs. The feast lasts for one day only. The next day the belts are taken off, a big basket (*bōna*, the kind used by the women in collecting shell-fish) is filled with them. All the people must take off their belts at the same time. The belts are washed before they are put into the basket. Leaves of a variegated plant called *ɔ̄ts* are fixed to the basket and it is fastened up with them. Stones are then piled into the basket and it is thrown away into the sea. (But after the practice of interment at sea was given up and burial in the ground took its place, the basket of belts was burnt instead.)

765 Then all the people cut their hair and put red paint on their hair
and round their eyes. They clean up the village, and sound the
302 slit-gong. The taboo is finished. The widow is now free to marry again.[1]

### *House-burial*

766 An instance of the burial of a body in the dwelling-house came under my personal observation at Kurtatchi.[2] Krapen, husband of Wakos, had died some time before my arrival—the exact interval I could not ascertain, but I think it was probably less than a year. His wife, who was very much attached to him, desired that he should be buried in the house, and this was done. At the time of my arrival, the huts of the old village of Gomen were all being

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[1] It is exceedingly difficult to obtain from these people even an approximate estimate of time, but the whole period of mourning appears to have occupied at least as much as a year.

[2] At the time of my residence at Petats I was unaware of this custom. I subsequently inquired whether it was ever done there, and was informed that in the past babies used sometimes to be buried inside the house; I could not learn of any cases of adults being so disposed of.

moved to join the neighbouring village of Kurtatchi, as explained 766 in Chapter I. Wako's house was left in its old position; they said it could not be moved because Krapen's body was buried under it, and if the site was left uncovered some one would 'shoot' it, and his spirit would be angry. A new house was therefore built for Wakos at Kurtatchi. Krapen's pillow was also preserved in the 765 house. All his pigs but one had been eaten at his funeral, the remaining one was to be cooked when his bones were taken up and buried in the graveyard. They said this would be done at some future time, to be decided by the deceased's mother's brother. But on my returning after a few day's absence at Petats for the purpose of removing my belongings to Kurtatchi, I found that the reburial had taken place in the interval. As I had been with these people for a very short time, it is not unlikely that they took advantage of my absence to carry out this delicate operation unembarrassed by the presence of a stranger, though they were tactful enough to explain to me that it had been decided upon hastily to facilitate the rebuilding of the village in its new position! His pillow was stored carefully away in the house after its removal to Kurtatchi, and still remained there at the time of my departure nine months later. Three other pillows were also awaiting disposal. They had to remain where they were for a long time; finally [574 a great feast was to be held for all of them at once, after which 527] they would be burnt. The last remaining one of Krapen's pigs had been kept for this feast, to be cooked at the fire on which his pillow was burnt.

### *Further details concerning funerary rites*

The information presented in the following paragraphs was collected 764 at various times from different informants in the course of discussion and converation. Since the utmost care has always to be exercised in asking questions, the fact that the old customs have been given up, and that I had in consequence no opportunity of discussing them apropos of an actual funeral, must have resulted in the omission of many important details, and also made very difficult any attempt to ascertain what significance was attached by the natives to the different portions of the funerary ritual.

The body, when buried, seems always to have been placed in the extended position. No special orientation seems to have been given to the grave, for in all the graveyards I visited no attempt

764 had been made at uniformity of arrangement, each grave seemed to have been dug at the choice of the persons digging. All were very much neglected and overgrown, but the new cemeteries which are now to be found in connexion with most villages where there is a resident mission teacher are kept tidy under his supervision. Graves in these new cemeteries are marked with roughly carved wooden crosses. Graves in the pagan graveyards were marked with cordyline plants, or, most often, not marked at all, though the relatives knew where they were and pointed them out to me. They [152] did not mind going there in daylight, but only very special circumstances would induce them to go after dark.

No distinction was made in the graves of women and children, and no special portion of the graveyard was assigned to them. [766] Children who die at birth or very shortly after are still buried in the house; for them there is no wailing. Otherwise, children are wailed for and buried in just the same manner as adults. Wailing is not confined to the village in which the person died. One evening the sound arose from a house near my own. Knowing of no death in the village, I made inquiries and was told that news had just been received of the death of Kiots, the sister of Marotē's mother, at Ieta. The wailing went on for a short time only, but next evening it was repeated; the reason then given was 'because Marotē and Pesē are sorry again about their "mother!".'

[762] Persons who die by suicide are, if their bodies can be recovered, wailed for and buried just like any other dead, and I did not learn that any special treatment was thought to be meted out to them in the after-world. Unfortunately, I omitted to ascertain what was thought to be the fate of persons whose bodies were not available for funerary rites.

## CANNIBALISM

266 766 In the olden days, under certain circumstances, the bodies of the dead were eaten. The bones of such victims were afterwards buried without ceremony, with the exception of the jaw, which was cleaned and hung up in the 'men's house'.[1] There seemed to be no fear of the *urar* of such people returning to plague those who had eaten them.

266 721 Like many, probably most, of the groups who practise, or used

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[1] The jaws of pigs eaten on ceremonial occasions are now substituted for human jaws.

to practise, cannibalism, these people never ate human flesh merely 266
to appease hunger, or as a relish to taro, as other flesh food is eaten. 721
There must always be some sanction behind the consumption of
man. With these natives, it was done as an insult or as a punish- [681
ment, or as a necessary adjunct to certain ceremonies, and the usual 727]
victims were enemies taken in war. The distinction is perhaps a subtle one, since those who have eaten human flesh freely admit that they enjoyed it, and although raids seem to have taken place for a variety of reasons, it seems not unlikely that some excuse might readily be found for undertaking one when the desire for a taste of human flesh became strong. It will be remembered that the staple diet of these folk is vegetarian, and that, at the present time, their greatest luxury in the way of food is pigmeat.

One raid was certain to be reciprocated by another, and thus was 728
started a chain of retaliatory raids, first by one side and then by the
other, till one or other party tired of it and offered ceremonial 721
currency to compound the feud. They would then say to the other party: 'All right, let us finish now, let us be good friends now. We will come down to see you, and you will come up on top (i.e. into the mountains) to our place.' It will be noted that it is the mountain people who are represented as being the side to ask for a cessation of hostilities, the account coming from the people of a coastal village.

Pinari, *tsunaun* of Kurtatchi, told me the following details of a 726
raid in which he had taken part. He could give me no idea how long ago it was.

> The people of Gogoiv (a village on Buka) killed two men, Waripa, a [565]
> *tsunaun*, and another man who was a commoner, while they were shooting fish from a canoe. Both men belonged to Tiop. The rest of the people were away at one of the *upi* ceremonies. The people of Tiop
> asked us to help avenge them. A *tsunaun* from Tabut came with me,
> and we went and raided Gogoiv and killed a man, and took him in a [264]
> canoe to Tiop, and we all ate him there in revenge for Waripa.

An account of the cooking of a prisoner was given me by an old 727
man at Saposa who had himself taken part in such affairs. 266

> People used to go out to fight, they would come to a village, they fight, they set fire to the village at night. They see a fine man, they kill him, they take him home and hang him up to a tree. They put paint on him and ornamental plants, they comb his hair. He stinks, but that does not matter, they eat him just the same, the fire makes him good. He stays

727 hanging to the tree for four days and four nights. Then they take him
down, and slit up his belly, and wash it, and take out the entrails. They
266 singe his skin, and scrape it, just as if he were a pig. His skin is white
underneath. They bury the head, and later on they take it up again and
take off the jaw and hang it up in the house. The body they cut into
slices, just as we cut up pigs, first they cut it off at the ankles, then at
the knees, then at the fork. They cook the pieces in an oven and eat
them with taro. This way of cooking a man is called *gohen*.

Some additional details concerning the treatment of a man brought home alive were told by a young Petats man, who got them from his father. He told them with evident enjoyment, and appeared to regret that this sort of thing did not happen any more.

In times before, all the people used to fight. We always won all our fights. They used to eat plenty of men. If a man was taken alive they used to hang him up on a tree and cut pieces off his arm, and his leg, and his shoulder. He would cry out and say: 'Do not cut me, let me go home.' They would say: 'You are not at home now, you are in our place, now we shall eat you.' They did not eat him because they were hungry, but because he was their enemy.'

266 It appeared that the teller's father had not himself eaten human
flesh, but had been the son of a great warrior, and, as a small boy,
had witnessed the procedure he described. Children were never
[858 allowed to partake of it; if they did it was thought that they would
562] become dumb. Women did not usually eat it; the reason given
was 'because they were frightened'.

266 Two occasions on which human flesh was eaten as part of a
565 ceremony are known to me. One is that marking the elevation to
766 the rank of *tsunaun* of a man renowned in war (described on p. 47)
and the other, the burial of the head of an enemy who had been
614 eaten at the stone structure at Tiop, following the birth of a child
to a woman 'belonging to the lineage of the stones' (described on
p. 537). There are probably others, which did not come under my
notice.

266 Under certain prescribed circumstances the flesh of their own
681 people was eaten. This was in all cases done as a punishment for
having broken a strong taboo. The instances known to me are as
follows:

266 In case of adultery between relatives who stand to each other in the
689 relation of *watsitsio* (see p. 68). Present punishment—banishment
of both from the village.

If a boy wearing the *upi* enters a hut in which a woman lives. Present punishment, some one will 'make poison' so that he will die, and no one will know who did it. 266 689

If a woman sees the *amro* carrying food to the novices during their seclusion in the bush prior to the first puberty ceremony (see p. 201). Present punishment, all the *amro* and all the *kwigin* have sexual intercourse with her. 266 688

Cannibalism is now prohibited under the jurisdiction of the white man, and no longer takes place, even in secret, I believe, among the coastal people. How long it is since the last person was eaten it was impossible to ascertain; most of the older men in the village of Kurtatchi confessed—or perhaps I should say boasted—that they had eaten man, with what truth I cannot say. None of the younger or middle-aged men claimed to have done so. I was told that the practice is still carried on by the people of the mountainous interior of Bougainville, and as these have not yet, in some areas, come under white supervision, it may well be that this is the case. 266 177

### THE PLACE OF THE *URAR*

This account of the after-world was obtained from Sobak, an elderly man. The details have all been subsequently corroborated in accounts given by other individuals, or in the course of discussions arising out of certain myths and stories. 775

The place where people go when they die is ruled over by two brothers, named Tosisiup and Magor. Tosisiup is big, Magor is little. The home of both is the volcano called Tupa'i.[1] Tosisiup lives at the top. When he likes he makes fire come out of it. Magor lives under it. When he turns himself there is an earthquake. [823] Tosisiup tells him to stop making the ground shake, because he is sorry for all the people who fall down.

All the people who die go to the volcano. When a man is going to die, fire comes up out of it. Magor prepares food for him and puts fire in the food. He cooks taro to give to the man who dies. The man goes and sits down in front of Tosisiup. Magor asks him: 'What are you doing?' 'I am dead. Somebody has made poison for me.' Tosisiup says: 'Don't you know who it was? I

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[1] This is the active volcano in the northern half of Bougainville, which appears on the map as Balbi. It is not the same as the volcano which figures in the beliefs of the Buin of South Bougainville, called Bareka or Bagano (cf. Wheeler, 1914, p. 103, &c.). [133]

775 know the man who made poison for you; when he comes here I will put him in the fire; I will go and look for him.' So Tosisiup lies in wait for the man who caused the death.

The dead man is taken by Magor and told to climb up an areca-palm. While he is up in the tree Magor cuts a hole in his buttocks and fastens a tail on to him, a long tail, just like a dog's. Then he takes a spear and pierces the man's eyes, presently they become just like fire. Then gradually, as his body decays, he becomes an *urar*. The change is not complete until his bones stink. After this he lives in the place belonging to Magor.

Everybody, when he dies, becomes an *urar*. When pigs and dogs[1] and fowls die, they also go to the place of Tosisiup and Magor. But they cannot talk, they just stay there.

One of the young men made a drawing to explain to me what the dead person looked like while he was undergoing the change into an *urar* (Fig. 29). He explained that the one on the right had only recently died and his body had not yet decayed. The claw-like things he said were the man's 'water' that had come down (possibly this may refer to the fluids exuded during decomposition). [764] The fourth, which is drawn as though sitting on the head of the third, is wearing the cocks' feathers with which the head of a dead person is sometimes adorned before burial.

### *Information obtained on the island of Tiop, NE. Bougainville*

During a brief visit to the island of Tiop, at the extreme north-eastern corner of Bougainville, I obtained a little information from one of the old men, which is subjoined for the sake both of its similarities and of its differences.

The place of all the *orar* (= Kurtatchi *urar*) is called Tatau'ora. When a man dies he goes to it. It is near Mapiri, past Arigua (two places farther down the east coast). It is inside the thick bush, at a place where there is a hole where there is white paint (*kerewo*). The name of the hole is Namakerewo. When a man dies he goes first to Namakerewo and is painted with white paint. The men of Namakerewo go and catch some fish (*biri*) that are black, and have a strong smell. They put them in a pot and cook them, and take

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[231
766]
[1] These are the only domestic animals known to the natives. Wild animals and birds were not mentioned in this connexion. When a favourite dog dies it is buried with loin-cloths and a feast is made for it. I knew of a dog, killed by a wild pig, for which this was done. But pigs are always eaten; even when they die of disease!

the water they were cooked in and wash the man all over. Then 775
they put out his eyes with a stick. The dead man climbs a tree,
and jumps off it into the sea, then he goes back to the place where 775
he died. The people cannot see him, he can call out for food, that's 765
all. They put some food for him into the fire. He stops for some
time, rather a long time. All the time he stays his relatives must

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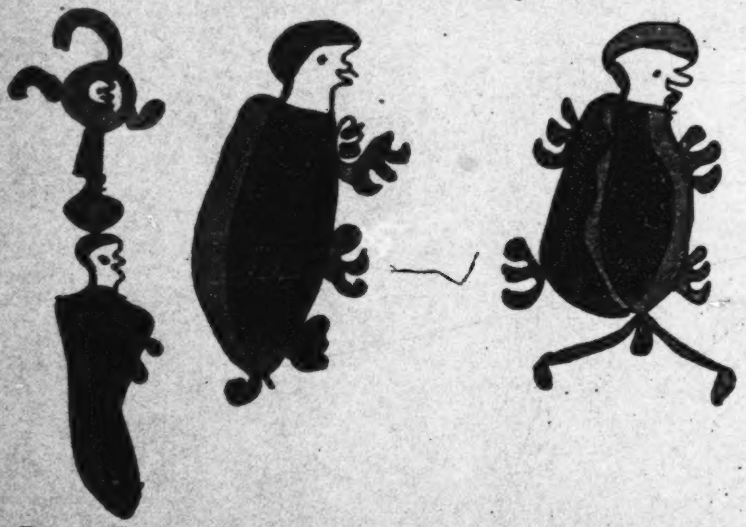

FIG. 29. Young man's drawing representing men who are dead and have become *urar*. Their legs have rotted away. The claw-like objects represent their 'water that has come down'. The one on the right has not long been dead and his body has not decayed yet.

not wash themselves, they must not eat taro, they must not eat the 775
last food he ate before he died, if he was smoking just before he 765
died they must not smoke. His wife must stop inside the house, she must not work. She makes belts for everybody, enough for all to wear.

All the women put on these belts and do a dance. The near 765
relatives of the dead man wail. They go to the place where the man is buried and make a fire on the top of his grave; they bring fish and taro and put them in the fire. Some lime is put in also; then they march round the fire. They all put lime in their ears. After this they may wash, and eat taro, all except the mother and father and wife of the dead man, they must keep the taboos strictly for a long time yet, they must not comb their hair nor clean their

765 bodies. After about three or four months more they make a feast and invite all the people from every village. They play the Panpipes. After that they can comb their hair and make their skin [775] clean, all the taboos are finished. The man's spirit does not stop in the place any more, it goes to Tatau'ora and stays there, and the people do not think about him any more.

### *Characteristics and powers of the* urar

(These details were obtained from various informants at different times, all of them more than once.)

775 The *urar* are usually invisible to men, but they can make themselves visible when they like. They can also talk to men, but for [823] this they need lime. If they have no lime they cannot talk. They can talk without being visible. They can also whistle, and they have a cry like that of a bird, which is heard in the bush at night. They can transform themselves into various animals and birds, or take the shapes of trees, stones, and other natural objects.[1] When thus disguised they are visible to men in their assumed forms, but they have no power of speech.

Men sometimes meet and talk with *urar* thinking they are human beings, but suddenly recognize them for what they are 'because their eyes are light'. Animals sense the presence of *urar* when they are invisible to men. If they go near a village 'the fowls cry out, the pigs cry out, the dogs cry out'.

The *urar* are represented as eating excrement. Some like to eat human beings, and will trick them into getting lost in the bush or otherwise catch them alone, and take them to their own place and eat them.

Otherwise, they are thought to live much the same kind of lives in the place of the *urar* as they did when they were alive. They retain their individual characteristics of sex and age, they eat, sleep, practise sexual intercourse (with humans also, according to the stories), and hold feasts and dances. Living persons who penetrate into their abode are discovered by their smell, and are either made captive and eaten, or, if befriended by some of the *urar*, are hidden from the rest and sent home until such time as they die. A number of stories in my collection deal with episodes of this kind, and though these *wasinio* are supposed to deal with the past, such incidents were also said to occur in the present, and are taken literally 775 by all.[1] The following are given as typical.

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[1] This matter is discussed in detail in Chapter XV, pp. 522-31.

### *A Child visits the* Urar[2]

(There was) a little child, his mother died. The child was very small, 775 he could just walk. The men went to bury his mother, the child stayed 539 behind. Then he followed the men who were carrying his mother. He went, he went, he went, he went, he came to the place belonging to the *urar*. He stopped at the edge of the water, he sat down. He saw a stretch of sand, it was quite clear. He made a hole in the sand, big enough for himself. He went inside, he hid in the hole. He took some leaves, the leaves of the wild banana that grows in the bush, and covered up his head in the hole. But he did not cover up his eyes.

Then he looked, and saw a line of *urar* coming. First there were all the little *urar*. They washed in the water, they went back. Then came a line of *urar* who were a little bigger, they washed in the water, they went back. The child did not see his mother among them. Then came a line of young women, their breasts were firm. They washed, they went back. Then there came another line, each of them carried one child. They were finished, then came a line carrying two children. They came and washed, they went back. Then came the line to which belonged the mother of the little child. The child recognized his mother in the line. He wanted his mother to leave the line. They went back, his mother was behind them. Her eyes could not see very well yet. (The teller here explained that this was because she had not been dead long, her eyes had not finished changing into the eyes of an *urar*.) She came on, the child ran and took hold of his mother's hand. His mother asked him: 'What have you come for?' 'Oh, I am so sad about you, mamma.' 'No, you go back now, you go and die, then you will be the same as I am.' The child begged: 'It would be much better if I came with you.' The mother said: 'If you come with me now, what will you eat?' 'I will eat the same food as you eat.' 'No, you can't eat the same food as I eat, the food here is another kind of food.' The child begged and begged: 'I don't mind if the food is no good.' The mother said: 'All of us here eat faeces.'

They both went now, to the place belonging to the *urar*. The child went with his mother. His mother did not show him to all the *urar*, she hid him well. They went, they stayed in the house. Night came. A line of *urar* went off to wash, another line of little ones went to sleep. All their bones went cr-r-r-r-rack. The child asked: 'Mamma, what is that

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[1] These beliefs may perhaps have some connexion with the occurrence of dreams such as those discussed in Chapter XVI, pp. 553 ff.

[2] This story appears in my paper in *Folk-lore*, March 1932. I am indebted to the Editor for permission to reprint it.

775 noise?' His mother was angry. She said: 'Oh, you mustn't ask that, that is the way we do in this place, you can't do it.' Another line of *urar*, a
539 little bigger, came, they lay down, their bones went cr-r-r-r-r-rack. Another line lay down, their bones went cr-r-r-r-r-rack. The child's mother wanted to go to sleep, the child lay down and put his head in her lap. The mother tried to send the child to sleep first. The child slept. The mother went to sleep, her skin came off, the child was lying against her bones. The child was cold in the night, he thought the light in his mother's eye was fire. He seized hold of his mother's eye. His mother said: 'What are you doing to my eye?' 'I thought it was a fire.' 'This place has no fire.' Then the mother said: 'To-morrow I shall take you home.'

Dawn broke. The mother hid the child. The people of the (real) village went to work, there was no one left in the village. The child's mother watched the people go, she hid. When they had all gone she brought the child to the village. The child ate some taro. He said: 'Why don't you eat some taro?' 'I am not the same as I was before, I am different now.' Then the mother went back. The child cried. 'Oh, let me come with you.' His mother said: 'No, you can't come with me You must die first, you go back now. You can't come now because you are still alive.' Then his mother went away. The child sat down in the house and cried: 'Oh! Oh! my mother has gone away.' His mother went back to the place of all the *urar*, the next day the child died.

### *A Woman is turned into an* Urar

A woman was angry. She fought with her mother. She was angry with her mother because she wanted to get a husband; her mother did not get one for her. The woman took some beads and fastened them round her legs, and round her arms. She went to the beach. She went across a big piece of water. She got a stone, she called the stone her child. She went and found another stone, she threw away the stone she found first, and carried the other stone. She came to another piece of water. Some men came and found her. They asked her: 'Where are you going?' 'I am going for a walk.' She went on again and came to another line of men, they asked her: 'Where are you going?' She answered them the same way, 'I am going for a walk.' All the young men came behind, they came and found her, they deceived her: 'We are all real men, you come with us.' She smelt them all, they smelt just like dead men. They pulled her, they went to the place where the fire smokes, on top of the mountain belonging to the *urar*. They made her sit down among some plants, they brought spears, they wanted to shoot the woman. She heard them and ran away back to her own place.

All the *urar* looked for her everywhere, the woman had gone away.

Then all the *urar* cried. Night came. The *urar* who had caught her in 775
the day came and pulled her back. They made her lie down. They put 539
a hood over her, she was cold. She got up. She thought that the eyes of the *urar* were fire. She wanted to get some fire, she took the eyes of the *urar*. One *urar* got up very angry: 'Who has taken my eyes?' The woman said: 'I did, I am cold.' The *urar* said to the woman: 'These men are not fire, it is no good for you to take them.'

Then they all prepared food, they put paint on the woman, two kinds of paint on her head, red and black, and cock's feathers. All the *urar* made a *kōma*, they played the pipes, they all looked at her, they were glad about the woman. Some of the *urar* asked: 'Where did you get this woman you have brought?' They all played the pipes, they made the woman *kōma* with them, they hid her again in the house, they went and fetched taro stalks.

Dawn broke; then they made her sit down among the taro stalks, then they pierced her eyes, they changed her eyes entirely. Then they brought her to Tosisiup, the chief of them all. He asked her: 'What are you doing?' The woman said: 'I hid, and three of your men liked me, and they brought me here.' He asked her: 'What are the names of these three men?' 'No, I don't know their names.' Then the three men came up. They said: 'We brought her, she was angry.' Tosisiup said: 'All right, you send her along with me.' Then he took her away and cut her buttocks, he put a tail on her buttocks, then she became an *urar*.

## *Discussion*

Since the funerary rites are somewhat complicated, a synopsis 764
of the most important parts of them is given below in tabular form
emphasizing the differences between the ceremonies as performed 565
for *tsunaun*, and those for commoners.

| *Tsunaun* | *Commoners* |
|---|---|
| *At death.* | *At death.* |
| Wailing by the whole village. Fire lighted in house and lime burnt. Body kept in house on planks under the roof for 5 or 6 days. Wailing kept up all this time, with the help of people from other villages, for whom pigs, &c., are provided. | Wailing by relatives only. Fire lighted and lime burnt. Kept in house for a day or two only, not placed under the roof. Only friends and relatives from other villages attend, if they wish. |
| Special dance by women at night. | No dance. |

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

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| *Tsunaun* | *Commoners* |
|---|---|
| *On 6th or 7th day.* | *After short interval.* |
| Body taken out to sea, weighted with stones and thrown in. (Burial substituted later.) | Might be thrown into sea, but was usually buried. |
| Seclusion of widow for 8 or 10 months. Belts made for all the people of the village. | Seclusion of widow for 2 or 3 months. Belts made for relatives only. |
| *At end of period of seclusion.* | *At end of period of seclusion.* |
| Ceremonial visit of widow to taro garden. Procession to house with spirit of dead man sitting on cordyline plant. Spirit remains in house. Certain restrictions on all the people of the village. | As for people of rank, but restrictions apply to relatives only. |
| *Next day.* | *Next day.* |
| Ceremonial visit to shore. End of seclusion for widow. | Ceremonial visit to shore. End of seclusion for widow. |
| *Some time later* (unspecified). | *Later.* |
| Final feast, removal of belts. Taboos finish. | Final feast, removal of belts. Taboos finish. |
| *Some years later.* | *Some years later.* |
| Burial of pillow, with important feast. | Burial of pillow, with feast. |

It does not seem to have been the custom at any time to reserve sea-burial for persons of *tsunaun* lineage exclusively. It might also be accorded to commoners, who, however, seem to have been more usually buried in the ground. As far as I could learn, the choice rested with the relatives, sea-burial being regarded as the better method. My informants could give no reason for this; possibly one might suggest that, since digging a shallow hole (such as serves for a grave nowadays) is less trouble than paddling a canoe a long way out to sea, the choice in the case of a commoner depended upon the amount of trouble the relatives were prepared to take over the matter.

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The difference between the treatment accorded to *tsunaun* and to commoners is one of degree rather than of kind. Shorter and simpler mourning, fewer mourners, less food, distinguish the

funeral of a commoner. In essentials the two are identical. Con- 764
sistently with this, I have no evidence that there is considered to
be any difference in the treatment of the two classes in the after- 565
world. Magor and Tosisiup are looked upon as the rulers of the 775
land of the dead, but they are not connected in any way with
the *tsunaun* of actual life, and among the *urar* under their jurisdic-
tion there appears to be no distinction of persons.

Again, no stress seems to be laid on a distinction between the 761
good and the bad, as regards either the character of their lives or
the form of their deaths. I found nothing resembling the 'good' 177
and 'bad' deaths which are reported from other areas. (Cf. Moss,
1925, p. 123, &c.) The only evidence of anything in the nature of
an 'ethical' distinction is the remark attributed to Tosisiup that he
would 'put in the fire' the men who made poison causing another
man to die. The possibility of mission influence cannot be entirely
excluded here, for though my informant was one of the older men,
he was accustomed to attend the mission teacher's services, and
the doctrine of punishment by fire seemed to make a special appeal
to the natives, including the teacher concerned.[1]

The first part of the funerary rites seems to be directed towards 764
keeping in touch with the spirit, the second part, from the time of
the removal of the belts onwards, towards getting rid of it. The retention of the body as long as possible, the wearing of the belts, which must not have the dirt washed off them, the bringing home of the cordyline plant on which the spirit is supposed to be sitting, all point in the one direction. The removal and destruction of the belts, the lifting of all the taboos, and the fact that the widow is then free to marry again, all point in the other. There would appear to be some connexion between this difference in behaviour and the belief that the dead man takes some time to undergo the change into an *urar*. There seem to be some grounds for the suggestion that the solicitude of his relatives for him during this period may be intended to ease the transition. For example, he is provided with the food to which he is accustomed, because he has not yet learnt to eat the food of the *urar*.

Throughout the description of the funerary rites, the spirit of 775
the dead person is never referred to as *urar*, but always as *abin*, a

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[1] One of the women, who was my especial friend, was always urging me to come to the services, on the ground that, if I did not, when I died I would be 'put in the big fire'.

775 word which is also used for a person's shadow, his reflection in water or in a mirror, and for that part of him which leaves his body while he sleeps (cf. p. 546). The distinction is clearly seen in a sentence from a story in my collection. A child is scalded and dies, whereupon *urar poa to wa͡ruyon abin i bai’i to biom*, ‘an *urar* heard the child's spirit crying’. Once the change is complete, he can fend for himself, and from being the object of sorrowful remembrance, he becomes, as an *urar*, both powerful and terrible. As regards the retention of his pillow for a much longer period, may it, perhaps, be due to a desire to make quite sure that he has really fully completed the change before the last link with him as a living person is removed from the house? I could not obtain from the natives any explanation of their treatment of the pillow, so that this is mere theorizing.[1]

764 It is clear that the rapid decay of the body is considered to be undesirable. The reason why those who touch it must refrain from
775 food is that if they eat the body will ‘stink quickly’. The reason given for piercing the nasal septum is that if this is done, when the person dies the worms will go through this hole instead of eating the body. It might be argued either that the preservation is desired for the purpose of keeping the dead in touch with the living,[2] or to ease his transformation into an *urar* by slowing it up, or, as my informants (possibly by a process of rationalization) appeared to think, to lessen the discomfort of the living, who had to watch by the body for the specified period in any case.

As regards the weapons, paint, and other things thrown into the sea with the body, or buried in its grave, I can offer no evidence either for or against the theory that they are intended for the dead man's use. It is true that the *urar* are represented as possessing and using such things, but no reference was made by any of my informants to a belief that the dead man was well or poorly provided for in the place of the *urar* according to the richness or otherwise of the property destroyed at his funeral. At Petats they definitely said that the man's house was destroyed so that his spirit should not return to it, which seems to be opposed to the beliefs and practices current on Bougainville. In the case of a *tsunaun* the

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[1] The dead may, however, become *urar* with full powers before the disposal of the pillow takes place, because the pillow belonging to Pinari's mother, Buntagori, whom he named at the taro-planting ceremony, was still preserved in his sister's hut.

[2] Cf. C. H. Wedgwood, 1927, p. 387.

**1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935**

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pigs, taro, and coco-nuts belonging to the dead man are used to 764
provide food for the mourners from other villages. It is under-
stood that to provide inadequately would be a grave insult, but 775
that is the case at any ceremony to which visitors come from a
distance, and while the quantity required would be in proportion
to the importance of the deceased, this is only because the number
of mourners would be proportionately large. Neither the quantity
nor the display are regarded as being of benefit to the dead man
on his arrival at the place of the *urar*.

### *Relations between the* urar *and the living*

One other aspect of the subject dealt with in this chapter remains 775
to be discussed in connexion with the people of my own particular
area, namely, the very definite part which the *urar* play in the life
of the present-day natives. It will be clear from other portions of
this book that they are never for long unmindful of the existence
of the *urar* and that this influences in no small degree their daily
thoughts and actions.

The *urar* are not necessarily maleficent. As has been shown in
the account of taro-planting, hunting, and fishing, &c., part of the
magical procedure connected with all of these consists of calling by
name upon the *urar* of people who had been especially successful
in these occupations during their lifetime.

But for the most part they are regarded with dread, as power- [781]
ful enemies who will, if they can, do harm to the living and even
cause death. It is largely this fear that makes every one so chary
of being in the bush alone, especially at night. There are a number [789]
of preparations of roots and leaves which are to be chewed, or in
some cases carried, by any one obliged to be out after dark, for the
purpose of keeping the *urar* away. The same fear leads them to [166]
desert a village in which several people have died, even though
they may only move a short distance.

An incident which took place at Kurtatchi after the death of
Maravin is interesting both in this connexion and for its bearing on
the belief that a dead man does not become an *urar* immediately.
Being without female relatives, Maravin had shared his hut with
some of the boys wearing the *upi*, their own *tobar* not having been
moved from the old village. They slept in the hut the night of the
day of which he died, apparently without qualms, but after about
three weeks they began to be restless, and a few days later they ran

775 about shouting that they were afraid of Maravin's *urar* which was chasing them. They refused to sleep in the hut that night, and crowded in with the boys in the other *tobar*. Next day they set energetically about finishing their own, the building of which had been in progress, in a very desultory fashion, for some time.

### *Hysterical dissociation*

158 The *urar* are, in the native mind, held responsible for a mode of
775 behaviour which is classified by psychologists as a form of dissocia-
828 tion. The affected individual rushes about the place, often brandishing a knife or an axe, shouting quite unintelligibly, and threatening any person who crosses his line of vision. Although no one was actually hurt in the cases which came under my personal observation, the natives told me that physical injury is occasionally inflicted by persons in this condition, and that people have even been killed by them. Generally, however, the damage is confined to property. A man in this state is said to be *iburar* (struck by the spirits).

158 Five cases occurred in the village of Kurtatchi (with a population of about 130) during the nine months of my stay. Three of them followed each other rapidly, all three occurring within ten days; the fourth and fifth, with two months between them, took place after a lapse of some months. Although an individual explanation was given for two out of the three occurring in sequence, it may be that suggestibility played its part so that the behaviour of one was not without its effect on the others, but this is mere surmise. All the affected persons were men, one a *tsunaun*, the others commoners. Unfortunately, I can find nothing in my notes to indicate whether women are also liable to these attacks. As the condition is of some psychological interest, it may be worth while to describe these episodes in some detail. Two occurred at night, three in the day-time.

158 My first acquaintance with this phenomenon was made on one
occasion when I had strolled over casually to visit a neighbour, and
775 found a man named Sinke, who lived in another part of the village,
828 lying on the ground behind the hut, naked, talking and gesticulating excitedly. Several people were sitting round, looking at him but taking no action. They called out to him that I was coming, but instead of covering himself with his loin-cloth as he would have done in the ordinary way, he swore volubly, and remained as

he was. One of the other men excused his behaviour to me, saying 158
that an *urar* had got him. When he saw me he called out to me that
an *urar* was inside him. The attack appeared to be passing off, for 775
he added, in a more rational tone, that to-morrow he would tell me 828
what the *urar* had done to him, at the same time pulling his loin-cloth over his body. Next day he came to me looking very ill, and asked for medicine, saying he had a headache. I gave him some aspirin and questioned him about the occurrence of the day before, but he said he could remember nothing about it. My servant said that was what always happened to people who were seized by *urar*, and that the headache was the usual sequel.

The second incident happened a few days later. Late one evening 158
the village was in a state of great commotion, with much shouting and scurrying about and barking of dogs. Several men rushed up on to my verandah and shut themselves in the room, adjacent to my own part of the house, occupied by my servant. They said Pinari (the *tsunaun*) was *iburar* and was chasing them all. Shortly afterwards he came tearing past the fence, howling in a weird fashion, and threw something, which fell with a crash. Presently a boy came and said that Pinari had been found lying across his brother's grave in the old graveyard, and taken home, and that they thought he would be all right.

When I asked after Pinari next morning his wife said he was very 158
ill. In the afternoon she came to beg some biscuits for him, 'because his mouth could not eat taro'. I visited him on the afternoon 775
of the following day. He seemed pleased to see me but talked quite 828
incoherently, chiefly about 'poisoning'. I could make nothing of any of it. Next day he seemed much better, and gave me an account
of what had happened. He said he had been cleaning the road near [788
the old graveyard, and had omitted the usual ceremony of blowing
lime over the road to send away the *urar*, because the priest had 177]
forbidden it. The *urar* were angry with him and made him mad. He went to church, and on his way back he saw an *urar*. It was one of his brothers. It was standing beside the banana palm that grows near his house. Then he went mad and fought every one. Then he went to the graveyard and saw his brothers and his mother, and one brother seized him by the back of the neck and another by the legs. They were angry because he had not blown lime for them or given them food. His mother cried over him, so they let him go and he ran and ran and ran and came to Tarongen (this is a hamlet

158 some five miles away, he had not had time to go there in reality
775 before he was caught), and then he came back and took the road
to the old village (in which the brothers had died) and one of the
828 *urar* told him to come along with them. Then his son came and took his arm and told him he must not run after people, and brought him back to his own house, and he went to sleep. Since then his back and his legs had been hurting him. He looked terribly thin and worn, like a person recovering after a long illness.

The third case, which followed seven days after the one just described, was that of Tchiriv, a young man aged about twenty-five. He was lying on the front verandah of one of the huts, during a dance, when he suddenly jumped up and ran about shouting and throwing in all directions the pile of logs which were kept under the verandah for use as firewood. The people all ran away and shut themselves into their houses. He seized hold of a big *mabu* (musical instrument made of a hollowed log with a mouthpiece of coco-nut, an article of value) belonging to a neighbour, and smashed it all to pieces. Presently four of the younger men rushed up to him together, and seized him, and brought him, kicking and
[755] struggling, to a bench outside one of the huts, where they held
him down, screaming, while another man blew powdered lime over him.[1] Presently he quietened down and was put to bed in his hut. The next day he remained indoors, and they said he was sick. Matarē said he didn't know that he had broken Togen's *mabu*; when they told him he would be very sorry and would pay for it.
[788] Matarē told me that Tchiriv said he had been to the graveyard to
get some coco-nuts from the trees there, and because the priest
177 had forbidden it, he did not make a fire and burn some taro for the *urar*, so that they should not be angry with him for taking coco-nuts from their ground. So the *urar* were angry with him and made him mad. I did not see him at all that day until the evening, when he came out of the hut, which was very near to my house, and walked past my fence with his eyes turned away. I took no notice of him at that time, but next day when I found him standing by the fence, looking sheepish, I made a friendly remark to him. He seemed startled, but soon after came up on to my verandah and

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[824] [1] There is also a plant, called *pindī*, the leaves of which, if chewed with the betel-mixture and spat on to the head of the affected person, will cause the *urar* to leave him.

seemed to be himself again, but he did not want to talk about his 158
experience. The villagers said he had these attacks more often than 775
other people. 828

It is perhaps relevant to mention here that some weeks later the 775
same man, when talking to me about love magic, told me that he 789
had an *urar* that belonged to him particularly. His name was
Butchiar, and he showed him the magic in a dream. He said that
when he wanted to know anything, such as what 'medicine' to use
in a given case, he asked Butchiar, who told him. Tchiriv had no
particular reputation as a magician among the villagers, and no one
seemed to take either him or Butchiar very seriously, but once
when they began calling a young man whom I knew as Kakari by [553]
the name of Bori, I asked the reason for the change, and Kakari
said that Tchiriv had given him the new name, saying that Butchiar
had told him to do so.

The fourth case, which took place some three months later, was 158
that of Minka, a middle-aged man, who rushed round the village 775
throwing logs about. He said afterwards that Maravin's *urar*[1] made
him mad, because it was angry about Maravin's grandson, and told 828
Minka that the boy, Kiram, was not getting enough to eat. While
he was alive he always looked after him. A young man who heard
Minka telling me this said that there were several houses where the
boy was given food, and that the *urar* had lied!

The fifth case, Togen, also a middle-aged man, occurred two 158
months after the fourth. It so happened that I was away from the
village all day, so I did not see the man during the attack, which
was reported to have been a mild one. When I questioned him
later, he could give me no information about it whatever.

While talking over with me the episode in which Pinari had 775
figured, my servant said that if he wished he could call the spirit
(*amat*) of one of the important men belonging to his family to come 828
and stop inside him, then if he were angry with a man he could send
the spirit to kill that man. As long as he was kind to the spirit and
gave it food it would not make him mad. Every time he ate he
would have to put some food up in the rafters of the house in a
special place. If he did not the spirit would be angry and make him
mad and he would go about chasing people. He was very serious
throughout the talk and ended by saying: "This is really true about
the Kanakas (the name used by the natives for themselves when

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[1] Maravin is the old man who had died (on May 10, see pp. 484, 515.)

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428 talking to white people, and by the white people for them) but the white men say it is nonsense.'

775 I was also told about a man named Tatsinan, living at the village of Tendu, who has a little house where he sleeps with the *urar* and feeds them and gives them areca-nut. No one but himself may go into it. The *urar* come to him there and talk with him.

### *Discussion*

158 The occurrence among Papuans and Melanesians of states of hysterical dissociation has been discussed by Seligman (1929, p. 199 and Huxley Lecture, 1932, p. 227, &c.). In the instances quoted by him, while 'there is wild excitement and threats of assault on all and sundry', no serious injury was done, and for this among other reasons he differentiates these outbreaks from the far more serious condition known among the Malays as *amok*. The only evidence I can supply on this aspect of the question is the statement of the natives that men were sometimes injured or killed by persons who were *iburar*. It is possible, of course, that such injuries may have been received, as in a case quoted by Seligman, 'in the struggle to restrain the patient'. This seems to be the same condition as that described in the papers above referred to, and in a more severe form by Fortune (1932, pp. 54-5) who relates it to the Malay *amok*. In this I think he may be mistaken, for I doubt whether these individuals can strictly be described as 'out to kill' in the sense that this phrase could be applied to the *amok*-running Malay.

A similar condition is described by Ivens (1927, pp. 191 ff.) among the Melanesians of the SE. Solomons. But I never heard of people in this state, in the villages known to me, being employed as professionals 'to ascertain the cause of sickness', or for any other reason. In my experience they were regarded by their fellow villagers as mad, and no notice whatever was taken of anything they said—which was generally unintelligible.

I did not meet with any instance of compulsory imitative actions such as are described by Clifford in Malays afflicted with *lâtah* (*Studies in Brown Humanity*, 1898, pp. 186-201) and in the aborigines of Siberia by Czaplicka (*Aboriginal Siberia*, 1914, chap. xv).

Discussing the cause of these and similar outbreaks, Seligman (1929, p. 198) thinks it probable that some of them are due to malaria. It will be noted that in three of the cases observed by me

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the victims were 'off colour' for a day or two afterwards, and it is certain that these natives are frequent sufferers from malaria. It seems to me not unlikely, also, that in some of these cases it may be true, as Seligman suggests elsewhere (1932, p. 221) 'that a desire—perhaps not entirely conscious—to draw the attention of the community enters into the causation'. This may perhaps be applicable, e.g. to the behaviour of Sinke, which had in it an element of exhibitionism which was absent in the others. But while not excluding either of these possibilities, I incline to think that the reasons given by the natives themselves do, in fact, supply the clue, and that the attacks were actually caused by auto-suggestion, due to the knowledge that something had been done to offend the *urar*, or to what we might term, in unpsychological language, 'a guilty conscience'. It is noteworthy that two cases out of the three for which explanations were furnished arose out of a conflict between the old religion and the new ideas received from the mission, which further corroborates the conclusions reached by Seligman in the papers here referred to.

## XV

# OTHER BELIEFS: CHIEFLY CONCERNING GHOSTS AND SPIRITS

### ASSOCIATION OF *URAR* WITH ANIMALS

775 IT was stated in the foregoing chapter that *urar* have the power to assume the forms of various creatures, in which guise they are visible to human beings. This statement requires further explanation. Those to whom they appear do not recognize them as *urar*, till some untoward happening in their relations with the animal, or fish, or bird in question opens their eyes to the true character of the being with which they have to do. It is said that a man who dies of 'poison' sometimes becomes a shark and goes and eats the man who made the poison against him, then he turns back again into an *urar*.

[784] The *urar* haunt certain places in the bush. In such spots no one wittingly hunts, fishes, or cuts down trees. Those who inadvertently break this taboo are punished in various ways by the *urar*. If they try to fell the trees, the trees stand up again as soon as they are cut down, or fall in an unexpected direction and kill those standing near. If they fish in the bush pools, they find when they open their baskets to take out their spoil that the fish have changed into snakes, which bite them, or into sharks, which attack them. If they stand on a reef to fish, the reef gradually sinks under them till they are up to their waists in water, and the fish they catch all escape from their nets. People who go alone to places belonging to the *urar* disappear mysteriously and are never seen again. When we passed such places in our journeyings, they would be pointed out to me in awed whispers, and the party always seemed ill at ease till we were out of sight of them. One such spot is at the mouth of the Umu River, which we crossed on our way from Kurtatchi to Baniu. A little lower down from the place at which we crossed it there is a reef over which a wave breaks every now and again, making a circle of foam, which belongs to an *urar* called Urit ('Sea-Urchin'), who makes people drown. A whirlpool in a stream near Porton plantation, about five miles from Kurtatchi, is the location of the

following incident, which was told by a man who claimed to be 775
related to the *urar* Mategin:

There is a place in the river where the water swirls round, just as if 775
it were boiling, but it is not hot. There are a lot of fish in it. They are
*urar* fish. There is one fish which is black, with red and white marks 158
round its mouth, and hair like a man's, the fish is an *urar*. When he is 828
an *urar* his name is Mategin, he walks about at night, then he looks just 539
like a big tree. He goes to Soraken, to Torrikorri, and to Saposa (all these places are on the other side of the bay). The water belongs to him. A man named Takoman, who used to work for white men in the time of the Germans (i.e. before the war, when this island was a German dependency, and its white population was largely German), lit some dynamite[1] and threw it into the middle of the water among the fish. The dynamite flared up. The fish did not die, not one single fish was killed. Takoman went to look for the fish. All the *urar* were angry with him: 'Why do you try to kill us with dynamite?' Then he became *iburar* all the time. He did bad things, he thought about nothing but women. (Here follow details which indicate that the man was a sexual maniac.) His relatives could have cured him if they had taken some of the water from the pool belonging to the *urar* and poured it over his head and made a feast. But they were so angry with him because he shot dynamite in a river which is taboo, that they would not make the medicine, so he remained *iburar*, and got worse and worse till he died.

I give below another illustration of the transformation of *urar* as 775
typical of this kind of story, of which there are a number in my collection. They are all told as actual happenings, distinct from those that are recognized to be merely tales.

There was a man who went fishing at dead of night in the open sea. 775
Just before dawn he saw an *urar* come up, he walked above the water 539
(his feet about a foot from the surface, distance shown by a gesture). He pursued the man in the canoe, the man paddled away. The *urar* turned into a shark, he came after the canoe. The canoe stopped. The shark climbed up on to the outrigger. The man cursed it. The shark turned into an *urar* again, and moved about above the water. Then he turned into a *kitat5* (a large round fish, possibly a groper). He reared up, he wanted to throw himself down on the top of the canoe so as to upset it. The man paddled hard, he got away and went farther out to sea. The *kitat5* turned again into a shark. Then dawn broke, the shark became an *urar* again and disappeared. The man went ashore at his own village. He told all the people. They all said: 'Oh rubbish, you are fooling, where

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[1] Dynamite is used by planters to stun fish; the natives are forbidden to use it except under supervision, but they get hold of it when they can.

775 is this *urar*?' 'I don't know where he is.' 'All right, by and by we will all go and paddle.' Another day some of the other people saw the *urar*,
538 they saw him turn into a shark and into a *kitatö*; then they knew that what the man had told them was true.

775 776 112 My attention was first drawn to these transformations of *urar* into animals in connexion with discussions on death, and it is quite clear that this power is ascribed to the ghosts of people who have died and become *urar*. But while listening to tales dealing with similar transformations in the course of an evening's story-telling, I noticed that some of these beings did not seem to be regarded with quite the same intensity of fear and dread that was associated with the ghosts of the dead, although the same word, *urar*, was used. Furthermore, in translating these stories into pidgin-English, the word *maselai* was used in some cases, whereas the pidgin-English term for the ghost of a dead person is *tamboran*. When I inquired into this distinction, my informants were very vague in their replies, insisting that both were *urar*. Then my servant, who was present at the discussion, told me that in the Petats dialect they used different words, *amat* for the spirit of a person who had died, which he gave as the equivalent to the pidgin-English *tamboran*, and *halelehan* for the other spirits who were called in pidgin-English *maselai*. It would seem, therefore, as if there really were two kinds of spirits, one kind consisting of the ghosts of dead persons, and the other of spirits who had never been men, though the distinction is somewhat blurred in the use of the same word for both kinds in the Kurtatchi dialect. Perhaps the natives are not very clear about it themselves, for whenever I asked them to explain what they meant by *urar* I was always told that it was a person who had died a long
[171] time ago. Since returning home, I have discovered that the same dual meaning is attached to the word *adaro* at San Cristoval and to the word *akalo* at Ulawa and Mala (Fox, 1924, p. 107), which corroborates the evidence given above.

775 776 805 602 Among the spirits which are called *urar* but should perhaps (though I am not certain as to this) not be considered as the ghosts of persons who have died, there are apparently included certain *urar* who, in the form of animals, are associated with individual men or women in a manner rather difficult to define, but constituting a bond which is clearly recognized. Such an individual claims that the *urar*-creature is 'my kinsman' (*boané*), that it will come at his call, and at his bidding will assist him, or his friends,

or will desist from harming them. This association is reported with 775
sharks, snakes, and crocodiles, there may be other creatures of 776
which I have no record. Only a few individuals stand in this 776
relationship. They may be either men or women; they are known 825
by their fellow villagers to have influence over the creatures with 602
which they are associated, and are sometimes asked to use this influence upon their *urar*-kinsmen in the public interest, being paid in ceremonial currency for their intervention. Conversely, they will interfere on behalf of their *urar*-kinsmen when occasion arises. A few examples will serve to illustrate this relationship.

A crocodile was caught in a dam which was set up to catch fish. A man 775
who was kin to the crocodile came and said that it was not to be killed, 776
because it was his kinsman, but must be allowed to go back into the sea. 825
so the fishermen broke their dam and let the water in and the crocodile 602
escaped.
539

Some snakes were eating a man who had got lost in the bush belonging to the snake *urar*. A man who was kin to the snakes went to look for the missing man, and when he saw what was happening he called out to the snakes: 'Why are you doing harm to this man? He is not a stranger, he is a friend of mine, you must loose him and go away.' So the snakes let go of the man and went away.[1]

There was a woman who was kin to the *urar* who lived in a certain part of the sea. She asked to be taken in a canoe to visit her kinsmen. The canoe-men did not understand, they thought she wanted to visit her human kinsmen. Ceremonial pudding and other food was prepared, and they set out with the woman, and went straight to this part of the sea. Then the woman said to the men: 'All right, you stop the canoe just here.' So they stopped the canoe. The men said: 'Where do you want to go?' She said: 'Just here,' and pointed straight down into the water. Then the woman took the food and threw it into the sea. All the men looked, the food disappeared, it was lost. Then the woman jumped into the sea. She went down altogether. She had no paint on her hair, and wore no ornaments. The men waited for her, she did not come up. They all cried, they thought she was lost altogether, they were sorry about her. They waited for her a long time, then she came back. She did not come up in the sea, she came up on the shore. She came up with a woman's pack on her back, it was full of pieces of pig she had been given in the place of the *urar*, and they had put paint on her hair

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[1] A very similar but more detailed story which I obtained from another village is given in full in my paper in *Folk-lore* (1932, p. 86).

775 and given her ornaments. The men took her again into the canoe and
776 went back to the village. All the people of the village came and asked
her: 'Where have you been?' She did not want to tell them, but they
825 kept on asking her, they gave her no peace. At last she said: 'If you
602 look behind you, you will see all my kinsmen coming up.' Then all the
539 kinsmen of the woman came up on to the sand near the village. They
were all sharks. (Here the teller explained that they were *urar* who had turned into sharks.) Then the woman said to the people of the village: 'All right, you people come to the shore, come and see my kinsmen.' Then they all went to look, then they understood. Then the woman sent all the sharks away again. She said to them: 'All right, you people go back now, I only wanted to show you to all the men who kept asking me about you, they never stopped asking me, but I did not want to talk about it, so I called you all to show you to the men.'

775 The man who told me this said afterwards: 'This woman was not
776 an *urar*, she was a real person. I have seen the place where it
happened; the man belonging to the place, who told me about it,
602 said she was a relative of his, and he used to eat at her house.'

825 In most of the cases of this kind of association which came under
[614] my notice, it had been inherited from some relative belonging to
the same clan, and its possessor did not know how it had originated. In one or two instances, however, the connexion between an individual and a shark was traced back to an ancestor who bore a child in the shape of a shark. Togen (a middle-aged man belonging to the village of Timputs, but living at Kurtatchi since his marriage to one of the daughters of the *tsunaun*), after telling me a story concerning a woman who bore a shark-child,[1] added that his own shark was called Muwatskawits, and lived at Timputs: 'My grandmother (*tubunĕ*, used for an actual grandparent or for any ancestor farther back) bore it a long time ago.' If a shark from another place wants to eat any of Togen's people at Timputs, Muwatskawits chases him away, and says: 'You must not eat my children. I don't want you to come here. If you don't go back I shall kill you.'

775 It seems a fair inference, from the use of the word *boanĕ* to
776 describe this relationship, that the creature is considered to be a
825 member of the same clan as that of the individual associated with
602 it (see the discussion of this term on p. 33). I did not find any
indications that certain animals were associated only with persons
614 of any given clan, e.g. sharks with Naboin or crocodiles with
Nakarib. It seems to be a purely personal association, but in trans-

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[1] This story is given in my paper in *Folk-lore* (1932, p. 83).

ferring the creature to some one else when at the point of death, 775
the individual apparently chooses a relative belonging to the same 776
clan as himself; this would be natural if the shark were thought to
have been born to an ancestor, as in the case of Togen just quoted. 825
They appear to be definitely associated with persons rather than 602
with places, and so differ from the 'tutelary sharks' described by 614
Ivens (1927, p. 230, &c.). Neither do they correspond exactly to the 'familiar' as described on Ulawa by Ivens (p. 239) and on San Cristoval by Fox (1924, p. 231), for they do not bear the name of the person who is associated with them neither do they die when the man dies. Ivens makes mention of 'incarnations' of the dead as sharks, swordfish, crocodiles, megapodes, &c. (p. 187), but he does not indicate whether any association with these is claimed by living individuals.

### ASSOCIATION OF *URAR* WITH STONES

As well as the association of *urar* with places, described in 775
previous paragraphs, there is a much more intimate connexion
between certain *urar* and particular stones or rocks, the locality and 778
names of which are known to all. The *urar* is not supposed merely 823
to inhabit the stone, or the stone to belong to the *urar*, but the two are completely identified, so that the *urar is* the stone. Associated with many such stones is the belief that at night they again become *urar*, or in some cases human beings, and walk about, or go fishing, or dance.

Where the origin of the connexion between the *urar* and the stone is given, the *urar* is certainly thought to be the ghost of a person who has died; but as in many cases no explanation of the identification was forthcoming, I am not able to say whether this holds true of all. In illustration of this belief may be cited the following:

> Two women died and became *urar*. Their name was Kakenmon. (The 775
> name seems to belong to the two of them together.) Two children went
> looking for hermit crabs in holes; the two *urar* stole the children, and 778
> took them away. The father of the two children lit a fire and made 823
> smoke to drive the *urar* away. Now they are stones, they are on the 539
> beach at Raus, two stones, two women, the name of the two stones is Kakenmon. At night they are *urar*, and play on the shore; when the sun rises they become stones again.

> A man died and was thrown into the sea. His body came to the surface and drifted, and was caught under some mangroves. Some men who

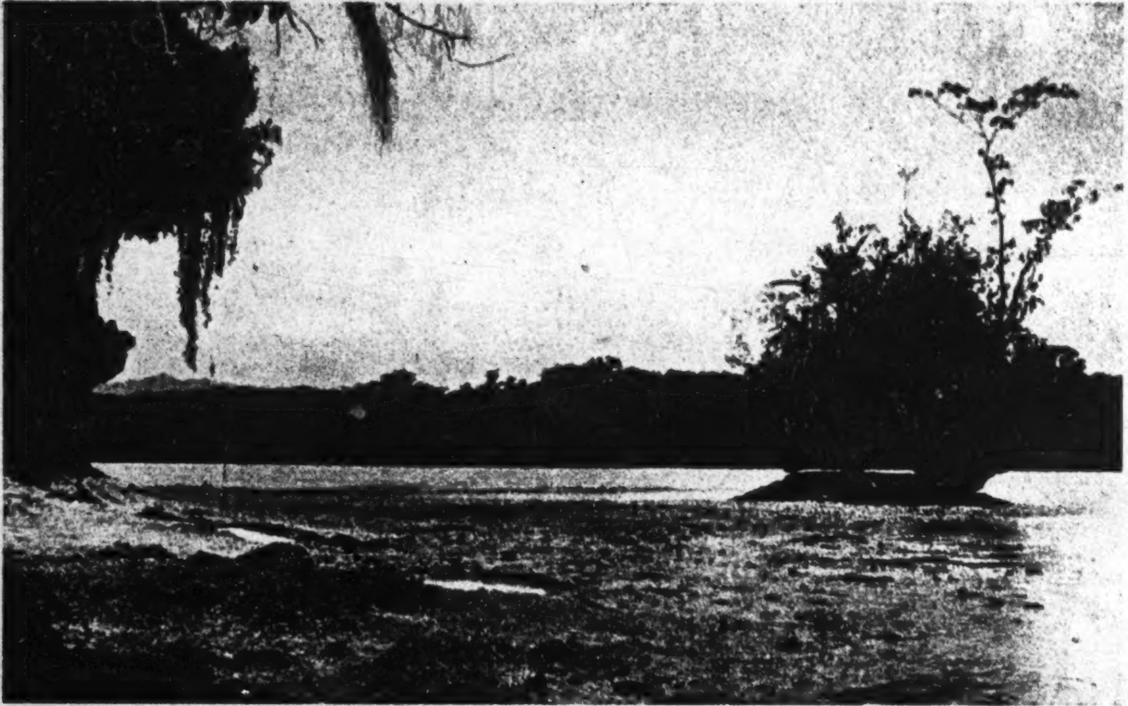
775 were fishing saw him sitting on the top of the reef at the edge of the surf.
778 They ran away and told his mother and his wife, who came to look at
him. They recognized him, and were glad, but when he saw them he dis-
823 appeared under a stone. They could not find him again. They brought
539 paint and ornaments and put them on the stone. The man remained
fast underneath the stone. Now he is stone, he is called Tchibo, he is
at the Passage.

775 Tchibo was pointed out to me. It is a large rock in Buka Passage,
778 just off the end of a small island of which it must once have formed
823 part (Pl. 76). There are many stories about Tchibo; they are related
all over Buka and the North Bougainville coast, with appropriate
538 local variations. He is supposed to have stood originally on the east
coast of Bougainville, near Numanuma. He wandered all along the north coast, looking for a place to stay, but the *urar* of each place drove him away. After repeated efforts, each detailed in full in the stories with endless repetition, he came to Buka Passage. There he overpowered Hinoal, the *urar* in possession, and remained there altogether. The Petats people say that Hinoal ran away northwards, and as he ran he threw up the reef which now fringes the west coast of Buka, to prevent Tchibo from following him. Tchibo, in pursuit, made the deep channels which break the reef at intervals, through which ships now pass. Finally, Tchibo gave up the chase and went back to the Passage, but Hinoal went on and went on till he came to a certain point on the west coast of Petats. Here a rock named Tabulat called to him to come and join him; so he did. They decided to join forces, and went together back to the Passage and attacked Tchibo. Tabulat cut off Tchibo's legs, and Tchibo fell down and died. Since then he has been a stone and has not wandered any more. Tabulat and Hinoal went back to Petats.
5 They are two rocks on the shore, every Petats native knows how they came to be there. The Tiop people say it was Tchibo who made Tiop into an island; before he broke through it was joined by a narrow isthmus to the mainland of Bougainville. The people of Saposa say that their culture heroine, Morena, made all the little islands by breaking pieces off Tchibo after he had taken up his position in Buka Passage, and that she provided the people with good water to drink by sending Tchibo to break through the bush and make places for the rivers.

The Tchibo series is the most elaborate and most widely diffused stone-myth that I came across. But there is an almost unlimited

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 76



THE ROCK TCHIBO, IN BUKA PASSAGE

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778
823
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[facing p.52]

775 supply of more or less local stories associating various stones or
778 rocks[1] with *urar* and attributing to them certain powers and activi-
823 ties. I have notes on a number of these, of which the following are
538 given as typical:

775 Mururi is the name of an *urar*; he is a rock on the beach at Timputs,
778 which has a hole in its base. All the driftwood collects there, but no one
takes it for firewood. Once a man did take some, and Mururi was very
823 angry and prevented him from catching any fish. Some one who knew
531 about Mururi told him what he had done.

There is a stone on the beach near Kurtatchi, which is an *urar* called Musinē. At night he becomes a man and goes fishing in the sea. He belongs to the Naboin clan; the Nakarib people cannot see him when he is a man. Once he had a mouth, but the sea dashed a big tree against his mouth and broke it.

Tawalir (the word means 'branch') is a horizontal stalagmitic formation, somewhat resembling the branch of a tree, at the lower edge of a big hole in the limestone cliff near Tabut. The story is that Tawalir used to be several miles farther east, but it quarrelled with another stone there, and said: 'You stop here, I will go and be master at the other point (the other horn of a bay).' So he went across the bay and climbed the cliff to the place where he is now. At night he comes to life and walks about. He is an *urar*.

Ku'enia is a rock on the east coast of Buka, near Malasang. It has a flat top. Fishermen put fish on it for the stone, and the stone eats them.

Matapar is another rock a little farther along the same coast. When men go fishing they take some sand and throw it on to the top of the stone, then plenty of little fish come close inshore.

[753] Tonopoi is a rock which gives a man boils. Then he goes and rubs
758 his boils against the stone, and says: 'Take back what you gave me.'
Then the boils get well. This stone belongs to the Nakarib people.

Karakela is a rock which sticks up out of the water. If a very high tide comes and threatens to swamp the shore, the stone calls out and sends it back, saying the sea must not come up and spoil the places where it gets its food.

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[142] [1] The native word *wats* is used for both 'stone' and 'rock', so it is difficult to make a distinction. Those I have seen were in most cases large pieces which had at some time in the past broken away from the cliffs near by.

775 A stone lying on the ground in the bush at the foot of the cliff
776 near Lonahan, on the east coast of Buka, is supposed to represent
823 the body of the woman who taught people to eat human flesh, by
538 giving to her daughter and her son-in-law pieces of her own flesh
to eat with their taro, saying it was pig. This story is not merely local, I heard it also in several places in North Bougainville. It is given in full in my paper in *Folk-Lore* (1932, pp. 74–6). The stone is called Tchinaleke, which was the name of the woman. It is a block of limestone, of similar formation to the cliff, and much weathered. It bears no traces of human handiwork, but has a rough resemblance to an emaciated woman lying on her side with the legs at right angles, the legs being truncated about a foot from the fork. The head is missing, and is said to have been lost so long ago that no one now living remembers having seen it. The stone is said to turn over once in a while, and point the legs the other way round, and sometimes to lie with the head end pointing towards the sea. Actually, it lies parallel with the coast-line.

A stone which appears to have been of ceremonial significance was reported to me. Unfortunately I discovered its existence too late to visit the spot. My informant had not seen it, and I was unable to get any details as to its shape. It is connected with a man named Tchinakerits, who was killed by a spear and turned into this stone; the stone has the mark of a spear thrust upon it. It was set up at the foot of a banyan tree, but it went back of its own accord to Wanabus, where Tchinakerits lived when he was alive. Now it is on the beach near Timputs. At night it walks about and makes footprints like a man shuffling along. (Here the teller walked about with a shuffling gait to illustrate how the stone is supposed to walk.) In the olden days, when a man died they took the stone out to sea with his body and threw both into the sea together; the stone came back to its place. Then they made a feast at the end of the mourning period, and put lime and ceremonial currency on the stone, and washed the stone. If this were not done, the *urar* of the stone would kill the children of the dead person. I have this information from one informant only, a Timputs man whom I did not know; there is nothing else in my collection exactly comparable, and the subject needs more investigation than I was able to give it.

552 The natives often call stones or rocks of peculiar shape after things or creatures to which they are supposed to bear some resemblance, just as we do ourselves. For example, there are several

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

rocks called Kes, from a fancied similarity to a shark. These are 552 not supposed to be connected with *urar*, neither is there usually any story attached to them.

## STONE PILLARS

All the stones hitherto mentioned are natural formations. But 324 there are also some in this area which show definite traces of human handiwork, being shaped like pillars, and, in some cases, having designs incised upon them. I visited five of these, and heard of at least two others which appear to belong to the same category. Unfortunately, the information I was able to obtain about them is very meagre.

### *Notes on the stone pillar at Yamē*

Yamē is the island next to Petats on the north, forming part of the 133 same reef. At the present time the whole island is being used as a 166 coco-nut plantation, and there are no natives on it except indentured plantation hands, most of whom come from other localities. But once it was inhabited by Buka natives, just as Petats and Pororan still are.

The stone is on the south-western side of the island, between 324 two rows of coco-nut trees, some hundred yards or so from the cliff-edge. It is probably not in the situation which it occupied when it was first set up. It was not standing when I saw it, but prone on the ground. Only a portion of it remains, a length of about 3 feet, the bottom part being obviously broken off. Its diameter is rather less than a foot at the bottom, its widest part. It tapered slightly towards the top, which was rounded. There were no designs on it.

None of the available natives knew much about it. One said its 324 name was Tahuni, but he could give me no meaning for the name. 773 Once it had a spirit (*maselai* in pidgin-English) belonging to it, but there are no spirits left on Yamē any more. Another native said it was a stone 'belonging to the mosquitoes', and that the Pororan people took it away on a raft a long time ago when it was a little stone; they wanted to use it as a pillow, but just as they were going o land at Pororan (the next island, about ten miles off) it jumped overboard and swam back to Yamē. There it grew large. It used o be taller than a man, but now it is broken. No one could tell me how it was broken, or what had become of the rest of it.

324 773 From Mr. Airey, a planter on the Buka coast, a few miles farther north, who takes an interest in native lore, I obtained another story about this stone, which he heard from a Pororan native some years before: The stone was brought on a raft from some place a long way off in the days when the people had not yet learnt how to make canoes. Two women came with it, who were lighter in colour and quite different in looks from the local population. These two women went to live at Pororan, but one of them was always coming over to Yamĕ to weep at the stone for her people. After a time there arose a quarrel between the people of Yamĕ and the people of Pororan, and the Yamĕ people said the woman was not to come over any more. So the Pororan people came at night and took away the stone, but before they landed it a storm arose and capsized the raft, and the stone made its way back to Yamĕ. The woman still persisted in going over to weep at it, so the Yamĕ people killed her.

### *Stone pillar at Iltopan*

324 This stone stands half hidden in the bush beside the Government road, rather more than a mile south-east of Iltopan. The name of the piece of ground it stands on is Hahapiri. There is a coco-nut grove—native, not belonging to a white man—there now, but once it was the site of the village. There are no coco-nut trees at the present time on the left-hand side of the road, where the stone is, but there were within the lifetime of one of the old men, Manapulus, to whom the place belongs. When he was a child the stone was standing, but a coco-nut tree fell on it and broke it into three pieces.

324 531 When I saw it, one piece, 2 feet in height, was still standing. It was firmly embedded in the ground, and seemed to go down for some distance. I could not find the end of it, and as my companions were somewhat agitated at my rooting about the base of it, I desisted. The 2 feet that remain above the ground are sloped at a slight angle, probably caused by the weight of the tree that broke it. A second piece, 1½ feet long, lay on the ground beside the standing piece. The top section, with rounded end, 3 feet long, lay with its upper end tilted against the prostrate piece. It was covered with moss and lichens. I was assured that there were no marks on it, but on rubbing it slightly I discovered a pattern incised in low relief, filled in with mud and moss so that it was invisible on inspection. I then cleared it completely, the men

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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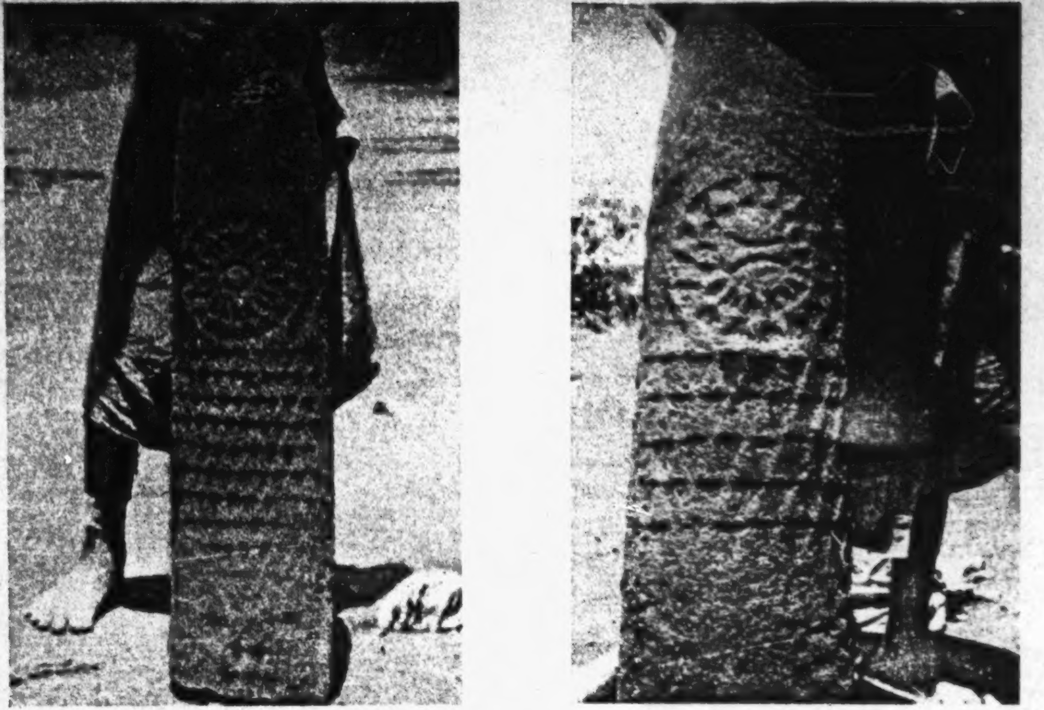
Kurtatchi

PLATE 77

[facing p.532]



UPPER PORTION OF BROKEN STONE PILLAR AT ILTOPAN

324
531

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

PLATE 78

324

531

142

STONE PILLAR AT TOHATCHI

[facing p.533]

with me looking on rather dismayed, but much interested, and 324
offering no objection. They call the stone 'A Pi'. *Pi* means a sore, 531
and they think that any one who touches it will have sores break
out on his body, hence, it afterwards transpired, their anxiety about [753]
my handling it. As soon as I discovered this, I told them that I had destroyed its evil power by cleaning it, and they were then emboldened to lift it out of the thicket of bush which grew round it and put it into a position where I could photograph it and even to hold it upright while I did so. There proved to be a design on both sides of it (Pl. 77 *a*, *b*). This was recognized by the Petats men who were my companions; they said it was called *gõm*, that the two parts of the pattern belonged together, and that in the olden days they used to cut it on their faces. (I think the word *gõm* simply means a design of any kind, not only this particular pattern.) They had no idea it was there. I took a rubbing of it in case the photograph should be a failure, and the Iltopan native who had brought me and my Petats friends to the spot asked me to make another and give it to him to show to his people, which I did. After I had photographed it I made them put it back into its thicket, but they carefully propped it up against the standing portion and left it so that its pattern was visible from the road. They said that now I had cleaned it they would not be afraid of it any more. As we left, the Iltopan
native turned to the stone and said: 'Master, I am coming back [614]
presently. You and I belong to the same clan.'

### *Stone pillar at Tohatchi*

On the Government road about half a mile north of the village 324
of Tohatchi, on the east coast of Buka, some four or five miles to the south of the stone pillar just described, there is another, which appears to be unbroken. It stands about 6½ feet high, and is not quite circular in section; its longer diameter measures 12 inches and its shorter 9 inches. The name of the piece of ground on which it stands is Didirowan. It is, however, apparently not in its original
position, but was set up by the roadside comparatively recently; [805]
owing to the fact that these people do not know how to measure time they could give me no idea how long ago, but it was within living
memory. They said also that some boys brought it from Lontis 324
(on the north-west corner of Buka) 'when it was a little stone, 776
about so high (measuring a length of about a foot)', and that it used to be inside their houses; they called it their child and played

324 with it. But one day the spirits who live in the bush came and took
776 it away and hid it in the bush. There it remained till it was found and brought to its present position.

324 The name of the stone was given by the local men who showed it to me as Ginagon, but a Tohatchi man at Yamĕ, who first told me
552 of its existence, called it Ginoput. When I asked the local men about this they said it was all the same. They could give me no explanation of the name.

324 The stone is much discoloured, and covered with fungus and
531 lichens, which somewhat mask, without concealing, several incised designs, not as deeply cut or as well executed as those on the stone at Iltopan, and differently arranged, as will be seen from the photograph (Pl. 78). The natives said the marks had been made when the stone was a little stone; then the marks were small too; now that the stone is big the marks have grown with it.

My companions from Petats, who had not seen the stone before, recognized one of the patterns, which they called *kalu*, saying it was one which they used to cut on their foreheads, before they gave up the practice of cicatrization at the wish of the mission. This one was on the side of the stone. When I subsequently showed a drawing of the designs on the stone to the people of Kurtatchi they compared it to their own design called *lalōm*, which they cut on the back of the neck of persons of rank (see Pl. 70 *b*).

As well as these designs, which are evidently of some antiquity, there are many recent scratches. These the people of Tohatchi
[804] say they make at the present time, to measure their height, as we used to do on the lintel of the nursery door. One of the men stood beside his mark to show me what they did. They had no feelings of awe or fear in regard to the stone, such as were plainly felt towards that at Iltopan, and it was evidently not credited with any magical power. The most careful investigation during my subsequent visit to Totatchi failed to elicit any more information about it.

### *Stone pillar at Lonahan*

324 Still farther down the coast, and again on the Government road, near the village of Lonahan, just north of Malasang, there is the remains of another pillar (Pl. 79 *b*). It shows signs of mutilation, and there is a tale that a man hacked it with an axe. Also it is much weathered. It appears once to have been a round pillar similar to the others, but now tapers much more sharply to a point than it

## PLATE 79

[facing p 534]

*a.* 'MUBENOITS'

*b.* STONE AT LONAHAN

324

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 80

324

STONES AT TIOP

[facing p.535]

must once have done. About 3½ feet of it remain. It is propped 324 up against a tree; they say it used once to stand up beside it. Down one side run a series of shallow depressions, which may or may not be the work of nature. There is no sign of any incised pattern on it.

When the story of Tchinaleke (see p. 530) was told me at Kurtatchi, this stone, leaning against its *tſiniv* tree (the kind of [501 which dug-out canoes are made) was clearly indicated as the one 824] which represented the woman. But on arriving at the spot, I was assured by men living near by that Tchinaleke was the stone lying [552] below at the foot of the cliff, and that this one was called Pepes, that it belonged to the olden time, and that they knew no more about it than the few details I have given above. With that I had, therefore, to be content.

### *Stone pillar on North Bougainville coast*

About half-way between Gomen and Ruri, there is a portion 324 of a stone pillar which must have been originally similar to those on Buka (Pl. 79 *a*). It is in the bush, not far from the top of the 773 cliff. Only 2½ feet of it are standing; it appears to be the top section of a pillar, since its end is rounded like all the others. It is said to go down a long way into the ground. If all the men of the village tried to move it they could not. But once the Hahon, the people of the mountains, enemies of the coast people, stole it. Having succeeded in getting it out of the ground, they slung it on a pole as the natives do pigs, and a large number of them carried it. But the pole broke. They cut a thicker tree, but that broke too. Then they cut a very large tree, all the men they had could scarcely carry it, but that broke too, and at night, while they were encamped, the stone made its way back. There are two little stones beside it, rounded either by rubbing or by the action of water; I could not be sure whether they were pieces broken off the big one or not. They are called its children. Once the people of Ratsoa (a village a short way into the foot-hills) carried them away in a pack with some ceremonial currency, but when they got home and opened their pack the stones were not in it; the *urar* had brought them back to their mother. The owner of the stone was angry with the Ratsoa people, and raided the village; then he put the little stones back in their places and made a feast.

The stone is called Mubenoits. One of the men of the village— 324 the father of one of the present inhabitants, who is now an old man [552]

324 —found it in the ground. He set it up in front of his house, which
used to stand where the stone now is; the place was once the site
of a village. The *tsunaun* of the village gave the man who found it
324 some ceremonial currency for it. He put paint on it, and made a
778 big feast, and gave the stone to Nawi, his sister's daughter, when
she was a baby. Nawi is now a girl of about thirteen. The ceremony
852 held when such a stone is given to a child is called *Wawaluŋ*.
There were traces of red paint on it and on the little stones. Pinari said that the paint was put on in the same pattern as was used on the heads of the people on ceremonial occasions, a line of black down the middle with broad bands of red on both sides of it. They also put coco-nut oil on the stone, and decorate it with flowers and leaves. Before doing this they kill a pig and cook it, and wash the stone in the water.

[776] Nawi has not seen it yet. When she wishes to look at it for the first time she will have to make a feast and take some food and give it to the stone, and the *urar* of the stone will eat it. Then if Nawi wishes to remove the stone and put it in front of her house in the present village of Kurtatchi, it will be all right, but if any one else moved it, it would find its way back.

### *Stone pillars (?) reported but not visited*

324 I was told that there is a stone pillar, said to be similar to the one at Yamɛ, at Raua Plantation, on the coast of Bougainville several miles to the east of Kurtatchi. Another is reported on the west coast of Buka, near the R.C. Mission at Bonotui. To my great regret, circumstances did not permit of my visiting either of these. As far as my informants knew, there were no designs upon them, but in view of the ignorance of the Iltopan people of the pattern on 'A Pi', concealed as it was by moss and fungus, such reports are probably not to be relied upon.

### *Stone monument at Tiop*

778 At Tiop, an island at the north-eastern corner of Bougainville, there is a group of stones which are not pillars, but flat slabs of limestone, apparently unworked. There is no trace of a design upon them. There are two large slabs and two smaller ones (Pl. 80). One of the large slabs stands upright, the two smaller ones, also upright, are at its base, the other large slab lies flat on the ground. It seemed to be quite firmly embedded, but the natives could give

me no information as to whether it had fallen or whether this was 778
its original position.

These stones represent a man and his wife and their two children. 778
The whole group goes by the name of Tohihiu. They are said to
'belong to' a man living in the village, who is of the Nakarib clan; 614
he was described as their kinsman. When a child is born to a 602
woman who is of his lineage the child's mother brings the baby 852
to the place, a pig is killed and cut up, and the stones are washed 721
with its blood. In the olden days it was customary on these occasions 266
to make a raid into the mountains, bring home a prisoner
from one of the mountain villages, eat him, and bring his head
to the stones with the child: the head was then buried underneath
the stones.[1] Then the women would collect quantities of
taro 'belonging to the stones'; this would be eaten at the spot.
It did not appear that the stones were themselves thought to eat
any of it. Whenever a feast is due to be held to mark some epoch
in the life of a child of the appropriate lineage, he is taken to the [304]
stones, and when the time comes for his skin to be cicatrized,
that is done there also. Not very long before my visit a little boy
had undergone this operation at the stones. When I examined
them there were still traces upon them of the red paint with which
they had been smeared on that occasion. (This is not necessarily [823]
to be regarded as a substitute for blood, as it is in itself a sacred
substance which plays a part in many ceremonial activities, as described
in previous chapters.)

### *Discussion*

It was a matter of great concern to me that I could not get more 324
information concerning these stone pillars. I am convinced that
the ignorance professed by the natives was not assumed, and that
they would have told me more details had they known any more
themselves. The surprise of the Iltopan people when I laid bare
the design on the stone 'A Pi' was most certainly genuine. It
would seem as though the pillars had been set up in times past in
connexion with some ritual that has been abandoned for so long
that all memory of it has disappeared. 324

One of the missionaries told me that he understood from the 764

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[1] A short time before my visit fragments of a human skull had been discovered in the vicinity of the stones during some digging in connexion with a new building for the Mission.

324 natives that the stones had been put up in times long past as
764 memorials to dead chiefs. No mention of anything of this sort was
made to me in the course of extensive inquiries, and I have no
means of estimating the reliability of the report thus passed on to me
at second-hand. It may, however, be noted in this connexion that
[171] Fox (1924, p. 288) reports that on some of the burial mounds of San
Cristoval there are stone pillars 2 or 3 feet high, the use of which is
quite unknown. One, over 10 feet high, and about 6 inches in
diameter, is described as 'evidently worked'. At one mound there
are two stone pillars, one of which appears from the diagram given
by Fox to be similar in shape to those on Buka. This stone was set
up whenever a woman was buried in the mound; the other, of a
different shape, was set up at the burials of men.

While not rejecting altogether the hypothesis that the stone pillars of Buka and North Bougainville may be memorials to the dead, one may perhaps be permitted to speculate a little as to other possibilities in regard to their origin and purpose.

324 It will be remembered that both the Petats and the Kurtatchi
people, without previous knowledge of the patterns on the stones,
531 associated these with the designs which they cut on their skin.
304 While visiting Timputs I was told, in quite another connexion, of
a stone called Mukikimits, near Kowanis, on the north-east corner
of Bougainville, which is said to have marks on it like those cut on
the skin, and also the imprint of a man's foot. The ceremony for
the cicatrization of children is held at this stone. An unfortunate
accident prevented me from visiting it, so I do not know whether
it is another of the stone pillars or a natural formation. But the
mention of the marks upon it seems to indicate human handiwork.
The question now arises, whether the similarity between the designs on the stones and those made on the skin by means of cicatrices indicates that both may at one time have formed part of the same ritual complex.

304 The reasons given to me for the practice of cicatrization were (i)
856 that it helped the children to grow, (ii) that it was considered
832 beautiful and attractive to persons of the opposite sex, (iii) that it
'made the milk come up' in young women.

324 The next link in my argument is provided by the ritual con-
778 nected with the stones at Tiop. There are several points of resemblance between this and the ceremonies attached to the stone
called Mubenoits. Both stones have 'children'. In both a pig is

killed. In both the stone is washed, the one at Tiop with blood, 324
Mubenoits with the water in which the pig has been cooked. In 778
both paint is put on the stone, and food brought to it. But Mubenoits does not appear to be associated with the cicatrization of children, and the ceremonies held in connexion with it seem, as far as I could gather, to have been inaugurated some little time after what I take to have been its rediscovery in the bush, apparently about a generation ago. Whatever significance the stone now called Mubenoits may originally have possessed was clearly not known to its present owners, who adopted it as important on account of its peculiar appearance, which is in striking contrast to the shapeless chunks of rough honeycombed dolomitic limestone forming the cliffs near by. It seems clear that the Mubenoits [177]
ritual is not a survival, but a newly instituted affair. There is a certain amount of intercourse between Kurtatchi and Tiop, so the possibility of borrowing cannot be entirely ruled out. However this may be, there is perhaps some ground on which to base an hypothesis that the stone pillars and the slab-shaped structures at Tiop belong to one and the same series of monuments.

Without laying too much stress on the parallel, it is perhaps 324
worthy of note that stone structures comparable with both of these 171
occur in another area which, though distant, is known to have cultural affinities with Melanesia—the Naga Hills in Assam. There is, at Dimapur in the Naga Hills, a series of ancient monoliths, some of which carry carved patterns bearing a very remarkable resemblance to those on the pillar at Iltopan called 'A Pi'.[1] These appear to have been set up as memorials of feasts, a practice which is still in vogue among the Nagas, as an adjunct to sacrificial ceremonies 'which can only be performed when the giver of the feast enjoys exceptional prosperity', so that the posts now erected 'are associated, even if indirectly, with the fertility of crops and cattle' (Hutton, 1922 (i), p. 57). There is reason to believe that the ancient monuments also possessed a phallic significance, and that they were connected with sacrifices, probably human. I have no evidence that the stone pillars of Buka are regarded as phallic symbols at the present day, but from their appearance it would seem not unlikely that they may originally have been so intended.

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[1] These are figured in a paper by J. H. Hutton (1922 (i), Pl. 1). I am indebted to Mr. E. S. Thomas, of the Pitt-Rivers Museum, for drawing my attention to the similarity in design.

324 171 The Nagas also erect paired monuments in which one slab of stone represents the male and the other the female (Hutton, 1922 (ii), p. 243 and Pl. XVI) to which the stones at Tiop (which are also male and female) would be closely comparable in appearance, supposing the now prostrate stone originally to have stood upright. One of the reasons the Nagas give for so doing is 'that anything else is abhorrent to nature'.

324 842 It will be remembered that children are brought to the Tiop stones by their mothers at birth, and again for cicatrization; that the patterns on the two incised stones of Buka are the same as those produced by this operation on the skin; and that cicatrization is said to 'make the milk come up' in young women, and to render each sex more attractive to the other. These considerations lead me to put forward, very tentatively, an hypothesis that the stones at Tiop and the pillars of Buka and Bougainville may perhaps once have formed part of an elaborate fertility ritual, most of which has now been lost.

000 The existence of the stones at Tiop, and the ritual connected with them, came to my notice only at the very end of my period of residence, when I was unable for lack of time to investigate the question more fully. Further researches in this area might bring to light other pillars and more information if it is not already gone beyond recall.

## BUSH GOBLINS

776 538 To complete, so far as my material permits, the account of the beliefs held by these people in regard to ghosts and spirits, reference must be made to a group of beings which must be regarded as in a completely different category from those hitherto described. They are never called *urar* or connected in any way with persons who have died. They are not regarded with the terror inspired by the *urar*, but with a mixture of rather shamefaced fear and half-affectionate amusement apparently somewhat of the nature of the feelings of country people in bygone days towards fairies, or perhaps, since they are generally more or less mischievous, they are better compared to goblins. They live in the bush, but are not associated with special portions of it as the *urar* in their various transformations are thought to be. Their doings and adventures, particularly those into which human beings enter, provide material for endless numbers of stories, which are always much enjoyed by

both audience and narrator. That these stories are traditional is 776
clear from the reappearance of certain stock incidents, with minor 538
variations, in tales collected in different villages and told in several dialects. But although everybody knows about these spirits, which are thought to be visible to human beings, I never heard any one say that he had seen one, or even that he knew some one who had!

These bush goblins are of two kinds. One kind is called in the 776
Petats dialect Kirin. They belong to the Manu clan. Those who
are 'close to' them (i.e. in kinship) can see them; they will come to 614
such people when called, and are then given food, especially ceremonial pudding, of which they are said to be very fond. I could get no clear idea of exactly what was meant by this connexion. It was described differently from that existing between a person and an *urar*-creature discussed in a preceding section. There are a great many Kirin. They live in holes under stones, especially at places where there is water. They also climb trees. They are described as being about a foot high (height shown by [804]
a gesture); they look like human beings, either male or female. Their skin is black; they have long hair, and long nails with which they scratch people in order to kill them. They can make a noise like a whistle. They are not always malevolent, but sometimes helpful to people. On the whole, however, they are regarded as mischievous.

The second kind of goblin is represented in Petats tales by a single individual, called Tatopiok. He belongs to the Kekeleo clan. One old man was named as being 'close to' him. He also lives in the bush. He has very long legs, so long that when he squats down his knees reach above his head. He has long hair, and his body is hairy as well as his head. His skin is light; it was compared to the colour of my own. He is always described as 'a bad fellow'; he comes to houses at night and steals food and ceremonial currency and other portable property and takes it away into the bush. But the Petats people said that now the Mission had come he did not steal any more!

At Kurtatchi the two kinds of goblins were not associated with 776
the clans, nor was anything said about a special connexion between them and certain human beings. The descriptions given were otherwise identical. The 'little people' are called in the Kurtatchi dialect Tukis. The equivalent of Tatopiok is Pinari, also called Dinjis, but whereas Tatopiok appears to be considered as a single

776 individual of the male sex, there seem to be a number of Pinari both male and female, as although one usually appears as the protagonist in any given story, they sometimes act in groups. The stories collected in both districts are in some instances identical. But sometimes incidents in which Tukis figures according to one version, will be reported of Pinari in another, so that there seems to be a process of pooling going on as regards their adventures. But the difference in their physical characteristics, and the fact that in some stories both Pinari and Tukis appear together, sometimes as confederates, sometimes as antagonists, indicates that they are regarded as distinct.

776 538 There is a very large number of stories relating to these goblins in my collection. Most of them tell how Tukis or Pinari succeed in getting the better of some human, usually by a trick, or, conversely, how some human got his own back on the goblin. Occasionally a Tukis is represented as helping a man to capture or to escape from a Pinari. Both Tukis and Pinari delight in persuading some too trusting human to come to their holes, where the unsuspecting guest is trapped and eaten as a relish to taro, unless he is able to outwit the goblin and make his escape. In other stories it is the goblin who is caught and eaten. Both Tukis and Pinari can appear in the shape of any given individual. Sometimes they impersonate a man's wife, sometimes a woman's husband, or her baby. In either case the result is usually the death of the person who is deceived by the resemblance, and very often also of the goblin, who is killed by the victim's husband or relatives in revenge. A man or woman who has sexual intercourse with a Pinari will die. They present themselves to people who are in the bush alone, and also to groups of children, out opossum hunting or fishing or gathering nuts; they begin a conversation by asking for food, and various adventures then ensue. If they find any food left unguarded, they steal it. They are not represented as taking the shapes of animals or appearing in any other form except their own or that of some human being.

776 [771] I cannot find any exact parallel to the Pinari in accounts of other Melanesian peoples. There may be some affinity with the *adaro ni hasimou* of San Cristoval, who have long, straight hair and aremalevolent (Fox, 1924, p. 129). But they are described as dark skinned, whereas my informants all laid stress on the fact that a Pinari's skin was as light as a white man's. Their behaviour also differs in detail.

Tukis clearly corresponds to the Kakamora of San Cristoval as described by Fox (p. 140 ff.). Not only does the description tally exactly, but some of the tales are identical. Some of the stories in my collection concerning both Pinari and Tukis are recorded of *nitu* in the Mono-Alu tales (Wheeler, 1926, *passim*). 776

There is nothing in the accounts of these 'little people' which I obtained from Buka and North Bougainville which will serve either to confirm or to refute Fox's suggestion that 'they may be the people who held the land before the Melanesians entered it, in very ancient times, and who are now extinct; or they may be the memories of other people from other islands whence the Melanesians came'. The occurrence of these stories in the northernmost islands of the Solomon group would be quite consistent with either hypothesis, and the possibility of a terrestrial origin is supported by the marked contrast between the rather jocular familiarity of the attitude of the natives towards these beings and the very real dread which is inspired by the *urar*.

### *Summary*

The various kinds of supernormal beings in which the people of this area believe may be distinguished as follows: 775

*urar* (Petats dialect *amat*). Spirits of the dead, who live in the region of the volcano Balbi; can return to help or to harm the living, and are invoked on various ceremonial occasions. 776

*urar* (Petats dialect *halelehan*) is also used to refer to spirits who have never been men; these are associated with certain localities or, in the form of animals, with certain individuals; they are not regarded with such intense awe and fear as are the spirits of the dead.

Pinari (Petats Tatopiok). A goblin, or group of goblins, with white skin and very long legs.

Tukis (Petats Kirin), another group of bush goblins, about a foot high, with very dark skin.

Both Pinari and Tukis live in the bush and play tricks on people; they are regarded with half-fearful, half-affectionate amusement rather than with dread, although they are supposed to kill and eat human beings if they get the chance.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

# XVI

# DREAMS

126 159 THE collection of native dreams which forms the subject of the present chapter was made in accordance with a suggestion from Professor C. G. Seligman that I might pay some attention to this aspect of native life while in the field. Being without the special training necessary to record and deal with the material from the standpoint of the psycho-analyst, I can do little more than give a descriptive account of the dreams I was able to obtain, quoting them in full[1] as far as seems practicable in the hope that taken in conjunction with the background supplied by the other chapters of this book, they may provide material which those better qualified than myself may turn to better purpose.

## SCOPE OF THE COLLECTION

The dreams in my collection comprise 91 verbatim reports of actual dreams, almost all taken on the morning after their occurrence, and 21 recollected dreams, gathered in course of conversation; among these latter are included experiences of the informant, beginning: 'Once I dreamt that . . .' or 'I sometimes (or often) dream that . . .' and also, in a few cases [illegible]neral statements, beginning: 'We dream that . . .' (using th[illegible]lusive form of the personal pronoun).

The dreams in the former category were from both sexes, the numbers being as follows: 49 were dreams of men, 11 of boys, 22 of women, and 9 of girls. In several cases more dreams than one were obtained from the same individual, the number of individuals concerned being 23 men, 8 boys, 13 women, and 5 girls. The dreams in the second category were obtained from men only. These figures are given merely to indicate the size and scope of the collection; they have no significance as regards the distribution, since the personnel was made up on the haphazard principle of getting hold of any one who was available. The numbers are, of

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[1] Dreams given in full are numbered. Quotations in the text without numbers are portions of dreams only. The numbers are arbitrary and given merely for convenience of reference.

[p.544]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

course, far too small to permit of any satisfactory generalizations being made from them, but as collections of the dreams of a primitive people are as yet few and far between, a few comments may perhaps be permissible. 126 159

### METHOD OF COLLECTING AND RECORDING

The great majority of the dreams in my collection were obtained in the village of Kurtatchi, but I took what opportunities came my way of discussing the subject of dreaming in other places which I happened to visit. The 'remembered dreams' were usually obtained in this way. The verbatim reports were noted down the morning after their occurrence, and all the dreamers were personally known to me. It was my custom to take a walk round the village every morning after breakfast, during which I would sit chatting on the verandahs of various houses, and in the course of conversation would ask if any one had had any dreams on the previous night. No inducement or reward of any kind was offered. I used to tell them my own dreams, and found that they soon became interested and eager to tell me theirs. Sometimes they would come to my verandah to tell me dreams they had had during a daytime siesta. No special characteristics appear to belong to these as distinct from those dreamed at night. I have also heard them telling dreams to one another, just as we do. Only once, in the case of the 'incest' dream (No. 5, p. 563), was there, for reasons which will be obvious, any reluctance to tell a dream; in this case the speaker, though anxious to unburden himself of it, needed sympathetic encouragement and an assurance that no one could overhear, before he finally gave it.

Some of the dreams were written down a short time after the conversation, but the great majority were written as they were told. I had accustomed my friends to talking to me at such a pace that I was able to follow them in writing, and my note-taking did not appear to cause them any uneasiness. During the early part of my work the dreams were recorded in pidgin-English; afterwards I used the Kurtatchi dialect. After the dream had been recorded the dreamer was asked whether he considered the dream a good one or a bad one, and why. Usually it was not possible to elicit any further explanation, but occasionally incidents in the dream would be related by the dreamer to something that had happened recently. Attempts to carry out the technique suggested by Dr. Seligman

126 (1923, p. 188) as regards point (*c*), which requires that 'the
159 dreamer should be asked of what each incident or figure makes him think', met with little success, the usual response being 'I thought it was true'.

### FREQUENCY OF DREAMING

154 No data as to the frequency of dreams among these people can be obtained from my collection, as even had I carried out my
159 inquiries with more regularity than circumstances did in fact permit, it would still have been impossible to take note of the whole of any one person's dreaming, and there could be no check upon the completeness of the record. It is my impression, however, that, on the whole, dreams were much less frequent than among ourselves, so far as my limited experience goes, though I understand that very great individual differences occur in our own society. It is noteworthy that on more than one occasion the reason alleged for not having dreamed was that the previous day had been one on which nothing particular had happened. It is certainly a fact that on the morning after a day of excitements, such as the ceremony in the taro garden described in Chapter IX, there was always a number of dreams to record. It should perhaps be added that such days of excitement are, as a rule, accompanied by the consumption of more food than usual, including quantities of taro-and-coco-nut pudding, not an everyday article of diet, and certainly not markedly easy of digestion. One man said that he only dreamed when he played around a lot, or went down to the beach where there were rocks and caves. The explanation of the latter condition may lie in the fact that many of these rocks and caves are supposed to be the haunts of *urar*, and are thus connected with feelings of fear which may give rise to dreams in which the *urar* figure.

### THEORIES OF THE ORIGIN AND MEANING OF DREAMS

828 An endeavour to ascertain the ideas current among these people as to the cause of dreams elicited the following replies: 'You sleep, something goes away out of your head, when you wake it comes back.' 'The men who have died before send dreams to you when you sleep.' 'When we dream, the people who are dead come and
828 talk to us.' 'In dreams we go and stay with the people who are
774 dead.' 'I think when we dream our *abin* go and stand up with all the men who fought in the old days' (*abin* is the word used for a

man's shadow, his reflection in a glass or in a pool of water, or his 828
'spirit' while he is still alive, but never for the spirits of the dead,
the word for which is always *urar*). On one occasion a man, after 774
telling me his dream, asked me: 'Where does our spirit (using the word *abin*) go when we dream?' I said I didn't know. Then he said: 'The night fools us; we see something in our sleep and we think it is true.'

A more sophisticated explanation, given by a young man of 828
Petats, who had had some contact with white people, runs as 177
follows: 'If a man eats too much, and then goes to sleep, his belly is too full, and the blood in his skin turns round and round all the time, and the blood runs into his eyes while he is asleep; then he sees a bad man, just like the men who are dead; the man wants to fight him. Or else he sees a friend belonging to another place who comes and talks to him.'

They divide their dreams quite definitely into two classes. One 828
informant, talking pidgin-English, said to me: 'Some dreams are true, some are gammon.' 'Gammon' is used in pidgin-English for anything false or deceiving, for nonsense, or for a deception intended to tease. In telling dreams which they class as 'gammon' they often conclude the account by saying: 'I got up and said, "Oh, what have I been doing, I have been dreaming, that's all".' Or, as one man put it, 'Then I woke and thought it was true and I was very sorry, and I went to look, and it was all right, so I knew the night had deceived me.'

Of the dreams of the other class—those held to be 'true', it is 828
fair to say, as Dr. Seligman suggests (1932, p. 216), that 'the dream
is a significant mental element in waking life upon which a man 787
may be ready to act and for which he is prepared to suffer'. Instances of this are not wanting in my collection. If a man dreams of cohabiting with a woman who is taboo to him, it is as bad as if he had actually done so. After telling how he had dreamed of going to fish for bonito and being pursued by a shark, the dreamer volunteered the statement: 'If there had been a cry of "*Atūn*" (bonito, see p. 327) to-day I would not have gone out, if there is one to-morrow I will not go either, but after a few days it will be all right.' Well knowing the excitement and the rush to put to sea that invariably attend upon the cry of '*Atūn*', I realized that to refrain from joining in the expedition was a very real deprivation which would only be tolerated under pressure of an equally real

828 787 fear. The dreamer added: 'If I had dreamed that a man was lying asleep and that I stepped over him, it would mean that the shark would not eat me.' As usual, however, he could not explain why such an incident should bear this meaning.

Again, to dream of falling from a coco-nut tree means that some one will die. If the dream is that another man falls from the tree, the dreamer will tell him next morning and warn him not to go up. Further evidence of this is supplied from Pororan in material collected by Mr. Gordon Thomas, which I quote with his permission:

> A man will often dream that a relative or friend is ascending a coco-nut tree or going out in a canoe, and will see in his dream that the relative or friend will fall out of the coco-nut tree or is capsized from his canoe. He will tell the one dreamt of about his dream and will warn him not to do as he has dreamt. Sometimes they will laugh at the dreamer and will take no notice of the warning. At such times it is usual that the dream will come true and the accident will happen.
>
> Some men more than others have the gift of prophetic dreams. Hakaria has on several occasions dreamt of seeing a child taken away by a spirit during the night. On the following morning the child has been dead.

Conversely, dreams are also thought to ensure success. 'If a man dreams of hunting pig, he takes the dogs to the bush next day and 153 gets one.' In view of the known susceptibility of the native to suggestion, it is not unlikely that such dreams as this would be stimuli to successful effort.

It is recognized that some people are able to interpret dreams, but I did not hear of an instance in which such a person was actually consulted as to the meaning of a dream, either with or without payment. No reference was made in our discussions to this being done. But it may be. Some people said that if they had bad dreams they did not like to tell them to anybody.

### 'RECIPROCAL' DREAMS

157 Several instances of dreams in which two people were concerned came to my notice. Unfortunately, I did not check any of them by questioning the other people concerned, so I cannot offer corroborative evidence. They seem, however, to be sufficiently interesting to record at their face value.

A man may dream of having connexion with a woman and the woman with the man. The next day the man will say to the woman: 'I dreamed about you last night. My skin wants you.' Then if the woman is willing they go to the bush (implying that they have sexual intercourse there). 159 [195]

It was made clear in subsequent conversation that the speaker had in mind the occurrence of 'reciprocal dreams', in which both parties dreamed simultaneously of the other. A similar report was made by Sakwan of Pororan:

> Sometimes a man will dream of a woman; that he is sleeping with her and that they have sexual connexion. In the morning the man who has dreamed will go to the woman and say: 'I dreamed of you last night.' She will reply: 'Yes, I know, for I dreamed of you too.' Sometimes a woman will dream of a man in like manner, and the man will know that he has been dreamed of by that certain woman. (Notes supplied by Mr. Gordon Thomas.)

Both these accounts were given as generalized statements, not as actual dreams.

Persons other than the dreamer are involved also in the following, which appears to have been an actual dream, though not of the night before:

> Sometimes my dreams come true. Once I dreamed that a certain man went to the house of a certain girl and they walked about together with his arm round her neck. Afterwards I went to the man and told him the dream, and he said: 'True, I did walk about with my arm round the girl's neck.' He was very much ashamed that I had dreamed such a thing.
>
> *Comment by the recorder*. Etiquette forbids any show of affection [576] between lovers in public. The couple in question were shortly afterwards married by the missionary.

On one occasion, after my return from a trip during which I had left my native servant in charge of my house at Kurtatchi, he told me that during my absence the following incident had occurred:

> (No. 24) One night I thought I heard some one knocking on the wall of the house, and I got the torch to look, but there was no one to be seen. Then I went to sleep and dreamed a woman came under the house and knocked on the floor, and asked me to have intercourse with her, but I would not. Next day I found out that the people in the village were talking about me, and saying that women came to me at night. But that is not true, I do nothing but sleep at night.

The belief in the efficacy of certain 'prescriptions' involving dreams may be due to their use having been coincident with success 159 832

159 832 explicable along similar lines. The two which are here given were told to me in the course of my inquiries after plants powerful as 'medicine', and had no connexion whatever with any of our discussions on dreams.

*To make a woman desire you*

[824] *Rarakot* (a grass with numbers of small sticky seeds).

Take the roots and some of the seeds when they are ripe. Chew them with the betel-mixture, go to the woman with this in your mouth and talk with her. When she has answered you, go away. At night the woman will dream of you. In the morning she will come and ask you: 'What have you done to me? I dreamed about you.' You say: 'No, I did nothing to you, but you and I talked together while I chewed something.' The woman dreams about you every night, and if she sleeps during the day she dreams about you again. By and by you two get married.

*To make a woman visit you*

[824] *Wadodowu* (a small plant).

If you dream in the night that you have connexion with a woman, you get up at earliest dawn and get a leaf of this plant, rub it in your hands and wash it in a river; then go back to the village and the woman will come to you.

## TYPE DREAMS

159 787 Of the 'type dreams' listed by Dr. Seligman (1923, p. 188, supplemented by letter) as common among the white races, my collection contains instances of all but one, the absence of which is easily explained. I have no evidence, however, that they bear in the Solomon Islands the meanings usually assigned to them in Europe, and also discovered in other parts of the world.

1. *Flying*. ('Usual meaning, good luck, success.')

Three examples. Also given as a dream that recurs. Sensation regarded as pleasant, but no definite meaning assigned to it, so far as I could ascertain.

2. *Fire*. ('May refer to reproduction or some form of creative energy.')

Only one example, in the course of a complex dream related by an old man (No. 13, p. 554). 'By and by I tried to light a fire but it would not burn.' The dream was regarded as a good one, but the relevant part of it was other than the fire.

3. *Climbing a tree or going uphill.* ('Success, often sexual.') 159 787

Seven examples, if we include a dream of climbing a rope that went up into the sky. In two of these the climbing of the tree was followed by falling from it, and this was regarded as the more significant part of the dream, foreboding death. In others the tree is climbed in order to escape from a pursuer; these are bad dreams.

4. *Loss of a tooth or teeth.* ('Death of a near relative.')

Not related as an actual dream of the night before, but statement made in discussion: 'If I eat a lot at night I sometimes dream all my teeth have gone away. In the morning I feel for them and they are still there.' No particular significance appeared to be attached to this dream, but one informant who reported it said it was a good dream, because some one would say to him, 'Oh, you are an old man now.' It is possible that the dream is regarded as good because of the greater prestige attaching to the elder men which was thus attained by the dreamer.

5. *The Œdipus dream.*

One clear example of this as 'manifest content' of dream, if 'extended to include connexion with any relative within the forbidden degrees of the people concerned' (Seligman, 1923, p. 188). For further discussion of this question see p. 563.

6. *Raw Meat.* ('Forebodes disaster, possibly death.')

Five examples, in all cases the meat being pig, which is cooked and eaten in the dream. In two of these there is definite mention of its being 'cut up', in the others this is implied. Always said to be a good dream 'because we had pig to eat'. The idea of disaster is definitely not associated with this dream.

7. *Dream of being incompletely clothed.* ('Goes back to childhood.')

Does not occur in my collection. Absence may be accounted for by the fact that these natives habitually wear little or no clothing.

## CLASSIFICATION OF INCIDENTS IN THE DREAMS ACCORDING TO THEIR 'MANIFEST CONTENT'

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Since it is of interest to the student of native psychology to determine how far the dreams of primitive people resemble our own, the 'manifest content' of the dreams in my collection will now be considered in some detail, and an attempt will be made to

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126 associate them, as far as possible, 'with the life and beliefs of the
dreamer', as suggested in *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* (1929
159 ed., p. 172).

As among ourselves, many of the dreams consist of a succession of incidents, apparently unrelated to one another, but each quite clear and definite in content. It is, therefore, impossible to get an adequate idea of their contents by classifying only the dreams as a whole. I have, therefore, listed the more definite of the incidents in the dreams separately, and for the present will consider each of these as an isolated entity, without reference to the rest of the dream in which it occurs. The numbers are, of course, too small to be significant, but the list as a whole is, perhaps, indicative of the general trend of native dreaming. Inferences regarding the distribution of the subject-matter of dreams according to the age and sex of the dreamer are also unsatisfactory owing to smallness of numbers, but these particulars are given where they appear to be relevant.

*Classification of incidents according to 'manifest content'*

| *Subject* | *Number of incidents* |
|---|---|
| (*a*) Death and *urar* (spirits of the dead) | 39 |
| (*b*) Incidents of everyday life | 20 |
| (*c*) Incidents with sexual implications | 18 |
| (*d*) Food and eating | 14 |
| (*e*) Fighting, beating, or being beaten | 14 |
| (*f*) Incidents involving animals (other than as food) | 13 |
| (*g*) Going a journey | 11 |
| (*h*) Falling from a height | 9 |
| (*i*) Climbing or going uphill | 7 |
| (*j*) Sleep | 6 |
| (*k*) Trying to move and being fixed to the spot | 5 |
| (*l*) Physical disabilities | 5 |
| (*m*) Urination and defaecation | 4 |
| (*n*) Childbirth and suckling | 3 |
| (*o*) Going into water to wash | 3 |
| (*p*) Flying | 3 |
| (*q*) Ceremonies and dances | 3 |

(*a*) *Death and* urar.

159 Of the 39 incidents in this category, 22 deal with *urar*, i.e. spirits of people long dead, and not personally identifiable by the

dreamer. They are most frequently dreamed of as chasing or beating or killing the dreamer or some other person, but occasionally play a beneficent part, just as they do in the waking life of the natives. They have been discussed at length in Chapter XIV, and the important part which they play throughout the life of every individual has been emphasized.

The following are typical examples of this kind of dream:

No. 71. Rus (adult female).

I dreamed an *urar* seized me by the leg, and I was very frightened. This is a bad dream.

No. 79. Nawi (adolescent girl, aged about 12–13).

I dreamed about an *urar*; it ran after me, and I was frightened, and I cried, and I fell down from a tree, and I ran away. My mother cried because of the *urar*; she thought it would eat me, so she cried about me. Then I went to sleep in the dark. This is a bad dream. When I woke up I felt frightened.

No. 50. Taikul (adolescent boy, aged about 14–15).

I dreamed about *urar*; we saw a lot of them coming towards the village. Then Tchub saw Talok, and said to him: Who is there?' Talok said: 'It is I.' Then we went inside a house, a house belonging to the *urar*, and stayed there, and the *urar* came up, and we saw them coming along the road. Then I said: 'Here are the *urar* coming along the road.' We were all afraid of them. The boys said: 'The *urar* want to eat us, we are afraid of them.' Then we said to them: 'You go back to your own place, and we will stay in our own place.' Then we saw a lot of *urar* and we all ran away and went inside a house. Then a dog cried out and barked at the *urar* in the bush, and Maniu went out and said: 'What are the dogs barking at?' We said to him: 'You go and see.' Then he said: 'There are *urar* here.' He saw them, and he ran away, and ran inside the house. Then we saw the *urar* standing in the bush, and we said: 'I think they are real men.' Then Tchub looked round the village, and all the *urar* came up, and he called out: 'A lot of *urar*.' Tchub called out to the *urar*, and they ran away and went back to the bush, and we all ran back to the village, and we talked about the *urar*: 'Presently they will come back and eat us.' Then we lay down inside the house, we were afraid and we lay down in the house. Then some people called out to us: 'You come out on the other side of the house.' We were asleep, but we got up and went out on the other side. Then the *urar* very nearly caught us and ate us. Then we called out to them, and said: 'You go back to your own place, what are you doing in our village? This place belongs to us, your place is a long way off. We can't go to your place, it is a bad place, our place is a good place, there is plenty to eat here.' We said to the *urar*: 'You go back to your own place, and we will stay in our own place, our nice village, not a bad place like yours.' Then we went to sleep, and the *urar* went away, but one stayed *urar* behind, on the front verandah, our front verandah, and we asked him: 'Who is there?' He said: 'It is I, an *urar*. You come here, you come out on the other side.' Then one man wanted to relieve himself, and the *urar* caught him and took him to his hole. This is a bad dream, I was frightened.

The following is interesting because of the attitude of the dreamer, my servant, from Petats. He has had more contact with white people than most of the other people whose dreams are here recorded.

No. 25. Ross (adult male).

I dreamed that I was at some place with some more men and two women. I was cutting firewood. A *tamboran*[1] came up, one of those who eat men. All the men ran away and left me alone. I went on cutting firewood. The two women said: 'You and I will wait for Ross.' The *tamboran* barred the road. I sat down and thought what to do: 'Which way shall I go, the *tamboran* is barring the road, there is no way for me to get away. Never mind, I will try the road all the same. Night is coming, there is nowhere for me to sleep here.' So I went along the road, and there was no *tamboran* there at all. I went on and went on, and saw nothing of the *tamboran*, and at last I came to my village. All the people were angry with me. 'What are you doing, walking about in the place where there are *tamboran*? Don't you know they will eat you?' 'I came, there are no *tamboran*.' Then they all said: 'I think you are not afraid of them,' and I said: 'No, I am not afraid.'

The following are examples of 'good' dreams in which the *urar* figure:

No. 13. Maravin (aged male).

I dreamed that an *urar* came and pulled me away to Binasoa (a village about 14 miles down the coast). It was just like a pig. I made myself a little house at the root of a banyan tree and went to sleep. By and by I tried to light a fire, but it would not burn. Then I walked about. Then some people came and said: 'Let us go back to our own village.' So they brought me back. Then I woke up and said: 'Oh, it was only a dream. I thought I was dead. Now my spirit (*abin*) has come back.' This is a good dream. I think I shall get well now.

*Comment by the recorder*. The dreamer had been ill for a long time. He died a few days later.

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[1] This dream was told to me in pidgin-English. *Tamboran* is the pidgin-English equivalent of *urar* in the Kurtatchi dialect.

No. 4. Bwapip (adult male).

When I was asleep last night, an *urar* came and lifted me up, and took me to Ura'o (part of the beach below the cliffs on which the village is situated), and turned me round, and took me to the shore, and then took me into the sea. He saw a big wave, and said: 'Go on, what are you waiting for? The sea is clear now, there are no waves.' He looked at the rough sea and threw me into it, and I called out from a big wave; it threw me on to a stone, and I called out: 'Who is beating me? I lay down. There were no men there. I thought there were some men, and I got up and went to the shore, and tried to stand up, but I fell down on to the sand. There were no men there, only *urar*. All the *urar* beat me, and they brought me to some place, I was dead; and they carried me to a hole. They put me in the hole, and I lay there; it was a very big hole. I lay there for a long time, and then the *urar* came and made me get up again. I stood up and laughed, and did not think about my skin, which had disappeared; there I was without my skin. Then I went back to my village, and all the people asked me: 'Where have you been?' I said: 'I don't know, I have been in a hole. I think the *urar* came and lifted me up.' 'No, you know, you have been talking to the *urar*.' They all made *menak* (ceremonial pudding) because I had come back, all the people made it; then they called all the *urar* and they all came and ate the *menak*. This is a good dream, it was pleasant to see. If a dream is bad, when the man wakes up he feels sick. When I woke up I felt well, I was not sick.

Of the sixteen dreams which deal with individuals, four are concerned with the death of the dreamer, who in three of them came to life again.[1] The fourth was a dream of suicide (No. 35, p. 569). Four portray the death of persons (actually living) known to the dreamer, and identified by name, and four refer to the death of persons unknown or unidentified. One is the dream of a funeral; it occurred on the night following the attendance of the dreamer (a woman) at a ritual wailing. Four are concerned with people recently dead, and form a link with the *urar* dreams, since the recently dead are in process of becoming *urar* (see p. 506). Some of them bear traces of missionary influence, as will be seen from the following example:

No. 43. Watchiu (adult male).

I dreamed about Baki, that he died. The teacher at Mosang (a neighbouring village) wanted to bury him. He went to look for me; I was at Tchuntchunia (a piece of the coast not far off). I asked him: 'What do you want me for?' 'I want to bury Baki.' 'What, is Baki dead?' 'Yes, he is dead.' 'Well, you can't bury him here; you go and bury him in the place where they bury people who have been baptized.'

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[1] In this connexion it should be noted that these people do not distinguish between death and unconsciousness due to illness or a faint. The same word is used for both, and ritual wailing will be started for a person in the latter condition, to cease suddenly when consciousness returns.

Then we went back to the village. I looked at Baki, he was lying there dead. I said: '*Atsat!* (an expression equivalent to our 'Alas!') he is dead.' Then we lifted him up and went to bury him.

Then his spirit (*abin*) turned into a shark, and went to the sea. A lot of men were sitting on their nets, waiting for fish to come up. One man stood up, and saw the shark by the light of his torch, and went after it. It was angry, and said: 'Why did you stand up with your torch and go after that fish?' They all cried out: 'Here is one coming now.' A fish came along, and they all struggled to catch it in their nets. One man, Oga'ur (who died several months ago), tried especially hard to catch it. He went and lay down close to Baki, and his belly all swelled up, and he laughed about it.

Then I woke up in a fright, and looked all about, and said: 'What was it I was looking at?'

*Comments by the dreamer*. This is a bad dream. I was frightened. I was afraid of the man with the big belly. In the morning I went and said to Baki: 'I dreamed about you last night, I dreamed you were dead.' Baki said: 'I think I am going to die.' 'So do I. I thought you were really dead. I got up, and I did not hear the women crying over you, so then I thought: Oh, it was only a dream.'

*Comments by the recorder*. Baki is an old man in poor health. He has not been baptized, and does not want to be. His name means 'shark'; he [553] adopted it on the occasion when one of the principal men of the village was eaten by a shark.

Another individual also dreamed of the death of the same man, owing probably to his long illness, from which he had recently recovered at the time of the following dream:

No. 52. Rarun (adolescent male, aged about 14–15).

I dreamed Baki died of his sore, and we all cried over him. They buried him at night. Then I went out to urinate, and something ran after me with a spear that was all alight. I was afraid, and I cried out: 'Don't kill me.' Then I went and found Takel (another boy, younger than Rarun) and we went fishing at night, and Baki's spirit chased us. This is a bad dream because I was frightened.

The following dream of a visit to the place of the dead, in search of a deceased relative, has its counterpart in many of the stories and

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legends in my collection, the telling of some of which may possibly have occasioned it. 159

No. 88. Patu (middle-aged male, village of Kohiso, Central Buka).

I dreamed about my brother who is dead. I went to look for him, and came to a big place, with big houses on each side and a road in the middle. There were a lot of people. They all asked: 'Who is this?' Some of them said: 'Oh, he is a relative of mine.' Then they beckoned me to go into a house and said it was mine. This is a good dream.

The dreams in this category are fairly evenly distributed among adults and adolescents, males and females, and give an accurate picture of the psychological importance to these people of their conception of the *urar*. The proportion of dreams involving death was undoubtedly somewhat increased by the death of two villagers within a short interval; but for many of them no immediate external cause could be assigned, other than the fear of death which is very present to every one in the community. It would be interesting to ascertain the proportion of dreams involving death in a comparable collection from our own community. 159 775 761

(*b*) *Incidents of everyday life.*

In this category I have placed dreams, common I take it in the experience of every dreamer, which deal with events or activities which either do, or might very well, happen in the course of an ordinary day, without being in any way unusual. They are frequently identified with incidents in the recent waking life of the dreamer. Many of them deal with the occupations associated with the provision of food, e.g. hunting, fishing, working in the taro garden, &c. They seem to be more frequent among men and boys than among women and girls, perhaps because hunting and fishing are more exciting than most of the work performed by women. 159

Typical of this class are the following:

No. 16. Minka (adult male).

I dreamed that I went out in a big *mon* (plank canoe) to fish for bonito, and we caught a lot of bonito; then a shark came after the *mon*. We paddled hard, but the shark was just going to catch us when I woke up.

It was this dream that gave rise to the statement that the dreamer would not go out after bonito for a few days following it.

159 The dreams of children and adolescents frequently seem to be of this type:

No. 84. Talewu (girl, aged 5 or 6).

I dreamed about a lot of shells, they were in the house, and we threw them away into the sea.

*Comment by recorder.* She had been gathering shell-fish on the reef for a long time on the previous day.

No. 85. Waror (girl, aged about 7).

I dreamed about my mother; she came back to our village; she brought a big hood and a little hood, and we went to wash and to get water, and we fetched some water and went back and went home.

*Comment by recorder.* Waror's mother has been staying at another village. When she returns from such a visit she always brings a present for her children. The hood is worn by women and girls to prevent them from seeing or being seen by their *waris* (daughter's husband, in the classificatory system, see p. 73).

The following, dreamed by a boy wearing the *upi*, is perhaps significant:

No. 46. Maniu (boy aged about 10 or 11).

I dreamed that Karikoa (a boy about the same age) cut a piece off the end of an old canoe, and I said: 'Oh, Karikoa, why are you spoiling Sinke's canoe?' Then Tchub (a young man) said: 'It is a good canoe, why did you cut it short?' Karikoa said: 'I only cut it, that 's all.' Then Tchub mended it.

Another, dreamed by a young man who had had more contact with white people than most of the people of this village, having worked both on plantations and in the gold mines of New Guinea, deals with money and also with knives, one of its trade equivalents.

No. 15. Matarē (adult male).

I dreamed I had a lot of money, and I bought knives, and I bought a box and filled it up with knives and nothing else. Then all the people came and asked me: 'Where is your box? let us see it.' Then I opened the box and they all said: 'Oh, what a lot of knives!' Then I gave them all knives. This is a good dream; I was glad, I thought I really had a lot of money.

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*Comment by the recorder.* 'Money' means shillings, which are used for the payment of plantation labourers. It is the custom for them to spend much of it on knick-knacks from the plantation store, which are appropriated by their friends as soon as they return to their own village. They do not appear to object to being thus mulcted of the results of their three

years' hard work, but enjoy the enhanced reputation which such generosity (although almost involuntary) accords to them. 159 [556]

(*c*) *Dreams having a definite sexual element.*

The dreams included under this head are confined to those in which the sexual element is clearly expressed in the manifest content. I have made no attempt to deal with the sexual life as illustrated by the 'latent content' of the dreams in this collection, not being qualified to do so.

As regards 'manifest content', then, this collection provides eighteen dreams which can be regarded as sexual. It will be noted that the number is less than half that of the dreams concerned with death and the *urar*, a proportion which seems to be significant even in so small a collection.

The sexual act, either performed or solicited, figures in six of these dreams, three being dreams of men and three of women. In each case the individual of the opposite sex figures as the aggressor, the request being either refused or acceded to after much persuasion. This pretence seems to be a form of self-justification to which the natives have recourse also in their waking life, for I was struck by the fact that in every dispute over, or discussion upon, sexual relations which came under my notice, the other party was represented as urging and the speaker as holding back, an allegation which was always denied by the accused. Only one of these dreams deals with a married couple, in the others the relations are illicit. One of them is an 'incest' dream (No. 5, p. 563). 159 833

Of the other dreams in this class, mention may be made of one which occurred to the husband of the woman who was the cause of the trouble discussed on p. 119 by being accused of carrying on intrigues with three lovers at once. The dream took place at a time when her behaviour was the subject of general comment in the village. Its implications are obvious: 159

No. 33. *Tchiriv (young adult male).*

I dreamed a man whom I did not know hid Tarubi in the bush and covered her up with leaves. I went to look for her. Tahol and Takon asked me: 'Where is your wife?' I said: 'I don't know.' Then I found a snake, and that woke me up. This is a bad dream.

*Comments by the recorder.* It is usual for illicit relationships to be carried on in the bush. Tarubi is the dreamer's wife, Tahol and Takon are the two wives of a man in whose hut Tchiriv and Tarubi were living at the time. [837]

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In connexion with the theories concerning conflict and repression in dreams, it is relevant, I think, that some of the dreams of adolescent boys wearing the *upi* fall into this category. As explained at length in Chapter VI these boys are strictly debarred from all but the most distant association with women and girls, and from entering any house in which a woman lives, even their own mother's. Since this situation is interesting from the point of view of psycho-analytical theory, the dreams are given in full.

No. 47. Rimias (adolescent male, aged 15 to 16).

A dog barked at an opossum, and a man went to catch it. Another man asked him: 'Has the dog eaten up the opossum?' Then he went and sat down beside another man who was pulling on a creeper (to shake down the opossum). The man was angry with him for coming so close. Then another man, Gasagar (a boy about the same age as the dreamer, also wearing the *upi*), pretended to be mad, and went inside two houses. Two men were sitting down on the men's verandah; but the mad man went inside the house by the women's door and beat two women, and they cried. Then the mad man chased all the people of the place, and they all went and hid among the banana palms. I said: 'Why did Gasagar go inside the house? He knows that is taboo; it is not time to go inside the house yet. We shall all die now.' Then I woke up feeling very angry.

The dreamer could make no comments on this dream, he did not have a definite impression that it was either good or bad.

The following dream occurred to the same individual about a month later:

No. 48. Rimias.

I dreamed in the night. I saw a woman who was dead, and the people of Tenasoa (the next village) brought a coffin, and all the women went to church, and we heard them crying, and we stayed in the garden shelter. Then we went back, and a Chinaman took a photograph of me. He had his wife with him; they were both very short. He held the camera with one hand stretched out, not with both hands as you do (illustrating with gesture). Then we went back, and Wanias (a little boy of *tsunaun* lineage) broke my belt; it was a very good belt, so I took it from him, and then I carried him in my arms. All the women were getting sand on the shore, and I carried a long thing that looked like the excrement of a pig; it touched my skin and I stank![1] Then I carried

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[1] This is the only dream in which mention is made of the sense of smell. As is known to be the case with ourselves, the senses chiefly in evidence in these dreams are those of sight and hearing.

Wanias back, and all the women came back, and I lay down on the ground; then I got up again, and all the women went back to the shore. This is a good dream because I did not feel ill when I woke up. 154 159

The following is the dream of a younger boy—also wearing the *upi*:

No. 54. Wasaman (aged about 10 or 11).

I dreamed that a man was having connexion with his wife, and the woman said: 'Now you come and help me.' Then an *urar* came behind them and beat me, and the woman cried over me. The woman was Erut. Then her husband, Pasab, came up, and cried over me, and the *urar* came and beat them both and said: 'Are you crying over a boy belonging to your village? You go and cry over the people of your own village. What do you mean by crying over a boy belonging to another village? You go and cry in your own village. What are you crying for?' Then the *urar* came to me, and a *pinari* was with him, and they killed me outright and I died.

*Comments by dreamer*. This is a bad dream. I thought it was true. When they were playing *sato* last night I went off to bed, all by myself. I was cross because I had lost all my tobacco. Then I dreamed this dream, and woke up in a fright, and went back to the *sato* and watched it without playing.

*Comments by recorder*. The persons mentioned are two villagers, not connected with the dreamer; they are happily married. *Pinari* is the name of a class of creature resembling our 'goblins' who live in the bush. It is also the personal name of the principal man in the village. *Sato* is a gambling game recently introduced from the British Solomons. [515
They frequently play all night, and are very querulous afterwards. There 177]
would appear to be some significance in the insistence on the fact of the boy belonging to *another* village (which is not true).

The other dreams related to me by boys wearing the *upi* have no manifest sexual content, but are typical boyish dreams; some of them are given in other connexions (see No. 46, p. 558).

Of the women's dreams, several seem to indicate by their manifest content some sort of sexual conflict. Those of one dreamer have been discussed in this connexion by Dr. Seligman (1932, p. 218) and need not be repeated here. The married life of the woman in question did not come under my personal observation, as she was a widow whose husband belonged to a distant village. But the little information which I could elicit from her about him, and the fact that she had refused to marry his brother on his death, but elected to return to her own village, bringing her children with her,

154 argue in favour of the interpretation placed upon her dreams in the
159 paper referred to, concerning the unhappiness of her marriage.

159 The dreams of two women living in normal, and to outward seeming not unhappy, relations with their husbands took the following form:

No. 63. Kwimau (adult female).

I dreamed a man from Sollos (the mountain district of central Buka) beat me, and took a knife and cut me open (indicating by gestures a cut from beneath her chin down the middle of her chest). Then I died and they buried me, but I came alive again and ran away, and ran and ran and ran and ran and ran, and came to the deep sea. I cried and ran away again and went to my own village. This is a bad dream because I was frightened.

No. 65. Marotē (adult female).

I dreamed a man tried to cut me with an axe and I screamed.

Two dreams of adolescent girls also involve the idea of sexual repugnance. One of these runs thus:

No. 83. Takon (girl about 10, living with her husband but marriage not consummated).

I dreamed that Nawi (a girl slightly older) and I went to catch fish on the reef, and a man wanted to catch us. We ran away and he chased us. Then we went and hid, and he went back. Then we came out and started fishing again, but the man came up again and tried to take hold of us, but we ran away again. Then we launched a canoe and the current caught us and carried us along. Nawi went ashore, and got her fishing basket, but I stayed in the canoe and was carried with it out into the open sea. I died. Then a man swam out and caught me and carried me ashore and knocked my head against a stone, and I came to life again. Then my mother cried, and Nawi went to tell her. My mother said: 'Why did you stay there when the man chased you?' 'He took Takon and threw her into the sea.' Then my mother cried, and went to the beach, and took some sand and rubbed it into her eyes. Then a police-boy came, and we were all afraid of him. All the children were playing on the beach, and the police-boy ran after them, and they all ran away back to the village. The people were cross with them, and said: 'What are the children doing on the road?' 'A man there has poison.' The children said: 'A police-boy has been chasing us.' Then they all ran away. I woke up and felt ill. This is a bad dream, I was frightened.

## THE 'ŒDIPUS COMPLEX'

154 In considering this question, which has been the subject of so
159 much controversy, I have kept in mind the presentation of it in

modified form as discussed by Dr. Seligman in his Huxley Lecture. 154
The actual occurrence of incest in this community, and the part played by it in myths and stories, has been discussed in Chapter III. 159 It remains to consider it in relation to dreams. Accepting the suggestion made by Dr. Seligman in another paper (1923, p. 188) that the 'Œdipus dream' 'might be extended to include connexion with any relative within the forbidden degrees of the people concerned', there comes under this heading the following dream, in which the girl referred to stands to the dreamer in the relation of *wevnĕ* 'sister', though she is actually his cousin. It is by far the most detailed in my collection; and as it presents several points of interest it is here given in full, in spite of its length, together with the comments I made on it at the time.

No. 5. Bwapip (adult male).

I dreamed that Kiots came and stood in front of me as I lay asleep, and tried to make me get up, but I pushed her away and said: 'No, I don't want to.' But she came again and stood up in front of me and tried to pull me up. I said: 'What do you want?' She said: 'You get up.' I said: 'No, I don't want to.' She insisted: 'Wake up, stand up now.' B. 'You want me to get up? What do you want me to do?' K. 'Stand up.' B. 'You want me to get up and go where?' K. 'Get up, that's all. Come.' I said emphatically that I didn't want to. But she still insisted. I was still lying down; she pulled me up. K. 'What are you lying down for? You get up.' B. 'Where shall we go if I get up?' K. 'You get up, that's all. What do you want to know for?' I got up and sat down. Kiots pulled at my hands. B. 'Oh, don't do that, I don't like it. You are behaving to me as though you had no husband.' K. 'Oh, I like you so much.' B. 'I don't care, I don't like you. This isn't the right thing to do.' K. 'Don't you want to do it? I want to very much.' B. 'No, I don't. I am afraid of the Kiap (District Officer). He will take us both to prison.' K. 'We needn't be afraid of him.' Then she broke off some leaves and put them on the ground, and lay down and opened her legs, and said: 'Come now. What are you still standing up for?' B. 'What are you doing?' K. 'What are *you* doing? Come, lie down.' So I lay down and had intercourse with her. K. 'You must keep me with you now, you can't leave me.' B. 'But haven't you got a husband of your own?' K. 'What does it matter if I have?' B. 'All the people will talk about us.' K. 'What does it matter if they do? Who is to tell them?' Then the two of us sat down close together, and Kiots said: 'You get some tobacco and give it to me; you and I are sitting down together, let us smoke together, you and I are lovers now. You come to me at night.' So we sat down together and talked. Then I woke up and found myself

154 holding nothing, and I thought: 'Oh, I thought I was holding a woman.'

159 *Comments by the recorder.* This was apparently a very vivid dream. When I asked Bwapip, according to my usual custom when any one comes on to my verandah early in the day, whether he had dreamed last night, he said: 'I had a very bad dream.' I said: 'Tell me about it.' He said: 'It was about a woman', and seemed disinclined to talk about it, but eventually told me, making sure no one was listening. It seems to be very detailed for a dream, but he repeated parts of the conversation afterwards in identical terms, so it appears to be genuine (though it may have been unconsciously elaborated in the telling). He says he thinks the young lady in question really entertains for him the sentiments expressed in the dream, and he is afraid of its coming true. He stands to her in the relation expressed by the term corresponding to 'sister' ('sib of the opposite sex', see p. 63) and it would be a gross breach of [835] custom for them to have intercourse. But these people are not strict in observing their own rules, and instances of the kind occur not infrequently, though looked at askance by the community.

[837] Kiots is a girl somewhere between 15 and 20. She is married to a man who is away working at a plantation. She has the reputation in the village of being rather free with her favours.

This is the only dream in my collection in which the conception of incest appears as 'manifest content'. But since connexion with this problem will probably be apparent to a trained analyst in other dreams involving relatives, although their manifest content is not overtly sexual, I here make mention of all the dreams in which there appear any relatives with whom marriage is forbidden according to the kinship system of these natives.

159 (*1*) *Son dreams of his mother.*

No. 9. Kakari (young adult male, living in his mother's hut).

I dreamed the sore on my foot went right up my leg. Mrs. Hadden put medicine on it but it got no better, so she sent me back home. My mother put native medicine on it, leaves from the bush, but still it would not get better. Then all my toes fell off and my spirit (*abin*) cried about it. I woke up in a fright and jumped up and felt my toes to see if the dream was true. I thought they had really fallen off.

*Comments by the recorder.* Mrs. Hadden is the manager of the nearest plantation; she is very good to the natives and recently nursed Kakari with a bad septic sore which cost him his little toe. From his manner in describing the dream it must have been very vivid.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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(2) *Daughter dreams of her father.* No. 64. 159

This dream is given in full on p. 571. The dreamer's father is only one of a number of persons concerned in the dream.

(3) *Sister dreams of her brother.*

Three dreams involving this relationship occur in my collection. One is a dream of the woman referred to on p. 561 which, taken in conjunction with another dream of the same night,[1] has been interpreted by Dr. Seligman as possibly containing an incestuous element (1932, p. 218). In the second, the dreamer, a young married woman, dreamed that her brother, a boy wearing the *upi*, was dead, and that the people buried him and wailed for him. She woke and thought it was true and went to find out. In the third the dreamer's brother figures in one of a sequence of apparently unrelated incidents (No. 64, p. 571).

(*d*) *Food and eating.*

In this category are placed those incidents which actually deal 159
with the preparation and eating of food, as distinct from activities
connected with the provision of it, which are listed in section (*b*). 511
It may be remarked that while the conditions under which these natives live enable them, by dint of continuous labour, to obtain a food supply adequate, as a rule, to their actual needs, it is not often that they have as much to eat as they would like, or eat the foods for which they have most taste. Of preferred foods, pig is easily first, and is a luxury rarely partaken of except on important festive occasions; so it is not surprising that six out of the fourteen dreams here included are of eating pig. It seems a little odd that incidents of this kind should occur chiefly in the dreams of adults (of both sexes), but this may perhaps be correlated with the fact that children are almost invariably given food whenever they ask for it. Representative of this class are the following:

No. 70. Poskia (young adult female). 159

I dreamed that my mother came with some fish, and she said: 'I will give you one fish.' So she gave me one, and my sister said to her: 'Give me one too.' So she took another and gave it to my sister.

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[1] It is an axiom of psycho-analysis 'that all the dreams occurring in a given night arise from the same group of latent dream thoughts, though they usually present different aspects of them'. (Ernest Jones, *Papers on Psycho-Analysis*, p. 220.)

159 No. 81. Nawi (adolescent girl).

I dreamed Kiots and I went to the taro garden, and we speared a wild pig which was eating the taro, and we held the pig fast, and we cooked it and ate it, and ate some taro too, and we ate, and ate, and ate, and ate. Then we went to work and planted taro, and we chased another pig, and the pig ran away, and I said: 'Oh, Kiots, the pig is over there.' Then I climbed a tree and got a stick for a spear, and threw it at the pig and the pig ran away. Then we looked at the taro, and it was all spoilt, the pig had eaten it all. Then we went back to the village, and went to the shore, and saw a schooner sailing near the shore. Then we went back to the village and cooked the pig. This is a good dream, because we ate pig.

No. 2. Baki (aged male).

I dreamed I and some other men were paddling in a *mon* (plank canoe) and we went ashore and cut up a pig; then we went and swam in the water; then we came ashore again and sat on the beach. This is a good dream, because we had the pig to eat.

(*e*) *Fighting, beating, or being beaten.*

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War, which used to be an integral part of the lives of these people, has now become, as far as the coastal people are concerned, a thing of the past, owing to the pressure brought to bear by the Government. The loss of this source of excitement must have influenced the dream content. Sakwan, a man about forty-five, of the island of Pororan, said: 'Our dreams are not now the same as they used to be in the olden days when we dreamed of fighting and of feasting.' This prohibition has not yet become operative in the mountainous centre of Bougainville, during a brief visit to which area three out of the five dreams dealing with killing were obtained. But quarrels leading to violence between individuals are common enough, and so is the beating of a woman by her husband, which figures in two of the dreams here listed. In the fourteen dreams in this category the dreamer appears as aggressor in two, as sufferer in nine, and as spectator in three. Examples are the following:

159 No. 12. Malias (adult male from the mountain district of Konua).

I dreamed about a man named Kariko, who wanted to kill people. He said to me: 'Come on, let us go and kill all the people here.'

No. 17. Minka (adult male).

I dreamed about a fight; another man was angry with me. I went back to my own house; the other man came and called out to me: 'You come out and we two will fight.' I stayed in the house. But the other man kept on calling out for me; he said I was afraid of him, so I came out. Then Watchiu (a neighbour) said to me: 'What are you doing? The man says you are afraid of him.' I came out; Watchiu came up too, to the fight; I stood behind him. He went up to the man who was calling out to me; the man beat Watchiu, he wanted to kill him. Watchiu shook the man's hand; he came up again to hit him, Watchiu shook his hand again. He came on again; then I came up, and I got a knife, I wanted to finish off the man. I threw the knife at the man, all the people called out to him. I put the knife into the man's belly; he died, and all the people buried him. Then I woke up, in the morning, and I thought: 'Where did I fight?' Then I knew it was a dream. This is a good dream, because I was strong in the fight and killed the man.

No. 40. Wasang (adult male).

I dreamed all the men were shooting, a lot of men. I chased them with a spear. One spear went into my back. I cried. I wanted to run away. I could not run away, I stayed in the same place. They all came up to me. I cried a lot. I thought it was true.

No. 57. Gomar (adult female).

I dreamed Wasĕ beat Tahol, and Tahol took her pack and ran away with it on her back, and she took Nomoin with her.

*Comments by recorder*. Wasĕ is the son of Gomar's husband by another wife who is dead. Tahol is his wife of whom he appears to be fond, and Nomoin is their baby adored by both of them.

(*f*) *Incidents involving animals other than as food.*

Dreams of pig and opossum have been listed under categories (*b*) and (*d*), being concerned either with hunting or eating them. Two dreams involve the Siamese cat which I kept as a pet, an object of great admiration to the natives who had never seen one before. The other animals dreamed about are the dog (4), the shark (3), the snake (3), and the crocodile (1). The dog usually occurs incidentally as the companion of the dreamer in various experiences, except for this very characteristic dream of the fears of childhood, which will arouse memories in most of us:

No. 78. Kikis (girl aged about 8 or 9).

I dreamed about a dog; the dog bit me, and I ran away; the dog ran after me; I dived into the sea, and swam out to the deep sea; then I came back to the shore and the dog ran after me again.

159 The other animals are all such as are regarded with apprehension (except in the case of persons specially associated with them, as explained in pp. 524–7). One young man, who dreamed that he caught a snake and was bitten by it, had the day before actually caught a snake in the bush, and had pretended to frighten the other men by chasing them with it.

### (*g*) *Going a journey.*

159 484 As will have been apparent from previous chapters, a good deal of moving to and fro among the various villages within reach goes on, either by walking or by canoe. Women as well as men participate in these excursions, and it is not surprising to find them represented in the dream-life of both sexes and all ages. The vicissitudes often experienced on such journeys are also present in dreams. They offer further evidence as to the frequency with which the 'manifest content' of the dreams in this collection is based on recent activities. The following is a typical example:

159 No. 53. Wasaman (boy aged 10 or 11, wearing *upi*).

I dreamed I went with Murĕ (an older man) and Wakuis (a boy about the same age as the dreamer) to Ieta in a *tſiniv* (dug-out canoe, not actually suitable for so long a journey, for which a *mon* would probably be used). The sun was just about to set, but Murĕ said we would go back. Wakuis and I said: 'The sun will have gone down directly, we can't go back to-night.' Then Wakuis said: 'Never mind, we will paddle hard and get as far as Tarongen and go ashore there for the night.' So we went to Tarongen. This was a pleasant dream.

The following contains a bizarre element:

No. 88. Patu (adult male).

I dreamed I was going along and I came to a big river; there was no bridge and no tree trunk. There was a snake lying in the river. I wanted to go across the river on the snake, just as if it had been a tree trunk. The snake shook, and I was afraid, and ran quickly and got across. This is a bad dream.

### (*h*) *Falling from a height.*

In five of these, the fall is from a tree, in two from a cliff, and two are of falling in space. They occur to both sexes (all adult, except one adolescent girl). One is of an intentional jump from a tree. This is a recognized method of committing suicide and is apparently so intended in the dream.

No. 35. Tchub (adult male).

I dreamed I climbed up to the top of a tree, and I jumped down, jumped down to the ground, and died, and the men carried me, and cried over me, and they brought me and buried me. This is a bad dream, I thought it was really true. 151

Another approximates to the 'flying dream', being told as follows:

No. 41. Wasang (adult male).

I dreamed I fell down a big cliff. I did not fall down quickly, I fell very slowly, and lay down gently (motioning with his hand to indicate gliding). I thought I should die, but I got up and was all right.

Of the other two, one would appear to belong to the class of dreams having actual physical symptoms as their basis. The woman was in an advanced stage of pregnancy at the time. The relevant portion is as follows (the remainder is concerned with the *urar*):

No. 62. Komun (adult female).

I dreamed about an *urar*; it bit me and ate me, while I was working, and I was afraid, and I fell, and kept on falling and falling and falling. Then I beat somebody, and then I went on, and went on, and went on, and then I lay down again, and lay, and lay, and lay. Then I stood up again, and went on, and lay down again, and fell again, and cried out: 'Wa-wa-wa-wa.'

The remaining case, in a dream of a fantastic nature, will be found on p. 581 (No. 59).

### (*i*) *Climbing or going uphill.*

Of the seven dreams in this category, three are the same as those in category (*h*), the climb preceding the fall. Another is of climbing a mountain, and another of climbing a rope that went up into the sky.

The following will serve as typical of its kind:

No. 49. Takel (boy aged 6 or 7, wearing *upi*).

I dreamed a man wanted to beat me, and I climbed a tree, and he shot an arrow at me up in the tree; then he went away, and I came down and ran away, and the man looked for me but he could not find me. This is a bad dream.

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159 (*j*) *Sleep.*

The incidents involving sleep all occur as parts of longer dreams (see Nos. 79 and 13, pp. 553–4), and are listed separately merely as illustrating the occurrence of the natural functions of the body in the dreams of these natives. I have no instance of a 'dream within a dream', such as is known among ourselves, nor of the experience, very common in my own dreams, in which the sleeper is aware that he is dreaming.

(*k*) *Trying to move and being fixed to the spot.*

The usual form taken by this dream, which is, I believe, not unfamiliar in the same form among ourselves, is that the dreamer, being pursued by some one with evil intent, finds that his efforts to run away result in failure. One man's description conveys the effect very clearly: 'I tried to run away, and I moved my legs, but I could not move from the place where I stood; all the time I was beside the same house, and I could not get past it.'

All the five dreams of this kind in my collection happen to be those of adult males, but probably this has no significance.

(*l*) *Physical disabilities.*

159 164 I have grouped together under this heading the 'recollected' dream of losing all one's teeth, mentioned previously among the 'type dreams', a similar one in which a young man, rather vain of his personal appearance, dreamed that he had no hair on his head, and three dealing with skin disease, to which, as has been previously stated, these people are very prone. That there are not more dreams, even in this small collection, on this subject may perhaps [147] reflect the comparative unconcern with which such troubles are regarded, it being a common thing for men and women to go about, and even to work, suffering from septic ulcers and other open sores which would completely incapacitate a white man, and to recover from conditions which, in the case of a white man, would, unless relieved by operation, undoubtedly lead to his death.

Examples are found on p. 564 (No. 9) and p. 556 (No. 52), where the stress is not on the sore but on the death of the sufferer, who, as a matter of fact, was actually an outstanding example of recovery under adverse conditions.

159 (*m*) *Urination and defaecation.*

In all four cases listed under this head the incidents referred to are part of longer dreams. They do not form the point of central interest in the dreams in which they occur, and were not the subject of special remark by the dreamers, as is perhaps to be expected in a community where the natural functions of the body are not matter for secrecy.[1] In view of the smallness of number I do not know whether any significance is to be attached to the fact that three out of the four incidents occur in the dreams of adolescent boys wearing the *upi*, the exception being that of an adult female (No. 64, see below). The dreamers just referred to are, of course, long past the age at which there could be any possibility of a 'latent period', as discussed by Dr. Seligman (1932, p. 212). In one dream (No. 48, p. 560) the element of the fantastic enters: 'I carried a long thing that looked like the excrement of a pig; it touched my skin and I stank.' At the end of a long dream about *urar* (No. 50, p. 554) it is reported that a man went out to relieve himself, and an *urar* caught him and took him to his hole. Another reference will be found in No. 52, p. 556.

(*n*) *Childbirth and suckling.*

The one dream involving childbirth is remarkable for the number of apparently unrelated incidents, for the numbers of individuals concerned in it, and for its reference to the customary dietary taboos in force under such circumstances. (See Chapter IV, p. 158.)

No. 64. Marotē (adult female).

I dreamed about a pig. Pirier (a neighbour) was standing by, and Gav's father (her brother-in-law, whose name she may not say) ran after a wild pig, and Tsonaian and I went up, and Pinari (her father, the most important person in the village) was angry with us because we frightened the pig, and the pig ran away into the bush. Then we went back.

Then Wakos (a widow, not connected with the dreamer) gave birth to a child, a very big baby, a boy, and Binas (one of her father's wives, not her mother) gave birth to a boy too, but Binas's baby was very small. I took the baby to his father and his father looked after him very well. Then Wasē (her brother) came, and the baby defaecated on Wasē.

Then Pinari called out to Wakos to eat bananas and coco-nuts, but

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[1] The identification of faeces with money is not, of course, to be expected in a community where money is not used except in the case of the few young men who have received it as payment for work on plantations, and for the payment of taxes to the Government.

159 Wakos said: 'No, I can't, they are forbidden because of the baby. The placenta is still inside my belly.' Then Pinari called Bios (the daughter of Wakos) to get some bananas out of the hole (where they are put to ripen). He said: 'You come here and get them. I am calling you to come and get bananas and eat them. So Binas went and fetched the bananas and ate them. The dreamer had no comments to make on this dream.

Both the dreams involving suckling are those of nursing mothers.

No. 75. Tahol (adult female).

I dreamed I was asleep, and Ora came, at night, and he put his hand over my mouth, and said: 'Sit still.' Then he took up Nomoin and pierced his septum, and Nomoin cried, and I said: 'Don't hurt my Nomoin, he is too small yet, he is crying.' I went and waited on the top of the cliff, then I went down to the shore, and went into the water, and stood up in the water, and cried out: 'Oh, my poor Nomoin.' Then I went back, and I could not bear to look at Nomoin, he was nothing but skin and bone. I tried to feed him, but I had no milk. This is a bad dream.

*Comments by recorder*. Nomoin is her only child, a boy of about nine months, of whom she is exceedingly fond. All the children have their noses and ears pierced by one of the older men, such as Ora, but not until they are much older.

The other dream consists of the single incident 'Wanias (her son, aged about 4) cried for my milk'. It was 'paired' with a terrifying dream that the dreamer was seized by *urar*. Of her own accord the dreamer added: 'Perhaps Wanias will die', and this interpretation was confirmed from other quarters.

(*o*) *Going into water to wash.*

[515] In a community where personal ablutions are not necessarily a feature of the day[1] and where, for the most part, the act of washing, although it has a certain significance, plays a less important role in their ritual than it does among many primitive peoples, it is rather surprising to find its occurrence as a definite incident in dreams. It seems possible that it may serve as a symbol, for which reason the dreams in which it occurs are listed in this category.

One, part of the dream of a little girl (No. 85, p. 558), is merely a passing incident: 'We went to wash and to get water', the latter being a duty that devolves upon the small girls. Another is also an incident in a long dream, but is noteworthy because of the emphasis laid on it: 'We washed in a river, and washed, and washed, and washed, and I sat down in the water and washed, and washed, and washed.' (No. 31, p. 580.) The remaining incident follows upon one of the 'running away' dreams (No. 60, adolescent girl): 'Some men ran after us, and we ran away, and we got away from them, and came to some water, and we went in and washed. When we had finished washing, we went back to our village.'[1]

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[1] It will be realized from the description given in Chapter I that it is not very easy to get down to the sea from this village.

(*p*) *Flying*.

The occurrence of this dream has already been noted in the discussion 'type dreams'. In one, the dream of a pregnant woman, the description is more definite than such descriptions usually are: 'I went up in the air, my hands were waving about. I had nothing to take hold of. I said: 'What shall I hold on to?' But I did not fall down.

The other two were reported by men.

(*q*) *Ceremonies and dances*.

These dreams are apt to occur soon after a ceremony or dance has been held, and are clearly related to their actual prototypes, which are events of importance, productive of much pleasurable excitement. The one chosen to illustrate this category can be compared with an account of the actual ceremony (given in Chapter VII) with which it will be found to agree in such details as it presents. The selection of the incidents may be significant, of that I am no judge.

No. 36. Tchub (adult male).

I dreamed that I saw an *urar* figure; a man went inside it. It ran, and came up; then all the men kept silent, they did not shout out, they all looked at it. An *upi* was put on its head, a blue one. All the men looked on. It was a very fine *urar* figure that the man made. I thought it was true, and I cried out. Then all the men went away, and came back again, and they all shouted out. Then the *urar* beat all the *matfian* (boys who are to have their *upi* put on at this ceremony). Then all the boys with *upi* came up. The *upi* were put on the heads of the novices; the *urar* went away and hid; then it came up again, and they put on the *upi* with the pattern on it, and it came up again and everybody shouted. This is a good dream.

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[1] The sea also figures in dreams as a place of refuge.

### INFLUENCE OF WHITE CONTACT ON NATIVE DREAMS

159 177 The effect on dreams of the changes brought about by contact with whites, and of the conflict, conscious or unconscious, arising out of such contact, does not figure very largely in my collection of dreams from Kurtatchi. But it is seen in some dreams recorded on the island of Pororan[1] by Mr. Gordon Thomas, who kindly placed them at my disposal. Some of these are here given in illustration of this aspect of the subject.

159 Dreamed by Koran, Mission teacher, aged about 35.

I saw men coming down to the beach near the big calophyllum tree, and they looked across the lagoon towards the Mission station, and they asked me what was the matter with the houses at the Mission as they appeared to be all alight; glowing as with a fire. Afterwards I went in my canoe over to the Mission and met there the Fathers, with whom I shook hands. After I had shaken hands with them I asked a schoolboy there: 'Where are the Fathers going?' He replied that they were going to Bei (a mountain village about five miles away). I asked why the Fathers were going to Bei, and he replied that the natives there wished to make trouble with the Fathers, so the Fathers wished to visit them and punish them. The Fathers then held Mass and afterwards stood on the beach looking across at Bei point. While they looked they could see the *Marsina* (a small inter-island steamer) anchored there. The Fathers wished to board the mission schooner, but before they could reach the wharf the rain started, and they decided to remain at the Mission station.

At the end of a long dream concerning fishing, the following passage occurs:

There were several steamers anchored at the Kessa point, and there seemed to be a number of European houses there. I went ashore and the place seemed to be like Sydney. (The dreamer has never been in Sydney or any large city.) I met one of the Fathers here and we went aboard one of the steamers, and then on to another steamer. The weather was cold like it must be in Australia. I met another Father here and he told me to go and sleep in a bed. I went, and it was like a white man's bed and had a mosquito net. I pulled ten blankets over me as it was so cold. Then I went to church with the Fathers and they said Mass. When this was finished we had something to eat. It was good food from tins, like white people eat. When the food was finished we

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797 [1] The island of Pororan, off the west coast of Buka, lies on the steamer route and is frequently visited by white people. It has had a resident native Mission teacher (Roman Catholic) for some years, and on the Buka coast, about five miles away, there is a Roman Catholic Mission station and school.

went for a walk and looked at the ships. There were three ships and one of them was filled with all the children that had died. It was a long, low ship and there was a white man who was captain of it. Those on the beach said: 'What is that ship?' So I got into my canoe and went aboard a small boat and said to the captain of the boat: 'Whose boat is this?' The captain replied that it was the boat belonging to Mr. Cropp (the Methodist missionary in Buka). I went aboard the boat and ate some taro and drank coco-nut milk and had a smoke. I then went on board another ship, but there was nobody there. On this ship there seemed to be plenty of glass everywhere. The whole ship seemed to reflect light. I asked: 'Whose ship is the long low one?' And some one answered: 'It is not a ship of man: it is the ship of the dead children.' Then the ship that was filled with the dead children moved away. It glided like a bird. Then I woke up.

Another Pororan man dreamed thus:

I was seated on a wharf, watching the government yacht *Franklin* which was anchored near the wharf. Presently I noticed one of the mates go for'ard and supervise the weighing of the anchor. As the anchor was being fastened the vessel suddenly turned a complete somersault. The masts and funnel were completely submerged. It then righted itself. The accident was due to a rusty part of the vessel giving way and allowing the water to come inside.

I got a canoe and went towards the *Franklin* and on my way I met the captain, his wife, and the ship's cook. They were rowing ashore in a boat. 'Where is the boat's crew?' I asked the captain. He replied: 'They are down at the bottom of the sea together with your little daughter.' (The daughter in question had been dead for many years.) I said: 'I thought she was dead.' 'Only the body is dead,' replied the captain. Then the *Franklin*'s boat came along and tried to find a place to land. I shouted out: 'You go to Mr. Thomas's place.' The captain answered: 'I don't want to go to a white man's place. Can't you see that my skin is not white?' (The captain of the *Franklin* in reality is a white man, a retired naval commander.) The boat and a sailing canoe belonging to me then pulled the *Franklin* ashore at Pororan. The ship's cook then said to me: 'A basket that your daughter brought has been stolen. She hung it in the doorway of Mr. Thomas's store and some of the Lontis natives stole it.' (Lontis is a neighbouring district where the natives are not very friendly to the Pororan people.) The captain then said to me: 'Your daughter has gone with the ship and will stay there. It is the custom of the ship.' Then I woke up.

The same man dreamed on the same night:

I was working on a house that was being put up for two widows whose

159 husbands had recently died (actually). Some of the men of the village came to me and said: 'Why do you work on this house?' I replied that I desired to do so. Then one of the widows came to me and said: 'We can pay you for the work which you are doing.' I continued working on the house. Then the same widow came to me and said: 'Do you like me?' I replied that I did not want her. She then proposed that we should have sexual connexion, but I replied that I could not do so for it would bother me in my confessional. She replied that that should not matter, but I resisted her advances and then I suddenly woke up.

### DREAMS DESIGNATED GOOD OR BAD

159 787 In many cases the dreamers did not have any definite idea whether a given dream was good or bad. In some they were quite clear upon this point, but were unable to give a reason for their decision. Such information as I was able to obtain is given at the conclusion of each dream quoted in the present chapter, but it is brought together here for convenience of reference.

A. *Good dreams.*

1. All dreams of cooking and eating pig are good, 'because we had pig to eat'. The only exception is a dream in which the *urar* cooked the pig, and the dreamer did not eat any because he was too frightened. This was a bad dream.

2. Dreams are described as 'good' even though their contents seem to us alarming, if the dreamer feels well when he wakes. (See No. 4, p. 555, and No. 48, p. 560.)

3. Dreams are regarded as good in which the dreamer triumphs over some difficulty. The fighting dream (No. 17, p. 566) was good 'because I was strong in the fight and killed the man'. Not expressly stated, but clearly present, is the idea of success in the following dream, which has not previously been quoted:

No. 73. Rus (adult female).

I dreamed a man wanted to have intercourse with me, and he pulled at me, and I fell down, and he called out to me, and I did not want to. Then we paddled in a canoe, and we went to the bottom because of a big wind, and we all drank sea-water; then we swam, and there was a strong wind, and the canoe was broken, and we carried it and brought it to the top of the water, and it was very heavy. It was all broken up, and we went ashore on to the reef, and then we went to the taro garden, and came back to the village at night when it was dark. This is a good dream.

159
787

Perhaps the same idea, expressed in the triumph of the last sentence, 'then I took some rope and tied up the child', induced the teller of the fantastic dream given on p. 581 (No. 59) to describe it as a good dream, although it would hardly seem to have been pleasant to experience!

4. Certain simple 'wish-fulfilment' dreams are regarded as good; for obvious reasons, such as the 'money' dream (No. 15, p. 558). 'This is a good dream; I was glad; I thought I really had a lot of money.' The disappointment at waking and finding it was not true does not seem to be concerned in the matter. (This is also the case, I believe, in our own similar dreams.)

B. *Bad dreams.*

1. All dreams are bad wherein the dreamer is frightened. Here belong almost all the dreams about *urar*, with the few exceptions previously mentioned. For the same reason the 'falling' dreams are also bad. This is the reason most frequently assigned for describing a dream as a bad one. As one dreamer put it: 'It is always a bad thing to dream of being afraid.'

2. Dreams are bad if the dreamer feels ill when he wakes, even if their contents appear to be harmless or even pleasant. There would appear to be nothing sufficiently dreadful in the following dream to produce the effect described:

No. 80. Nawi (adolescent girl, aged about 12–13).

Waiar (a neighbour, slightly older than the dreamer) and I went to a village a long way off, and we saw a great many things, and I cried, and I picked some *purpur* (flowers or aromatic plants which the natives like to wear on their persons), and we sat down under the sun-shelter, and we ate *kokois* (ceremonial pudding, also given to guests), and we went back again, and I cried. Then Waiar and I went, the two of us, to a house, one house standing by itself. We waited there, we stayed some time there with a child, a very fine child. I cried for some *purpur* but the woman did not want to give it to me. Then we went back, and all the people were in a hole in the rock. Then we went back to the village. Then I woke up and felt ill. This is a bad dream, because I felt ill when I woke. If I had a good dream, when I woke I should feel all right.

3. To dream of the dead is usually bad. One dreamer commented: 'If I dream about people who are living, my skin is all right; if I dream about people who are dead, when I wake up my skin is no good.' An exception to this occurs in the dream of a

159 woman that she was taken by *urar* to the place of the dead and saw
her mother: 'This was a good dream; I was glad to see my mother.'
787 One man said to dream of the dead means that the dead man wants
to speak to you, another that it is a sign that the dead wish you to
join them. 'To see them in a dream makes him frightened.'

4. It is bad for a mother to dream of her children, and is interpreted to mean that the child will die.

147 With reference to the dreamer's condition on waking, on which
159 so much stress is laid by the narrators, it is probable that this may,
in some cases at least, have an actual physical basis, due either to
a mild degree of malaria, or possibly to indigestion or some kindred
physical cause. As previously noted, dreams are apt to follow upon
days of excitement, with which festive occasions a more than
usually lavish supply of food is generally connected. But the word
used is ambiguous, and does not necessarily mean actual physical
sickness, but rather a feeling of 'malaise' which may be as much
[828 mental as physical. It is, indeed, a fact that no very clear distinction
is drawn between the two, for the seat of painful emotions, in the
826] view of these people, is the stomach. The further implications of
this 'affect' are discussed on p. 582.

## THEORETICAL DISCUSSION

154 Having now considered in detail the kind of incidents that occur
in the dreams in my collection, it remains to discuss the significance
of the collection as a whole. For this purpose it is convenient to
adopt the classification proposed by Seligman (1923, p. 198), following Ernest Jones, which is as follows:

1. Dreams 'that are both sensible and intelligible, telling a connected story of the everyday world, the meaning of which is obvious . . . the mental processes resemble those of waking life'.

If we include dreams about *urar*, which are, as has been shown in other portions of this book, a very real part of the 'everyday world' to these people, the great majority of the dreams in my collection come under this head. As far as their 'manifest content' is concerned, they can be very simply related to recent happenings in the village, with which they are often connected by the dreamers themselves. It is noteworthy that there is no case which obviously goes back to the childhood of the dreamer, and but few relating to events long past. This agrees with the suggestion of Rivers (1923, p. 104): 'It is probable that dreams always arise out of recent situations, unless something has taken place which has aroused ancient conflicts and brought them again into prominence in the mind of the dreamer.' It was perhaps fortunate for the dreamers that I am not a trained psycho-analyst! 154

2. 'Dreams which tell or enact a connected story and have an evident meaning, but their contents, in whole or in part, strike us as unnatural, and we cannot fit them into the fabric of our waking life.'

Certain incidents in otherwise rational dreams bring them into this category. Two dreams illustrating this point, which have not previously been quoted, are here given:

No. 39. Togen (adult male).

I dreamed about a big *mon* (plank canoe); we caught a pig and put it in the *mon*, and we went ashore at a big village, and the people carried the *mon* to the bottom of a cliff, and we went up by a ladder (i.e. a notched tree trunk which is placed against the steepest rocks to enable them to be climbed) and the ladder waved from side to side (illustrating by motions of his hand) as we went up it. Then the people cut up the pig, and one man took pieces of the pig and took them to every house. This is a good dream. I thought it was true. 154 159 [417]

No. 61. Komun (adult female).

I dreamed an *urar* ran after me. I went up in the air, my hands were waving about, I had nothing to take hold of. I said: 'What shall I hold on to?' But I did not fall down. Then I made a noise like this (she illustrated by grunting and panting). Presently I was walking along the road with Pinari (her husband) and we went to the shore, and all the women were making coco-nut-leaf baskets. I went inside a hole and went to sleep. Then Pinari told me to tell the women to fill up the water coco-nuts[1] with pig's fat. I did not want to. I said: 'I don't want all the women to be angry and say bad things about me.' This is a bad dream. (The dreamer was unable to give any reason for saying so.)

3. 'Dreams of which the content is bizarre, confused, and nonsensical; such dreams often have a peculiar quality of unreality, and can scarcely, if at all, be related to waking thought. . . . Much

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[1] These are the cleaned-out coco-nut shells which serve the women for water-bottles. They are much-cherished possessions, the more so as it is a matter of considerable time and trouble to remove the 'meat' through the 'eye' of the coco-nut. To defile them in the manner suggested in the dream would be gravely resented. It may be noted, in connexion with this dream, that the dreamer was at the time pregnant by a man other than her husband, and had been the subject of much gossip in the village, the more so because her husband is the most important *tsunaun* in the place. [415] [521]

154 of the strangeness of these dreams is due to the symbolism used
159 to express the dream thoughts.'

There are comparatively few dreams in my collection which clearly and definitely belong to this category. Since their symbolism may be of interest, the most complex of them are here given in full:

No. 31. Sobak (old male).

I dreamed an *urar* seized me, and brought me to a *wapatsun* tree, and the tree was just like a white man's boat; and it took me and brought me to a stone, and the stone was just like a boat too, and it made a noise like this (imitating the sound of an engine). Then the stone took me, and we went on and went on and went on, and came to another place, and the stone brought me to another tree, a *winoa* (almond). It took me to another place and brought me to a bread-fruit tree, and it was just like a boat too, and I went on it and it took me to another place. I thought it was really a boat, it looked just like one. Then all the *urar* took me and brought me to a coco-nut palm, and I stayed there and loitered for a little while; and then a *toras* tree came and took me, and I went on to the *toras* tree, and the *toras* brought me to another place, and I stayed there a little while; then the stone came and fetched me again, and it made a noise just like a boat, and it came and brought me to another place, and brought me to a *toan* tree, and the *toan* tree brought me to another place, and brought me to a mountain; and all the *urar* were killing a pig. They killed one pig, and I ate it; they made a feast with it. When we had finished eating, the *urar* took me again and brought me to another place, and we washed in a river, and washed and washed and washed, and I sat down in the water and washed and washed and washed. Then some one else fetched me and I went up on top of another tree, an *iwiŋ*, and the *iwiŋ* brought me to another place, and I sat down there, and then we went on again, and it brought me to another tree, an *ano*, and I went on again with the *ano*, and went and went and went and went, and it brought me to another place, where people were making *menak* (ceremonial pudding), and I ate *menak*, and ate, and ate, and ate, and when I had finished eating I went to sleep. Then I woke up again, and we went and went and went, and came to another place. They brought me to a hornbill, and I sat on the back of the hornbill, and it brought me to another place; we stayed a little while, and then went on again, and went and went and went, and came to my own village, and my leg hurt me. Then the *urar* took me again, and brought me to another tree, a wild areca-nut, and I wanted to go to sleep again in the bush, and I climbed up the areca-nut and went to the sheath (the hard fibrous covering round the young nuts). Then I looked for my knife, and could not find it. I got up very angry, and then I said: 'There is my house', and sat down in my own house.

*Comments by the dreamer*. This is a good dream. The *urar* were those 159
we called yesterday at the taro garden. When they brought me to the
tree that looked like a boat they said to me: 'You sit down, you hold the 787
rudder firmly with your foot.' When I woke up I thought of my knife,
and I thought I had thrown it away into the bush the day before yesterday when I finished making *menak*. So I got up and went to look for it in the bush; didn't you hear me shut the door of my house? I looked for it in the bush, but I could not find it; then I came back and found it stuck in the rafters of the house.

*Comments by the recorder*. Sobak is my next-door neighbour, his
house is barely 20 feet from my own. I had heard him go out in the 159
night, and had wondered what he was doing. The ceremony referred
to is the one described in Chapter IX in which he had played a part.
Small articles such as knives, &c., are usually stuck in the rafters of the [352]
house for safe-keeping.

No. 59. Gomar (adult female).

I dreamed about a child, about as big as Waror (i.e. about 7 or 8 years 154
old.) It (Waror is a girl, but from the pronoun used the sex of the dream-
child is left undetermined) took me up and threw me up into the air, 159
and I fell down on to the ground. Then the child took me up again and threw me again on top, and I cried out: '*Wa, wa, wa, wa*.' I fell down, and I took some dirt and made the child's face swell up; I covered its face with dirt. Then it ran after me, and took a stone and beat me, and I ran away and hid, and it ran after me, and I stood still and took a rope and tied the child up, and tried to shut it up but I could not, and it ran after me, and I trembled. Then it took another stone, and beat me again, and I called out: '*Ia, ia, Binas!*' Then Binas said: 'What are you fighting? You leave her alone, let her stay quiet; if you do it again I shall beat you.' So I ran away, and fell down, and hid, and I took some rope and tied up the child. This is a very good dream. I called out aloud in my sleep, and Pinari woke me up.

*Comment by recorder*. Gomar is Pinari's wife; Binas is another of his wives. The dreamer could give no reason why she considered this a good dream, but she was very definite about it.

Perhaps there should be included here a dream which comes the nearest of any in my collection to what we should call a nightmare. It took place during an illness, and its physical cause may well have been fever. It was related to me after the dreamer's recovery.

No. 42. Wasang (adult male).

When I was ill I saw something that had an axe; it had no hands, it was very fat, it had a mouth. It was very large, but when I came close up to it, it was small.

### AFFECT AND SYMBOLISM

154 On the whole, I think it is fair to say that the amount of symbolism in this collection of dreams is less than it would be in a collection of similar size made among ourselves. The point may be illustrated by the dream about the *wapi* ceremony (No. 36, p. 573). My own experience leads me to suggest that a comparable dream—of, let us say, a confirmation ceremony or a degree-day—among ourselves would contain some absurd or at least improbable feature, whereas this one confines itself to what does, in fact, occur at this ceremony. This is, perhaps, what might be expected in the dreams of a primitive people, bearing in mind the experience of Rivers, 'that there is a relation between the complexity and amount of transformation in the dream and the degree of education of the dreamer' (1923, p. 93).

In this connexion reference may be made to the fact (illustrated on pp. 576 and 577) that so many of these dreams carry with them a definite affect, either pleasurable or painful. Symbolism is regarded by the psychologists as a process of transformation, and it is argued by Rivers (1923, p. 81), in agreement with Freud, 'that the effect of transformation is to diminish or abolish the affective aspect of the conflict. Consequently, when there is no transformation, there is affect in the dream'.

The symbolism in this collection of dreams, as well as being infrequent, seems also, when it occurs, to be relatively straightforward. The subject is a thorny one, and the examples here given are available for the specialist to interpret as he will, but I venture to suggest that the collection as a whole supports Seligman (1932, p. 215) in his conclusion that symbolism in primitive people is simpler and more directly connected with the situations symbolized than among ourselves.

### 'LATENT CONTENT'

Not being a psycho-analyst, I hesitate to deal further with the complicated question of the 'latent content' of these dreams. My personal knowledge of the dreamers, and of their background, may, however, justify a few simple generalizations.

It is unquestionable, I think, that a very large number of the dreams in this collection are rooted in fear or anxiety. Fear plays a much larger part in them than does any motif which could, even

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

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by stretching the term, be described as sexual, and that is the case, as far as I can judge, among these people in their waking lives. Examples will be found in plenty in the preceding pages, e.g. among the dreams dealing with *urar*. As instances of 'anxiety' dreams may be cited those in which a nursing mother dreams she has no milk. In a country where there is no means of obtaining milk if the mother's supply fails, unless her sister, or some other member of the community, can replace her, the possibility of such failures must be a very real dread.

As is perhaps to be expected in the dreams of a primitive people, many of those here recorded may be considered as more or less simple 'wish-fulfilments', e.g. all those relating to food, to getting presents, to success in hunting and fishing, &c., also those expressing the 'will-to-power', as of triumphing over an enemy, or not being frightened in certain terrifying situations. Unfulfilled desire may be the deciding emotion in the dream involving child-birth (No. 64, p. 571). The dreamer greatly desired a child, but she had, in previous years, taken one of the preparations thought to possess contraceptive properties, and ascribed her present barrenness to that cause. She had been telling me of this shortly before the night of the dream.

The question of conflict it is impossible to discuss adequately in the absence of the detailed information only to be obtained by the methods of psycho-analysis. The dreams of the boys wearing the *upi* may perhaps signalize their unconscious revolt against the restrictions to which they are subjected. It will be clear from the account given in Chapter VI, but may be emphasized here, that the revolt, if such it be, is entirely unconscious, since the boys, as well as their relatives and friends, regard the wearing of the hat as an honour and a privilege. I have rarely heard any of these youths grumbling about the prohibitions accompanying it, and, as I have previously stated, all the taboos connected with the wearing of the *upi* are still—or were at the time of my visit—most faithfully adhered to, although in certain other respects adherence to tradition is weakening.

The 'incest dream' (No. 5, p. 563) is an outstanding example of sexual conflict, combined with a noticeable absence of symbolism. The dream of Tarubi's husband (No. 33, p. 559) may express the conflict between his (I think real) affection for her and his dislike of being the object of ridicule on account of her behaviour.

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154 Conflict between fear of death and love of life may be reflected in the dream of the old man Maravin (No. 13, p. 554).

Some of the dreams dealing with daily occupations may perhaps, as well as being 'wish-fulfilments' connected with the desire to have an adequate food supply, also be regarded as the expressions of a conflict between distaste for hard work and fear of being thought slack in doing a proper share of the work of the community.

The conflicting emotions aroused by the impact of ideas introduced by the presence of the white man is reflected in the dreams given on pp. 574–6. The twice repeated association of a white man's ship with dead children is noteworthy in this connexion, as is also the incident in which the commander of the Government yacht appears as a black man. The new ideas on sexual morality inculcated by the missionaries are responsible for the dream of the man who repulsed sexual advances made to him 'because it would bother him in his confessional'. These few instances will suffice as examples, others will readily be found.

I am well aware that in the foregoing discussion I must have omitted to notice many points of interest, but the data I have given will, I hope, serve to show how the recording of dreams may throw light on native methods of approach to the various complications which life presents even under relatively primitive conditions, while the dreamer's comments may help in the understanding of the native's sense of proportion, by emphasizing the matters to which he attaches importance.

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## APPENDIX I

### *Description of part of plan of Kurtatchi*

1. 'Long house' belonging to the *tsunaun*, Pinari, with its 'eye' (roofed porch open in front, used as a meeting-place for the men). In the house itself live: 361 592

Gomar, now Pinari's chief wife (his first wife being dead).
Ira, her daughter, married but not living with her husband.
Rudi, infant still suckling, son of Gomar and Pinari.
Busa, about 6, son of Pinari by a wife now dead.
Kela, about 5, son of another dead wife of Pinari by her former husband.
Sang, wife of Pinari recently taken over from his dead brother.
Komul, another wife of Pinari, whose hut has not yet been brought over from Gomen.

2. Kwimau, wife of Pinari.

Davril, aged about 6–7, and Togomen (suckling), her sons.
Pinari divides his time between this hut and No. 1.

3. Pari, Pinari's widowed sister.

Rus, young widow, daughter of Matĕv.
Wanias, about 4, Rus's son.

4. Matĕv, widow, Pinari's 'sister' (actually his mother's sister's daughter).

Kakari, her son, aged about 19–20.
Waror, her daughter, aged about 7–8.
Muben, Kakari's wife, aged 14–15.
Before Kakari's marriage, Rus and Wanias lived here. When Kakari brought home his bride, they moved to No. 3. After the young couple had lived here for about six months, Matĕv told him he ought to build a hut for himself in the space to the left, but he had not made any attempt to do so when I left three months later.

5. Space intended for hut belonging to Komul, not yet brought over from Gomen. Komul meanwhile sleeps in No. 1.

6. Sobak, an elderly man.

Tsonakets, his wife.
Bawt, her sister, widow of a man of Hanahan, who came here to be near Tsonakets.
Kabo, Omi, and Mĕbi, Bawt's three sons. Kabo is of an age to wear the *upi*, but as this custom is not practised at Hanahan he has 361 592 184

[text continues on p. 587]

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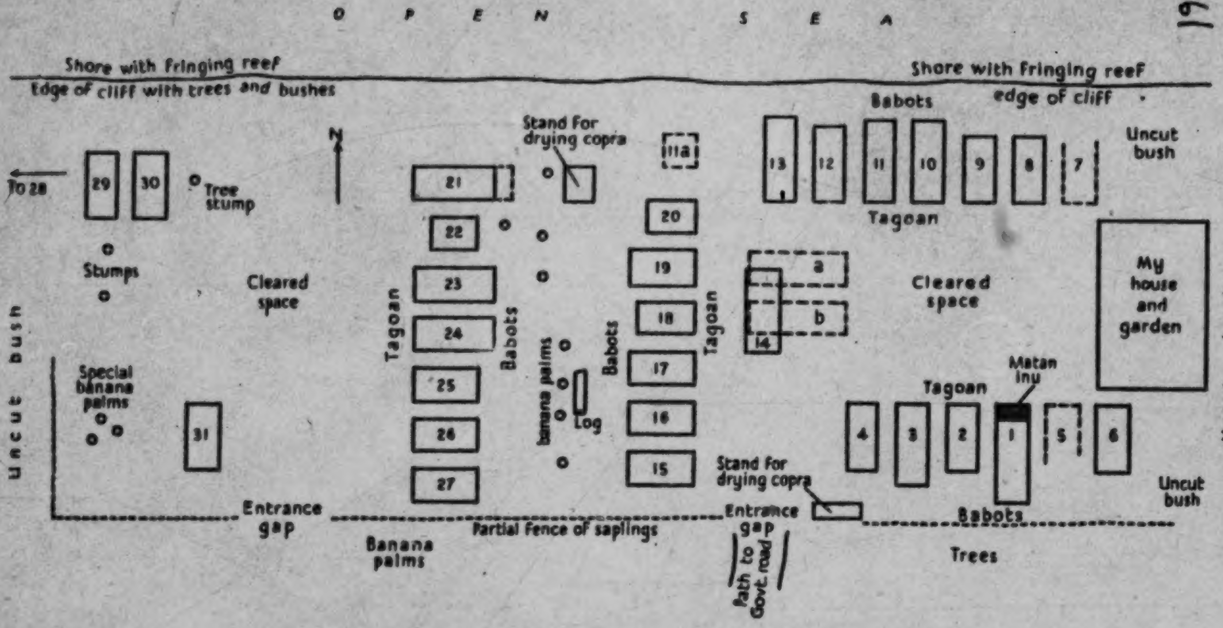

O P E N S E A
Shore with fringing reef
Edge of cliff with trees and bushes
Shore with fringing reef
edge of cliff
Babots
Uncut bush
N
Stand for drying copra
11a
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
To 28
29
30
Tree stump
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
20
19
18
17
16
15
Tagoan
a
b
14
Cleared space
My house and garden
Stumps
Cleared space
Tagoan
Babots
banana palms
Babots
Tagoan
Log
Uncut bush
Uncut bush
Uncut bush
Special banana palms
31
Matan inu
Tagoan
4
3
2
1
5
6
Uncut bush
Stand for drying copra
Entrance gap
Partial fence of saplings
Entrance gap
Babots
Banana palms
Path to Govt. road
Trees

PLAN OF KURTATCHI VILLAGE IN 1930

never put it on, and can therefore enter this hut if he wishes. He usually sleeps in the *tobar* with the other boys of his age. Omi and Mēbi are younger.

7. Space for hut belonging to Wasē, Pinari's son, not yet moved from Gomen. He and his family are at present living in No. 8.

8. Matarē, man belonging to Timputs, husband of
Marotē, Pinari's daughter by his first wife.
Hut at present shared with
Wasē, Marotē's brother, his two wives Takon and Tahol, and Tahol's son, Nomoin (suckling). (Takon has not reached puberty.)

9. Togen, brother of Matarē, husband of
Pesē, sister of Marotē.
Their daughter Gaua, aged about 5–6, and their son Gav (suckling).
Kikis, girl of about 9, whose parents are dead. Related to Pesē's mother. (Spends some of her time with her mother's people at Ieta.)
Hut at present shared with
Tchiriv, a protégé of Pinari's, and Tarubi his wife, who came from Ruri. At Gomen they lived with Komul. They were considering building a hut for themselves when I left Kurtatchi.

10. Wakos, widow of Krapen (son of Pasu and Pasis).
Bunakets, mother of Wakos, a very old woman.
Three daughters of Wakos, Laia, in her teens, married to a man away at work; Bios, aged 5–6, No, aged about 2.

11. Pasu, sister of Wanawatch, widow of Pasis, Pinari's mother's brother.
Gerigir, her son, and Kalo his wife (when she can be persuaded to stay here; often she goes back to her mother in another village).
Tapē, daughter of Pasu, married to a man away at work.
Tchub, recently become a widower, son of Pasu. (Often sleeps in the *tobar*, and began a hut (11a) for himself shortly before I left, in which to set up a new household.) Has one young son, living with his dead wife's sister at Ruri.

12. Kio, wife of Wanawatch.
Puta, her daughter by a former husband.
Nok, aged 3–4, daughter of Kio and Wanawatch (died during my stay).
Pirier, husband of Puta.
Walala, daughter of Puta and Pirier (suckling).
Wawaus, first wife of Wanawatch, now blind.

13. Wanawatch (generally, occasionally at 12). Belongs to Baniu, came here to be near his sister Pasu.

361 Tai'en, wife of Wanawatch, Gugum, their daughter (suckling).

Boles, about 5, daughter of Wanawatch and Wawaus.

592 14. Maravin, an old man living alone (he divorced his wife, who has since died). Some of the boys wearing the *upi* shared this hut till Maravin died, after which it was taken down to make room for the two *tobar* belonging to Gomen, which were erected shortly before I left, as shown by the dotted lines on the plan (a, b).

Huts 15–27 belong to the original village of Kurtatchi. Reference to people living in some of these has been made in other chapters of this book.

No. 28 is situated about a quarter of a mile away; it belongs to Ora (brother of Sobak), an old man who does not like to be with other people; with him live Tsonatchil, his wife, Towats, their daughter, widow of Boie, brother of Pinari, her two little children, and Diriwi, the daughter of Maravin, married to Gasagar (son of Ora and Tsonatchil), who still wears the *upi*. It is very seldom that any of these people are seen in the village, though they take part in community enterprises such as journeys for purposes of barter, &c.

Nos. 29, 30, and 31 are *tobar*, or men's houses, 29 belongs to the Nakarib boys, 30 and 31 to those of the clan Naboin. Pending the reconstruction of the two *tobar* (one for each clan) originally belonging to Gomen, those of the boys who did not sleep in No. 14 were distributed in these three, making them very crowded.

## APPENDIX II

### *List of Relationship Terms in the Petats dialect and their most important applications*

| *Term* | | *Reciprocal* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. *tʃína-goan* | : | *pian*[1] |
| Term of address, *haua*<br>Mother, mother's sister, father's sister | | Child, sibling's child (f.s.)<br>(*pian atsón* .. son<br>*pian hihín* .. daughter) |
| 2. *táma-goan* | : | *pian* |
| Term of address, *titi*<br>Father, father's brother | | Child, brother's child (m.s.) |
| 3. *túa-goan* | : | *handŋoan* |
| Term of address, *papa*<br>Mother's brother | | Sister's child (m.s.) |
| 3*a*. *tʃína-goan* | : | *pelúkas* |
| Mother's brother's wife | | Child of husband's sister |

4. *hamunasi-goan*

Sibling and parallel cousin of same sex as speaker.

5. *matahá-goan*

Sibling and parallel cousin of opposite sex to speaker.

6. *tsotsóni*

Spouse of *hamunasi-* (m.s.), i.e. brother's wife | *Hamunasi-* of spouse (f.s.), i.e. husband's brother

6*a*. *hahá-goan*

Spouse of *hamunasi-* (f.s.), i.e. sister's husband | *Hamunasi-* of spouse (m.s.), i.e. wife's sister

7. *máulat*

Spouse of *mataha-* (m.s.), i.e. sister's husband | *Mataha-* of spouse (m.s.), i.e. wife's brother

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[1] This word is not the same as *pi'án* (= cross-cousin) in the Kurtatchi dialect, which has its accent on the second syllable.

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| *Term* | *Reciprocal* |
|---|---|
| 7a. *muníhan* | |
| Spouse of *mataha-* (f.s.), i.e. brother's wife | *Mataha-* of spouse (f.s.), i.e. husband's sister |
| 8. *hínas* | |
| Child of mother's brother (cross-cousin) | Child of father's sister (cross-cousin) |
| 9. *hákuis* | |
| Parent's female cross-cousin (used in this sense by m. or f.) | Child (m. or f.) of cross-cousin (used in this sense by women only) |
| 10. *túbu-goan* : | *tútubugui* |
| Term of address, *bubu* | Term of address, *bubu* |
| Mother's parents, father's parents | Child (m. or f.) of son or daughter |
| 11. *atsón* : | *híhin* |
| Husband | Wife |
| 12. *hális* | |
| Wife's parents | Daughter's husband |
| 13. *háihis* | |
| Husband's parents | Son's wife |
| 14. *súhan* | |
| Parents of child's spouse | |
| 15. *híaloi* | |
| Co-wife | |

The terms have been given the same numbers as the corresponding terms at Kurtatchi, for convenience of comparison. It will be seen that the two systems are the same, except that in two cases the Kurtatchi system has economized in terms. In the Petats dialect the sister's son (3*a*) is given a term (*peluhas*) distinct from that applied to the son of a woman's cross-cousin (*hakuis*), and the terms corresponding to our use of brother-in-law and sister-in-law are differentiated according to the sex of the person spoken of as well as according to the sex of the speaker, so that four terms are used instead of the two which suffice at Kurtatchi. These have been numbered 6*a* and 7*a* in the foregoing list.

602 The taboos are the same as those at Kurtatchi, in all essentials, though it is possible that some differences in detail may have escaped me, as I

lived at Petats only for three months. As at Kurtatchi, the most important are those between a man and his wife's mother (*halis*), for which the hood is used, and those between the parents of one member of a married couple and the parents of the other (*suhan*). A slight difference in the keeping of the *halis* taboo is noted on p. 74. The taboos on 'in-laws' of the same generation are the same as at Kurtatchi, except that there is no restriction on the use of names between the two women calling each other *munihan* (brother's wife: husband's sister).

## APPENDIX III

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### *Identification of some of the plants used for medical and magical purposes by the natives of Buka and North Bougainville*[1]

| *Botanical name* | *Native name* | *Portion used* | *Purpose* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Acanthaceae | *karawinoa* | leaves | in childbirth |
| Achryanthes aspera | *towano* | leaves | for a boil |
| | | root | for swollen leg |
| Aspidum latifolium | *tskirir* | leaves | for a boil |
| Barringtonia sp. (edulis?) | *karu* | bark | in childbirth |
| | | " | in fishing magic |
| Bidens pilosa | *rakot* | root | stomach-ache |
| | | leaves | taro magic |
| | | " | love magic |
| Biophytum cumingianum | *owa gūrus bai'i* | whole plant | magic to make child go to sleep |
| Calamus sp. | *gartan* | root | constipation |
| | | " | fishing magic |
| | | leaves | headache |
| Calophyllum sp. (Inophyllum?) | *tui* | root | septic sore |
| | | bark | rain magic |
| Canarium commune | *winoa* | bark | pain in back |
| | | | bad sore |
| | | | fishing magic |
| Caryota sp. | *hatʃian* | bark | yaws |
| | | fruit | hunting magic |
| | | root | taro magic |
| | | root and leaves | fishing magic |
| Codiaeum variegatum (croton) | *takuruts* | root | septic sore |
| Codiaeum variegatum (croton) | *siriŋ* | root | love magic |
| | | leaves | rain magic |
| Coleus Blumei var. | *iag* | leaves | magic to prevent sunstroke |
| | | " | used at betrothal |
| Coleus sp. | *muntš* | root | cramp in leg |
| | | leaves | magic to induce sleep |
| Cordyline ferrea | *ariko* | root | constipation |
| Cordyline terminalis | *ta'un* | leaves | feverish headache |
| | | " | in menstruation ceremony |

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[1] For the majority of the identifications I am indebted to the authorities at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

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| *Botanical name* | *Native name* | *Portion used* | *Purpose* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cordyline terminalis | *ta'um* | leaves | at funeral rites | 824 |
| | | " | for rain magic | 278 |
| | | " | many other magical purposes | 789 |
| Crinum asiaticum | *bariur* | root | in childbirth | |
| | | " | coco-nut magic | |
| | | " | fishing magic | |
| Cycas sp. | *kiki'iĕ* | midrib of leaf | to make mourning belts | |
| Cymbopogon sp. | *manini* | leaves | for blood in urine | |
| | | root | fishing magic | |
| Desmodium adhaerens | *roabĕ* | leaves | for sickly child | |
| | | " | stomach-ache | |
| Desmodium adhaerens | *rarahot* | leaves and root | fishing magic | |
| Digitaria pruriens | *warar* | whole plant | to make child grow | |
| Dryopteris milneana or truncata | *pupuna* | leaves | for a boil | |
| | | root | for wound made by embedded arrow | |
| Dryopteris mollis | *tomtom* | leaves | to make child grow | |
| Dryopteris pteroides | *go-gĕ* | leaves and root | protection against sickness | |
| Eleusine indica | *bakbak* | whole plant | to make child grow | |
| Eragrostis tenella | *kokui* | whole plant | for scabies | |
| Eranthemum Whartonianum | *harawinoa* | root | for indigestion | |
| | | " | to remove object stuck in throat | |
| Eranthemum sp. | *burustĕ* | young leaves | for yaws | |
| Erythrina indica | *wanŏnŏ* | leaves | in childbirth | |
| | | bark | for broken bone | |
| Euphorbia stoto | *potsiŋ* | root | fishing magic | |
| Euphorbia hirta | *sip* | flowers | cure for barrenness | |
| Evodia hortensis | *owen, pawen* | whole plant | to protect against *urar* | |
| Fleurya aestuans | *maribean* | skin of stem and root | for sore on sole of foot | |
| Fleurya interrupta | *bobuwiur* | flowers | for sore on sole of foot | |
| | | leaves | at puberty rites | |
| Ipomoea biloba | *winwin* | leaves | for digestive troubles | |
| | | " | to make pig grow | |
| Justicia sp. | *tepnamani* | leaves | for strain or sprain | |
| | | " | for septic sore | |
| | | " | child's disease | |
| | | " | for stomach-ache | |
| | | " | for a boil | |
| | | " | to make child grow | |
| Leea sp. | *bŏ* | leaves | for pain in breast after suckling | |

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| *Botanical name* | *Native name* | *Portion used* | *Purpose* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Leptaspis Banksii | *[illegible]* | root and flowers | fighting magic |
| Licuala | *mis* | root | contraceptive |
| Lygodium dichotomum Sw. | *asim* | root | contraceptive |
| | | lower end of stem | to strengthen sickly child |
| Mallotus sp. | *hahola* (Petats dialect) | root | contraceptive |
| Malvaceae (hibiscus) | *obib* | leaves and root | cough, and sore throat |
| | | leaves | child's fever |
| Menispermaceae | *tatsir* | root | to control menstruation |
| Mollugo stricta | *hokai* | whole plant | to make smoke to keep off mosquitoes |
| Morinda citrifolia | *rire* | bark | in childbirth |
| | | leaves | dysentery |
| | | leaves and root | fishing magic |
| Ocimum Basilicum | *massi* | leaves | rain magic |
| Oldenlandia paniculata | *rakot* | leaves | for a burn |
| Ophiorrhiza rupestris | *tsintsu* | whole plant | love magic |
| Paspalum conjugatum | *[illegible]* | root | for sore throat |
| | | sap | for stomach-ache |
| Pennisetum macrostachyum | *pai'ahes* | root | to make sea smooth |
| Phyllanthus Niruri | *[illegible]* | leaves | for pain in chest |
| Physalis angulata | *tat fapō* | seeds | cure for barrenness |
| Piper betel | *sik, pangek* | leaf-bud | love magic |
| Piper sp. | *[illegible]* | leaves and root | headache and internal pain |
| | | leaves | for a boil |
| | | leaves and root | to relieve extreme pain |
| Pteris ensiformis | *sip-sip* | root | to control menstruation |
| Pteris tripartita Sw. | *papana* | leaves | in childbirth |
| Roxburghia sp. | *bohil* | leaves | for a boil |
| Rubiaceae | *[illegible]* | leaves and root | fishing magic |
| | | branch | to keep away *arar* |
| Rutaceae | *harib* | leaves | to cause abortion |
| Scleria lithosperma | *[illegible]* | grass | for fever |
| Selaginella flabellata Spring | *[illegible]* | leaves | for feverish headache |
| | | root | to control menstruation |
| Terminalia Catappa | *hari* | bark | for a sore |
| | | leaves | for yaws |
| Vitex Legundi | *paparua* | root | contraceptive |
| Wedelia biflora | *[illegible]* | leaves | for a spear or arrow wound |

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## GLOSSARY

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NOTE. Only words which recur frequently in the text are included. All words are in the Kurtatchi dialect unless otherwise stated.

*abin* (Petats *abiap*), spirit of human being when alive or recently dead; reflection in water or in a mirror; shadow.
*amre*, man who takes charge of adolescent boy for purposes connected with the wearing of the *upi*.
*ara*, to fish with rod and line.
*asam* (Petats *asam*), a creeper (*Lygodium dichotomum* Sw.), the skin of which is very tough and is used as a fastening in making canoes, &c. The root is used as a contraceptive.
*asik*, bad, a term of general disapproval.
*atʃitʃ*, 'putty nut', the kernel of *Parinarium laurinum*, used in caulking seams of canoes, &c.
*atun*, bonito fish (*Sarda* Sp.).

*babots*, the back entrance and verandah of a native hut and the ground outside it, the women's quarters.
*ba'i*, child, m. or f.
*biroan*, ceremonial currency made of flat shell disks strung together by means of a centre hole.
*boa*- (with suffixed possessive adj.), lineage, i.e. all the blood relations on the mother's side of the house; also used with extended meaning, clansman.

*dun*, good, a term of general approval.

*en*, to eat; *tab en*, food.
*ete*, 'medicine', any preparation used in treatment of illness or for making magic.

*géramuts*, slit-gong, used to give the rhythm for dances and also for conveying information and signalizing special occasions.
*gim*, pattern; *iaw a gim*, decorated lime-pot.
*gā*, pig.
— *a pear*, wild pig.
*guin*, bull-roarer.

*iaw*, lime; also the pot in which it is kept ready for use with areca-nut.
*ib*, to strike; to beat; to fight.

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104 *íburar*, lit. 'struck by the spirits', mad, used of a person in a state of hysterical dissociation.

*íen*, fish, generic term.

*ímun* (Petats *paio*), ceremonial currency made of flying-fox or porpoise teeth set in native string.

*ínu* (Petats *lúma*), native hut.

*íowa*, the bush fowl, or megapode.

*íwi*, *wiwi*, a white paint made from powdered sulphur obtained from a volcanic deposit.

*kakáriuk*, a fern (*Selaginella flabellata*) sometimes found with white or variegated leaves which are much sought after for personal adornment and also for making magic.

*karêb*, creeper, the stem of which is used in making string.

*kekéleo* (Petats dialect), fowl, associated with the Nakarib clan.

*kes*, dog (Petats *kus*), shark (Petats *baki*).

*késa*, shell-fish of many sorts, collected by the women on the reef for eating.

*kiár*, sibling of the same sex as speaker, i.e. brother of a man and sister of a woman; also extended to refer to person of same sex belonging to the same clan.

*kōbū*, receptacle or dish made of the thick fibrous sheath of the areca-palm.

*kōkóin*, pudding made of pounded taro, used on special occasions (same as *menak*).

*kôma*, the usual form of dance, the men walking round in wheel-formation and the women dancing separately with special steps, accompanied by beating of the slit-gong and blowing of Pan-pipes, the women yelling. As verb, to dance in this manner.

*kuígin*, older man who has acted as *amro* at former *upi* ceremonies to whom certain duties are assigned in connexion with the boys wearing the *upi*.

*mábuí*, musical instrument made of hollowed log with coco-nut shell mouth-piece.

*magór*, mixture consisting of red oxide of iron with scraps of plants, &c., to which is ascribed great magical power.

*máni*, cuscus opossum (phalanger); also a girl taking a certain part in the menstruation ceremony.

*mánu*, large brown eagle, associated with the Naboin clan.

*ménak*, a kind of pudding made of a mixture of pounded taro flavoured with either coco-nut meat or canarium almonds.

*mon*, woman, wife; also as adj. female.

*mon*, plank canoe.

104 *nek* (*tanek*), leaves or fruit of betel-pepper chewed with areca-nut and lime.

*nibnib*, generic term for ornamental or aromatic plants, often used for personal adornment and sometimes for magic.

*nog*, to make; to do.

*nó'on*, tree, generic term; firewood. *kuip no'on*, to cut firewood.

*nówan*, bird, generic term.

*yas*, to chew the betel-mixture, consisting of areca-nut, lime, and the fruit or leaves of the betel-pepper.

*oin*, red powder consisting of haematite (red oxide of iron), highly valued for personal decoration and also for use in magic.

*ówan*, red powder darker in colour than *oin*, consisting of impure iron oxide with some iron sulphide, used for personal decoration.

*pa'l*, ridge poles of hut, made of the aerial roots of the banyan.

*pasú-* (with suffixed possess. adj.), sister's child (m. speaking).

*pa'ún*, banana, generic term.

*pi'án*, cross-cousin.

*pínari*, a group of goblins with white skins and long legs, who live in the bush and play tricks on people.

*pírir*, ornament of shell with tortoise-shell filigree work.

*piu*, small Pan-pipes; to play on this instrument.

*rúanbē-* (with suffixed possess. adj.), husband's parents; son's wife.

*ru'ín*, water; a river; cleaned-out coco-nut shells used as water-pots.

*sisima*, substance consisting of lava which has been attacked by acid vapours after the dying down of volcanic activity. Considered to have very strong magical power.

*sítwan*, term used by the parents of one individual of a married couple to the parents of the other.

*tágoan*, the front entrance and verandah of a native hut, i.e. at the end facing the cleared space used for dances, and the ground immediately in front of it. Used by men only, except on certain ceremonial occasions.

*táhop*, hood made of pandanus leaves, worn by women in accordance with rules of avoidance.

*táma-* (with suffixed possess. adj.), father.

*tamí*, taro, the esculent caladium, a tuber which forms the staple article of diet.

*tamú*, temporary shelter erected in the taro garden, in which a family lives when work is pressing.

*ta'ó*, native oven, consisting of a hole in the ground filled with stones.

104 *ta'ún*, a plant, species of cordyline, used for ceremonial and magical purposes.

*taiwē-* (with suffixed possess. adj.), brother- or sister-in-law (applied to a person of the same sex as speaker).

*tʃan*, great, large, important.

*tʃína-* (with suffixed possess. adj.), mother.

*tʃína*, black paint, made from volcanic ash.

*tʃinív*, dug-out canoe, with outrigger; the tree most frequently used in its manufacture.

*tobár*, men's house, hut reserved for men, and boys wearing the *upi*.

*tog* (Petats *toan*), organized barter, chiefly of fish and taro, carried on by the women between villages.

*tsóa-* (with suffixed possess. adj.), mother's brother.

*tsúbak*, flying fox.

*tsúbna'in*, grandchild.

*tsúbu-* (with suffixed possess. adj.), grandparent (m. or f.).

*tsūn*, real, true, also as adv. very.

*tsūnaun*, a person of rank, and all members of his lineage.

*tsúra*, fire.

*tsúwoiŋ*, conch, made of triton shell, sounded on ceremonial occasions.

*túkis*, a group of goblins about a foot high, with dark skins, who live in the bush and play tricks on people.

*uétē*, man, husband, also as adj. male.

*uir*, coco-nut palm; coco-nut, term used for any stage of growth.

*úpi*, head-covering made of palm leaves worn by adolescent boys during a period of years between certain ceremonies; the boys wearing these hats.

*úrar*, ghost, spirit of person long dead; wooden figures representing such individuals, used at *wapi* ceremony.

*wagún*, brother- or sister-in-law (applied to person of opposite sex to speaker).

*wámoa*, first-born child.

*wápi*, first important ceremony for adolescent boys, at which they put on the *upi*.

*wáris*, wife's parents; daughter's husband.

*wasipsip*, last of the ceremonies connected with the wearing of the *upi* by adolescent boys, at which the *upi* is removed and the hair cut short.

*wasísio*, traditional story, folk-tale.

*wátawutʃ*, second and most important of the three main ceremonies connected with the wearing of the *upi*, at which the boys show their hair to the people; after it certain restrictions are removed.

*watʃitʃio*, female cross-cousin of either parent: and reciprocally, child of cross-cousin. 10+

*wats* (*watʃ*), stone, rock.

*wa'úr*, the ritual wailing for the dead.

*wévnĕ-* (with suffixed possess. adj.), sibling of opposite sex to speaker, i.e. the sister of a man or the brother of a woman.

*wínoa*, canarium almond.

*wír'sun*, wild banana (inedible), used in various forms of magic; the dried fibrous sheath serves the women to support burdens on their backs.

*wúti*, clan.

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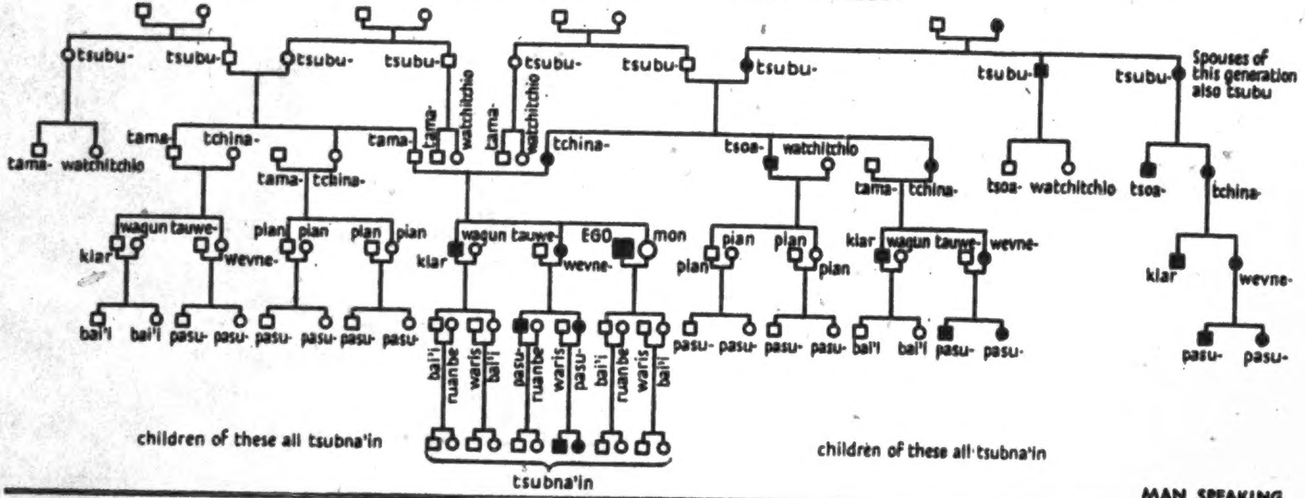
# RELATIONSHIP TERMS: KURTATCHI DIALECT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MAN SPEAKING

KEY TO SYMBOLS: □=male ○=female □ ○=siblings □ ○=marriages ■ ●=members of speaker's lineage

[End chart 1A]

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1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

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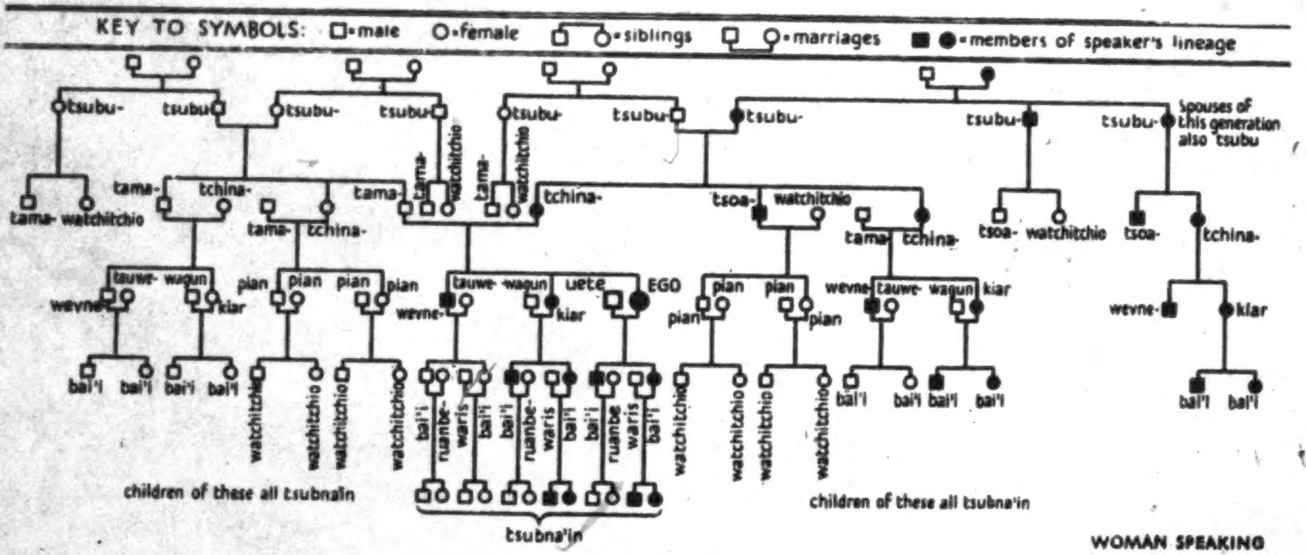
Kurtatchi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WOMAN SPEAKING

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[End chart 1B]

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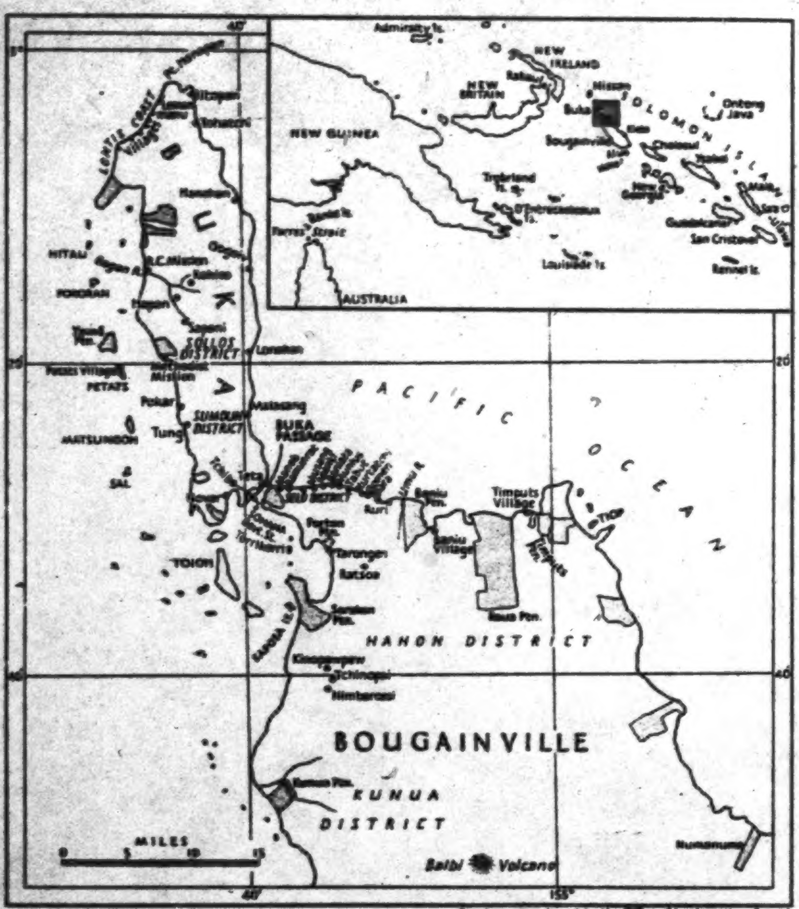
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SUMOUN DISTRICT
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MATSUNGAN
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TOIOH
Tarungen
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Baniu Pen.
Baniu Village
Raua Pen.
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Kinapapau
Tchinapai
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KUNUA DISTRICT
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Based on a map issued by the Office of Lands, [illegible], Rabaul.

BUKA AND NORTH BOUGAINVILLE
*Inset:* SKETCH-MAP OF THE WESTERN PACIFIC

[End map]

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[For further information concerning the content of dreams and their interpretation, see category 159.]

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[Information on the units called "Clans" by Blackwood has been filed under category 614 (Sibs).]

[All ceremonies connected with the wearing of the ipi are marked for category 881 (Puberty and initiation) although the first or wapi ceremony is held when the boy is about eight or nine.]